

Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy

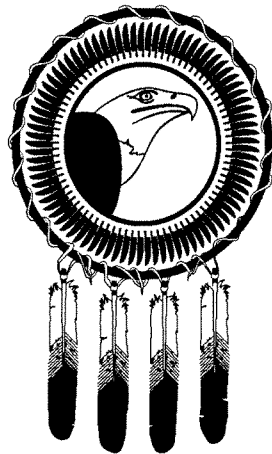
*Public Choice, Culture and
American Indian Economic Development*

by

Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt

PRS 88-13

July 1988



Harvard Project on
American Indian Economic Development

John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of past and present sponsors of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, or Harvard University. Reports to tribes in this series are currently supported by the Christian A. Johnson Endeavor Foundation. The Harvard Project is directed by Professors Stephen Cornell (Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy, University of Arizona), Joseph P. Kalt (John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University) and Manley Begay (Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy, University of Arizona). For further information and reproduction permission, contact the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development at (617) 495-1480.

PUBLIC CHOICE, CULTURE,
AND
AMERICAN INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

by

Stephen Cornell
Associate Professor
of Sociology

and

Joseph P. Kalt¹
Professor
of Political Economy

Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development

I. SOME STORIES

Crow: The Crow Indian Tribe is centered on a 2.5 million acre reservation in south-central Montana and has a population of 8,169. The Tribe is one of the four or five largest owners of coal resources in the world.² The Crow reservation also contains extensive timber, range, agricultural, water and mineral resources. The Tribe's coal and other assets are valued at \$26,820,779,087 indicating tribal wealth (i.e., exclusive of individual holdings) of approximately \$3,283,239 per person.³

Eighty-five percent of the Crow labor force is unemployed. At the time of the 1980 Census, 49% of Crow tribal members were receiving public assistance, and 40% reported being unemployed for more than 15 weeks in the previous year. Social pathologies such as alcoholism, crime, and ill-health are present in the extreme. Over 70% of reservation

¹ Department of Sociology Harvard University and John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, respectively. This research has been generously supported by the Ford Foundation and the Northwest Area Foundation. We also greatly appreciate the insights, information, and cooperation provided by the American Indian tribes and organizations that are participating in the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, as well as the individuals (too numerous to enumerate here) from these groups that have assisted us. Finally, we must thank Harry Nelson, Marta Gil, Eduardo Cordeiro, David Butler, Charles O'Hara, and the student participants in the Project for their research assistance.

² Real Bird, R., "In Search of Peace and Prosperity: The Crow Tribal Struggle for Economic Sovereignty," Project Report, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, April 1988.

³ See Real Bird, R., "In Search of Peace and Prosperity: The Crow Tribal Struggle for Economic Sovereignty," Project Report, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, April 1988.

employment is in governmental services.⁴ The only significant income from economic activity within the Tribe's lands consists of: a non-Indian coal mine which pays royalties to the Tribe of \$1-\$1.5 million per year (equal to approximately one-half the going market value in the region); land lease payments from local ranchers (at lease rates typically equal to less than one-third of market value); and a modest stream of stumpage receipts from timber sales. Annual earnings on the \$27 billion of tribal assets total approximately \$3 million, for a rate of return of 0.01% per annum.

White Mountain Apache: The White Mountain Apaches are a tribe of approximately 9000 occupying 1.6 million acres of forest and rangeland in east-central Arizona. Approximately 750 thousand acres of the Tribe's Fort Apache Reservation is prime logging country, and another 400 thousand acres are high-quality rangeland. The White Mountain Apaches operate nine tribally-owned enterprises, including: a major ski resort with seven lifts and \$9 million per year in revenues; a sawmill with 95% Apache employees, \$9 million per year in payroll, labor productivity that is 30% higher than the average Western U.S. mill and \$30 million per year in revenues; a reservation forest that yields the Tribe approximately \$7 million in net logging royalties per year; and pay-per-visit wilderness hunting and fishing that produces annual revenues of approximately \$1.5 million and elk hunts that are auctioned on the open market at up to \$15,000 per animal hunted.

Unemployment among the White Mountain Apaches is officially in the range of 20-25%. Approximately 19% of the labor force reported being unemployed for more than 15 weeks in the 1980 Census. Over 85% of the Tribe's employment is in enterprises, rather than in governmental services. 30% of White Mountain Apache families were receiving public assistance at the time of the 1980 Census, compared to 42% for the Indian national population. The Tribe's economy is the central driving force in the region, supporting tourism-based non-Indian communities and making the Tribe a recognized and increasingly respected polity.⁵

⁴ [3] Data taken from 1980 Census and supplied by the Crow Tribe.

⁵ For a more complete summary, see Kalt, J., "The Redefinition of Property Rights in American Indian Reservations: A Comparative Analysis of Native American Economic Development," Project Report, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, May 1987.

Mescalero Apache: The Mescalero Apache Reservation is situated in south-central New Mexico. It covers approximately 460 thousand acres and is home to 3000 Apaches. The Mescalero Apache Tribe owns and operates a year-round golf and ski resort hotel and associated facilities. It also owns and operates a tribal forest, sawmill, and fee hunting and fishing industry. Official unemployment statistics put approximately 30% of the labor force out of work, although public funding criteria are often implicitly tied to such statistics and create incentives for inaccurate compilation. Unofficial sources indicate that there is little or no involuntary unemployment on the reservation.⁶

San Carlos Apache: The San Carlos Apache Reservation is adjacent on its northern boundary to the White Mountain Apache Tribe's reservation. The San Carlos Reservation totals approximately 1.5 million acres and has a population of approximately 6000 thousand. It has outstanding rangeland, as well as a modest stock of harvestable timber, wildlife and mineral resources. The only significant economic activity on the reservation is cattle grazing. A tribal sawmill and lakefront recreational development were operated at one time, but have been abandoned. No logging is currently being conducted at San Carlos. The San Carlos Apaches market hunting and fishing opportunities on a limited basis.

Only 15% of the employable San Carlos working force is reported to be working. The vast bulk of employment on the reservation is in government services, with only 34% employed in private or tribal enterprises. An estimated 43% of San Carlos Apaches received public assistance at the time of the 1980 Census.

Pine Ridge Sioux: The Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation is the home of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. The original reservation covered 2.8 million acres in southern South Dakota, prior to certain losses of tribal title. The on-reservation population is approximately 15,000. The primary reservation economic activity is agriculture, with approximately 300 tribal members working in ranching and another 75 employed in farming. Tribal members

⁶ See "Sierra Blanca," Boston Globe, January 5, 1986 and The New Capitalists: Economics in Indian Country, Public Broadcasting Service, Odyssey Productions, 1985.

operate less than 50% of Indian-owned agricultural property, with the remainder leased to non-Indians. Indian-owned lands produce approximately \$10 million in annual gross revenues, with Indian operators accounting for roughly 35% of this total. The Tribe recently entered into a joint venture in a meat packing plant near the reservation which employs 40 tribal members.⁷ Over 80% of the employed work force is in the governmental sector.

The Pine Ridge Reservation covers the poorest county in the United States, with per capita income equal to only 25.7% of the national average in 1986.⁸ 47% of the reservation population was reported to be receiving public assistance and approximately 50% of the work force was reported to be unemployed for more than 15 weeks at the time of the 1980 Census. As of 1986, 73% of the work force was unemployed.⁹

II. INTRODUCTION: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Back when it was a social science, one of the tasks of economics was to explain the origins of economic growth and development. This still seems to be worth pursuing. Both cross-sectionally and over time, it is striking how rare is successful, sustained economic development. How is it that some peoples arrive at mechanisms for applying their scarce means toward the satisfaction of their unlimited wants in such a way as to provide for a steadily rising ability to satisfy those wants while creating a society in which people want to live?

The most natural place to begin a search for answers to this question is with the physical resources at a people's disposal. This causal link certainly has "other things equal" truth going for it. Yet, it is too easy to cite the cases in which abundant resources are squandered or left untapped, or the cases in which resource-poor societies bootstrap themselves up the economic ladder. Nor does it seem plausible that economic progress

⁷ Nebraska Public Power District, Industrial Facts: Pine Ridge, South Dakota and Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, March 1988.

⁸ Johnson, D.W., "A Study of the Twenty-Five Poorest Counties in the Continental USA in 1986," General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, November 1987 (mimeo).

⁹ See note 7 above.

is founded primarily on progress in technology or the stock of human knowledge. Not only is the stock of human capital endogenous (through the savings-investment nexus), but side-by-side comparisons leave the questions of why only some societies contribute to and utilize civilization's stock of knowledge unanswered.

Resources and knowledge tautologically must set the upper bound on a society's potential for growth at any point in time. As is increasingly reflected in the economic development literature, however, how far away a society's performance is from this upper bound depends centrally on the legal, social and political institutions that are imposed on it or selected by it. That is, the origins and paths of growth are determined primarily by the societal institutions which channel effort into productivity, provide payoffs for capital investment, and organize the division of labor.¹⁰ Our thinking on development is now replete with non-ideological references to "the rules of the game," "rent-seeking," "property rights," and "third-party enforcers."

II.A Social Institutions Are Public Goods; Culture Controls Free Riding

Even as we turn toward understanding that political, legal and social institutions harbor the hypotheses that will explain variations in the wealth of nations, we encounter two more challenging issues. First, political, legal and social institutions are themselves products of human society. How does one society end up with one set of institutions and another society its own alternative set, and with no obvious process of rapid natural selection moving them toward a common equilibrium? Second, the political, legal and social institutions that a sovereign society arrives at are themselves public goods [Olson, 1968]. In the self-evident absence of meta-contracts and/or a costless coercive third-party agent, what inhibits the unconstrained free riding that might otherwise be expected to eat away at a society's institutions of control and performance? This study is aimed at empirical exploration of these two questions.

The observation that social institutions of performance and control are potentially subject to debilitating free riding is not new. North [1981], in particular, stresses the point.

¹⁰ Two recent examples that reflect the intellectual trends of our times are Olson, M., The Rise and Decline of Nations, 1986 and North, D., Structure and Change in Economic History, 1981.

It holds with special force in participatory democracy, where everything from voting and tax collection to litter control and traffic regulation hinges on self-policing behavior by individuals. Yet even in a dictatorial regime of any significant size, enforcement of the rules of organization and governance is expensive. Narrowly individualistic calculations of the personal benefits and costs of violating those rules suggest rampant free riding or enforcement efforts that consume unsustainable levels of resources. But notwithstanding economists' theories of individual participation in groups [Olson, 1965], the world daily reveals the abundance and force of participation in large-group collective efforts, from voting and revolutions to academics not cheating on their t-statistics and safe driving.

In short, at least for sovereign societies, the institutions that govern the course of economic development are the products of collective action -- the production and maintenance of public goods in the face of large-group free rider incentives. This conclusion is not contrary to neoclassical economics, although it is contrary to the version that is fed to undergraduates. The glue that binds would-be free riders is what the economist is coming to call "ideology", and what the sociologist calls "culture."¹¹ By these terms we mean a set of interpretations, understandings, and models of action that provide individuals with strategic guidance and repertoires of acceptable behavior. The choice-theoretic mechanisms by which these standards for action operate are through:

1) **Culture as value paradigm**: Individuals demonstrably have preferences for such common economic goods as self-esteem, feelings of moral rectitude, sentiments of group-belonging, and so forth.¹² Such preferences are the triggers by which ideological concepts such as "fair," "normal," "us," "them," "proper," and "improper" call forth apparently altruistic eschewing of opportunistic shirking and free riding. Their existence is attested to by casual observation and introspection, theory [e.g., Brennan and Buchanan, 1984], and evidence [e.g., Kalt and Zupan, 1984, 1988].

¹¹ If they can stand to work through each other's jargon, the economist can benefit from Douglas, M., How Institutions Think, 1986; and the sociologist can benefit from North, op cit.

¹² For a discussion of the psychological roots of these types of preferences, which economists take as given, see Geertz, C., Ideology as a Culture System, 1973.

2) Culture as knowledge paradigm: Human beings learn at least part of the technology of knowledge production by participating in cultures. Cultures convey and condition notions of feasibility; or, in the language of economics, culture conditions perceived production possibility frontiers.[Cornell, 1987] In this way, culture as knowledge paradigm provides understanding and guidance on matters ranging from technology (e.g., Can humans fly?, Can my group learn how to manage a business enterprise?) to personal behavior (e.g., How does an accountant act?, Can I become a brain surgeon?).

Ideology, or culture, which calls forth sentiments of social propriety is a value paradigm and is experienced as a private consumption good.[Kalt and Zupan, 1988] It is for the economist to take preferences for such goods as given and to explain peoples' responses to the ease or difficulty of pursuing them, as well as their roles in forming the implicit contracts that constitute social relationships. It is for the psychologist, and perhaps the sociobiologist [e.g., Wilson, 1978] to explain why humans have such preferences. In the face of manifest variation -- i.e., one society's "proper" is another's "improper" -- it is for the sociologist, and perhaps the anthropologist, to explain the origins of, structures of and change in the particular value paradigms that a society exhibits.

Note that economics alone cannot provide a theory of ideology, or culture, as value paradigm. This holds for at least three reasons. First, to the extent that culture is experienced by economic actors as "tastes" (consumption goods), economics runs into the problem of infinite regress if it tries to come up with a theory of choice over preferences, i.e., by what preferences would I choose the preferences that I would like? Second, to the extent culture is experienced as private consumption goods, preferences over such goods are not subject to compelling survivor tests.[Becker, 1957] Third, to the extent that culture serves the social function of implicit contracts for participation in groups and polities, it constitutes a public good that the invisible hand of economic determinism will not force toward optimality.

This last point is worth emphasizing since it goes against the grain of neoclassical methods (but not substance) of invisible hand reasoning. There are two major brands of economic determinism that offer prospective theories of ideology. Left-wing (i.e. as with the Hegelian Marxists) determinism solves the problem of explaining the forms that ideologies take by making the class the rational actor and ideology "merely" legitimizing

rationalization of materialistic interests. This approach, however, begs the question of why the individual human psyche needs morally compelling rationalizations and legitimacy. It also begs the matter of the free rider problem by situating the locus of choice in the disembodied group, rather than the individual (see Douglas, M., op cit., for a cogent discussion). Right-wing (i.e., with the individual as the unit of analysis, as in Stigler [19xx] and Becker and Stigler [1977]) determinism, on the other hand, falls on its inability to explain why individuals are driven to adopt collectively productive ideologies, rather than perpetually free riding on the group by adhering to privately gratifying, but collectively counterproductive, notions of cultural or political legitimacy. That is, the private ideological goods of self-righteous nationalistic hostility to free trade, or communalism in agriculture, or private property in ideas, or strict egalitarianism in individual accomplishment may arguably be sub-optimal with respect to the production of material wealth. Yet, such cultural value paradigms may be stable equilibria since, paralleling the theory of the rationally ignorant voter, the rational participant in a culture can not privatize the gains to remaking a society's ideologies.

Ideology, or culture, as a knowledge paradigm affects perceived private and social opportunity sets. At the level of the individual, knowledge of private opportunity sets may be testable and subject, in some dimensions, to survivor tests (e.g., if I think I can be an entrepreneur but I can't, a marketplace may weed me out). Paralleling the discussion of survivor tests for culture-as-value-paradigm, however, cultural paradigms about social opportunity sets appear to require a "sociology of knowledge" [North, 1981, p.47], particularly when collective action or agreement is required to test and alter perception.¹³

II.B An Illustration: Culture as Implicit Rules of the Game

The kinds of implications of culture as an implicit description of property rights governing social action by individuals that we are interested in can now be drawn out more concretely. For purposes of argument, take it as a given that hierarchical management-labor relationships in the workplace are not just a quirk of capitalism, but

¹³ This is in accord with Kuhn, T., The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 1962.

represent an efficient technological device for promoting productivity in many kinds of endeavors. All else equal, hierarchical manager-worker relationships, in which the manager has the right to tell the worker what to do on the job, then are an ingredient necessary for the maximization of economic output.

Notwithstanding their material efficiency, hierarchical command-and-control relationships represent a particular form of human interaction; and a given culture quite plausibly has preferences for the ways in which people treat each other -- as evidenced when Americans worry that their managers might start requiring American workers to sing the company song each morning, which they hear is done in Japan. A sovereign society which is hostile to hierarchical command-and-control relationships and which is able to engage in effective collective action will pursue development strategies which eschew production techniques that require such relationships. In such a society, culture-as-value-paradigm pre-defines a set of implicit property rights in employment positions -- rules for telling managers and workers what they can and cannot do. Indeed, endogenous institutional choice may not even consider setting up hierarchical organizational structures (i.e., culture-as-knowledge-paradigm).

At least three observations are suggested by this illustration. First, everything else equal, a culture which is hostile to hierarchical divisions of labor is likely to generate lower standards of material well-being than an alternative culture. Second, given cultural preferences for non-hierarchical, egalitarian workplaces, the most appropriate development strategy may entail selection of production processes with relatively flat command structures (e.g., small owner-operated enterprises, rather than multi-process, large scale manufacturing plants). Third, the trading off of material well-being for adherence to cultural values regarding the proper way people (managers and workers) ought to treat each other is rational -- since both material goods and sentiments of propriety in interpersonal relationships enter directly into people's utility functions.

The kinds of tradeoffs implied here often seem particularly prominent in American Indian economic affairs as a result of their particular anthropologies, years of subjugation by U.S. governments, and decades of geographic and economic isolation. Nevertheless, we believe that all societies struggle with such tradeoffs. The variety of American Indian cultures, coupled with relatively equal legal status and property rights vis-a-vis the

non-Indian society, fortunately provide a fertile setting within which to examine the links between cultural attributes and economic development. The positive elements of such an inquiry involve trying to understand what attributes of culture most directly and substantially affect the form and pace of economic development in a society. Economics provides some clues as to where culture may cut with the greatest force -- e.g., cultural values and knowledge surrounding the division of labor, trade, capital accumulation, and institutions of governance. The normative aspect of the inquiry entails figuring out which strategies for handling these economic categories match best to which cultures. Progress in these areas will put meet on the buzz words "culturally appropriate economic development."

III. THE SOLIDIFICATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS' PROPERTY RIGHTS IN THEIR OWN RESERVATIONS

A revolution has been taking place in the legal status of American Indian reservations. The essential thrust of this revolution is the effective transfer of control and ownership of reservations away from the Federal Government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) toward the tribes themselves. The ultimate consequences of this redefinition of property rights remains to be seen, but it is easy to be optimistic. Economic development policy controlled by a bureaucracy whose survival has been directly tied to its ability to sell poverty to Congress has been notable primarily for its failure: American Indians are the nation's poorest minority.

One of the most striking things about reservation development today is the growing diversity of enterprises, strategies, and activities. As we look across Indian country we see everything from bingo games to convenience stores, from major mining operations to factories, from industrial parks to the marketing of wildlife. In recent years some reservations have become virtual economic enterprise zones, offering outside investors regulatory and tax havens; some have become the functional equivalents of small to medium-sized corporations, adopting corporate strategies and management practices. Some tribes are inviting everyone they can think of to locate new businesses on Indian lands; others are insisting on keeping development enterprises firmly in tribal hands; still others are eschewing major development programs altogether.

Not all of these very different activities and approaches have been equally successful. Indeed, successful enterprise in Indian country remains relatively rare. Nonetheless, the range and volume of activity is impressive, and reflects a significant change in Indian affairs in the last decade or so. What is the nature of that change?

The critical feature is the federal policy of self-determination that emerged in the 1970's and the set of court cases that, in subsequent years, have supported and enlarged that policy. As a consequence of these changes, today it is increasingly tribes, not federal or state governments, that are exercising significant decision-making control over reservation resources and tribal actions (Kalt 1987).

This change was not easily achieved. It is partially the result of the policy frustrations caused by persistent reservation poverty, as well as a general societal trend away from government intervention in economic affairs. More directly it is a consequence of the multi-faceted resurgence of political activism among Native American groups in the 1960s and 1970s, of both conventional and unconventional kinds, which eventually forced the federal government to acknowledge the bankruptcy of the 1950's termination policy and its various externally-imposed predecessors (Cornell 1984). It was the Indian attack on federal controls -- waged in the courts, in Congress, in the bureaucracy, in the "streets," -- that led to the emergence of self-determination as the ostensible, if not always manifest, principle of federal Indian policy, and to the attendant court decisions and legislation that have brought us to where we are today.

To be sure, this change has taken place only incrementally and often with almost as many steps backward as forward. Plenty of strings have been attached to the self-determination policy and other developments over the last decade, particularly in the areas of finance and of natural resources and land management. Nonetheless the change that has occurred is dramatic and unprecedented: for the first time in this century, Indian tribes are making their own strategic development decisions, in many cases are taking direct control of development programs, and are paying the costs as well as reaping the benefits of program performance. The assignment of residual claimant status to tribes themselves, rather than the BIA, appears to be showing signs of improve performance among tribes who have most aggressively asserted their sovereignty.[Kalt, 1987]

This new situation raises some important questions. How are we to account for the development choices tribes have made -- that is, for the diverse development paths they have chosen to pursue. How can we account for the economic and social outcomes of their efforts? To begin to get a handle on these questions, we turn to a model of the Indian development process in which (1) multiple social goals are pursued by (2) choosing among alternative development strategies subject to (3) external opportunities and political rights, and internal endowments of resources, indigenous social organization and culture.

III.A The Goals of American Indian Economic Development

Economic Well-Being: For most analysts, developers, and even policy-makers, the success or failure of economic development is to be measured in economic terms. Employment, per capita incomes, the accumulation of wealth, and other measures of material well-being are the indicators usually used to measure development performance. To be sure, these measures matter mightily in the Indian context. Faced with extreme levels of unemployment, substandard housing, ill health, and other concomitants of poverty, most Indian tribes, of necessity, are profoundly interested in the economic outcomes of their actions.

Political Sovereignty: Most tribes, however, have other, non-economic criteria through which they evaluate success and failure in development. The first is political. Few tribes or individual tribal members are willing to sacrifice tribal sovereignty -- political autonomy -- for economic success. Measuring the political impact of development programs is often a difficult task, yet throughout Indian country we have seen tribes rejecting promising economic programs wherever those programs involve a perceived net loss of political sovereignty.

Cultural Sovereignty: The second non-economic goal of self-determination is cultural sovereignty. By this we mean indigenous control over the pace and direction of cultural change. This does not mean, typically, that only those programs or activities compatible with indigenous cultural designs are acceptable, or that cultural change is universally

regarded as an a negative. Such views may prevail in some tribes, and in many there is resistance to development that seriously undermines indigenous culture. Perhaps more fundamentally, however, American Indians express a demand for tribal control over the cultural consequences of their development paths. Of course, the cultural effects of development are even more difficult to foresee or to control than the political ones. Still, there is ample evidence that where the trade-offs appear substantial, tribes will readily and intentionally sacrifice an economic good for a perceived cultural one. Examples here include White Mountain Apache and Warm Springs Reservation rejection of ski developments on mountains regarded as sacred.

To some extent, of course, this multi-dimensional conception of development success is true in every society -- witness the countless debates over land use and development planning in the U.S.. Development always raises non-economic issues and has implications for non-economic agendas. But in Indian country these non-economic goals are particularly salient, and motivate much of the discussion in both public and private forums. What is clear is that in much of Indian country economic success is considered essential to, but subordinate to, the overriding goal of tribal survival -- the survival of the tribe as a distinctive economic, political, and cultural community. Historically the major threat to that survival has not been economic -- Indians have survived in poverty for generations. Rather, the perceived threats to tribes' survival have been political and cultural, in the form of the continuing efforts by public and private non-Indian institutions to transform or entirely eliminate tribal communities.

Perhaps owing to shared histories of persecution and subjugation, it is apparent that on most Indian reservations economic development is perceived to be as much (if not more) of a collective good as a set of private payoffs to the individual. This is not to say that individual success -- the opportunity for individual indians to create decent lives for themselves -- is unimportant or socially discouraged. It is only to point out that the criteria by which tribal actors assess development programs include not only the provision of material benefits to tribal members, but emphatically the provision of political and cultural control to the group.

The values that are being served in the pursuit of political and cultural sovereignty apparently emanate directly from the socio-cultural process that links individuals'

preferences for self-esteem to identities grounded in belonging to social groupings. That is, Apaches and Crows want to be Apaches and Crows, respectively, because Apacheness and Crowness are primary sources of self-identity (i.e., culture-as-value-paradigm). Without political sovereignty as a collectivity with a land base, and without control over cultural distinctiveness as members of particular tribes, it is difficult to imagine maintaining these identities (i.e., culture-as-knowledge-paradigm).

III.B Choosing Development Strategies

Today, as tribes begin to have the opportunity to design economic development strategies on their own terms, they are struggling to understand what it means to maximize over the multiple goals of self-determination that we have enumerated. In the process they are being forced to make critical strategic choices by design or default. These fall into three general categories.

III.B.1 The form of economic organization

One of the basic choices that American Indian tribes face in asserting their rights to self-determination involves selection of the basic organization of their economies. For example, should the tribe invite outside investors onto the reservation, or should the tribe itself own businesses? The selected modes of organization can determine in fundamental ways such matters as the pattern of rewards and incentives and the distribution of income and wealth from reservation economic activity. Most compellingly, the economic organization selected by a tribe places decision making control over economic activity into particular hands. For peoples interested in political and cultural self-control, a fundamental question is: who will be the primary actor, the implementer of economic action? At present, four major models are emerging and being tried in Indian country. Briefly summarized, these are:

-- **Federal Control**. Historically this has been the most common mode of reservation economic organization. However, in the new political context of the 1970s and 1980s, it has

become the default mode of economic development. Federal control is what happens when nothing else is going on. Typically it involves the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as supervisor, often as manager, of tribal development. The BIA is the primary source of capital and expertise, makes most management decisions or reserves the right to do so, and retains overall control of the development agenda. It also has to pick up most of the pieces when development enterprises fail.

Revealingly, the desperate economic conditions among the Crow and (to only a slightly lesser extent) and San Carlos Apache correspond to a very high degree of BIA control. At Crow, for example, the Tribe's constitution (written by the BIA) requires Interior Department approval of all tribal council resolutions, and the Tribe has been in de facto receivership for a number of years with a dispute raging between the Tribe and the BIA over BIA release of funds. The relatively successful economies of the White Mountain and Mescalero Apache, on the other hand, correspond to very aggressive diversions of decision-making power away from the Federal Government and toward the tribal government.[Kalt, 1987]

-- **Privatization.** This mode of organization usually involves the location of non-Indian enterprises on Indian lands, and/or the management of Indian resources by non-Indian companies, usually through a joint venture or royalty arrangement. Tribal involvement is limited. Programmatic examples include: inviting a semiconductor company to build its new plant on your reservation; or inviting a timber company to harvest your timber resources. The task of the tribe is to construct an environment which, through tax breaks, labor costs, regulatory relief, and other incentives will attract non-Indian enterprise on to the reservation. This is the model recommended by two recent federal commissions on Indian economic development. The leading example of a tribe that has embraced privatization as a guiding strategy is the Navajo Tribe under the new MacDonald administration.

Privatization offers a solution to the very pressing problems of access to financial and human capital (expertise). On the negative side, however, is often perceived as introducing outside actors that can threaten tribal political and cultural sovereignty. Moreover, sovereign tribal governments often find it extremely difficult to bind themselves

to promises not to engage in opportunistic meddling and rent-seeking in outside investors' businesses once capital is sunk on the reservation. Such behavior is encouraged by tribal governments' lack of residual claimant status and the actuarially short time horizons of politicians; and countless private business projects on reservations last through one investment cycle. Privatization strategies are likely to be most effective when they are aimed at attracting mobile capital that does not fear Williamsonian opportunism.

– **Microenterprise.** The key here is private Indian entrepreneurship. This model envisions a reservation economy based on a diverse array of small business that are started, owned, and operated by tribal members. The task of the tribe is to construct an environment favorable to the emergence and maintenance of indigenous entrepreneurial activity. The perceived objective of a microenterprise approach to development is commonly import substitution, especially in retail services. Such activity has a substantial, but generally depressing, history on Indian reservations. New and intriguing efforts, as at the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, are being made. Microenterprise approaches to development are hampered by lack of access to financial capital and the common dearth of on-reservation human capital (especially in management). Microenterprise is relatively well-suited to tribes for whom outside investors are politically and culturally threatening and/or tribal government is incapable of managing enterprise development.

– **Tribal ownership.** In this model, the tribe itself is the developer. It owns and operates a set of tribal enterprises and manages the development of its own resources. The tribe's primary task in this model is responsible management, carried out either directly by tribal government, or indirectly through a more or less independent business council which manages day-to-day business within a strategic plan developed by tribal government. An example of the first is the White Mountain Apaches in Arizona; examples of the second include the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Oregon, the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation in Washington, and the Citizen Band of Potawatomis in Oklahoma.

Tribal ownership places the tribal government in the position of residual claimant. In this way, it is an antidote to problems of opportunistic treatment of investors.[Kalt, 1987]

It is best suited to tribes where leadership is empowered to make management and investment decisions, but constrained by cultural values and/or formal restrictions from benefitting personally or politically from rent-seeking. The White Mountain Apaches and Mescalero Apaches have developed strong, charismatic leadership within a strong chief executive form of government and have been relatively quite successful in tribally-owned enterprises. The Crow tend to produce competent and charismatic leadership, but have an Athenian democracy in which the entire voting age population is empowered to manage tribal affairs. The Crow have not been successful at owning enterprises. The Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge have a deep cultural history of small regional social organizations of governance, with little cultural value associated with empowerment of a central tribal government. The central government of Pine Ridge has not had success at business ownership.

The foregoing modes of economic organization tend to appear in combination; few tribes pursue one to the exclusion of the other three. On most reservations, however, one or another of these models predominates. Each has distinct and significant consequences for development and for tribal communities.

III.B.2 The institutions of governance

Whatever the mode of economic organization, and whoever the associated actors are, overall development strategy must still be implemented by tribal institutions. These institutions, and in particular tribal government, remain responsible for establishing and maintaining a development environment conducive to success. Their tasks include not only strategic guidance in pursuing the multiple goals of development policy, but regulating economic activity, establishing sufficient stability in the institutional environment to encourage risk-taking by economic actors, and maintaining the capacity to make decisions binding on tribal parties. What governing institutions are likely to be most effective in serving these tasks and achieving the goals of development? Some of the answers to this question are perhaps universal; others need to take the specific reservation context and tribal social organization into account. At least three issues need to be considered.

-- Centralized vs. decentralized institutions. Contemporary tribes are by no means of a piece. Some are composites of diverse tribes brought together through the treaty process and reservation confinement (e.g. Yakima, Flathead); some are consolidated associations of once highly autonomous villages or bands (e.g., Comanche, some Apache cases); some are simply modern manifestations of a long-standing unity (e.g. Northern Cheyenne). The tendency in all cases, however, largely as a result of the impositions on non-Indian political and economic agendas and institutions, has been to concentrate decision-making and administrative power in a single, centralized body assumed to be representative of the whole. In some cases (e.g., Pine Ridge Sioux, Navajo) this is contrary to indigenous tradition, and has aroused local community antagonism toward tribal government. In such cases, development may be better served by decentralized patterns of decision-making and economic activity.

-- The separation of powers. Within tribal government, centralized or not, we see a number of approaches to the distribution of decision-making power in tribal affairs. At one end of the continuum is the strong and charismatic executive who appears to sustain the consensual support of the general populace (e.g., the case of the Mescalero Apaches). At the other extreme is the general council, Athenian form of government which places substantial control over all decision-making in the hands of the entire people (e.g., the Crow Tribe of Montana). This tends to turn political power into a common pool resource and to maximize the likelihood of the electoral cycling predicted for factionalized democracies. The workability of such a governmental form, lacking in separations of power and checks and balances, would appear to hinge on high degrees of homogeneity of interests and strong cultural values in opposition to creation of within-group factions. We have yet to uncover such a tribe.

In between the strong executive and peoples' democracy forms of governance are various representative council forms of government. The relatively successful Yakima Nation in Washington, for example, has an elected council, led by a moderately strong executive, that wields considerable control over day-to-day management, while a general council of the entire tribe has control over certain classes of major decisions.

-- Strategic decision-making vs. day-to-day management of economic enterprises.

Establishing a strategic vision -- what is it we want in the long run? -- and day-to-day management are not the same thing. Effective development may require that these two activities be vested in different institutional bodies, so as to insulate day-to-day management from intragroup politics and allow the tribe to find the best managers -- Indian or non-Indian -- to put in control of tribal enterprise without threatening tribal control of the overall direction of societal change. This empowerment of a chief executive in charge of day-to-day management has been effectively implemented in the case of the White Mountain Apaches; it is a striking lack in the case of the Crow Tribe.

III.B.3 The process of development

Another set of strategic choices tribes have to make has to do with the process of development itself: How is development policy implemented?; What rate and what type of development is pursued?. These kinds of questions arise because of cultural value paradigms defined over at least the following:

-- The degree of involvement with outsiders that the tribe is willing to tolerate. A tribal culture in which tribal identity is compatible with a high degree of interaction with outsiders will tend to be relatively well-suited (other things equal) for the importation of human capital and for businesses requiring high levels of extra-tribal contact (e.g., tourism).

This appears to be the case among the Apache, where a component of Apacheness entails assertive attempts to "take on" the outside social environment. Such a perspective also seems to fit the Crow, although their political institutions seem to emaciate the implied spur to trade-based economy. The fit with the Oglala Sioux is less obvious, and the microenterprise development strategy emanating from the Sioux is founded on stated cultural objectives of economic autarky.

-- What type of development makes sense, given the concern of the tribe with political and cultural sovereignty? For example, what degree of diversity does the tribe wish to establish in order to avoid being dependent on a single market or employer? Is

the tribe willing to engage in extractive, land-altering enterprises? How important is it to sustain traditional sectors (e.g., sheep herding at Navajo), and what are the implications of this for other sectors of the economy (e.g., extractive industry)? What kinds of division of labor, across skills and hierarchies, do particular types of enterprises entail?. What kinds of activities best fit with the community's sense of what it wants to change, what it wants to preserve?

It should be apparent here that the process of development has value in itself. That is, how development proceeds -- the pace, form, method -- is itself an aspect of the realization of tribal goals. Not only economic well-being, but political and cultural sovereignty as well, are dependent in part on the process-related choices that tribes make.

IV. THE CONSTRAINT SET

The collective pursuit of the goals of economic self-determination takes place within constraints. Successful strategic development choices take into account the set of opportunities and constraints that the extant environment sets forth. The components of that environment -- the conditions under which tribes act -- can be divided into two parts, external and internal. The external environment relevant to development strategy includes the economic opportunity structure and the system of political constraints on tribal action; the internal environment includes the tribe's resource base and its sociocultural characteristics.

IV.A External Factors: The Economic Opportunity Structure.

The economic opportunities that a tribe has depends on the markets it faces. Development possibilities will be enhanced to the extent that a reservation has access to off-reservation markets for goods and services. This is a function of geographic proximity and transportation costs. Geographic proximity to substantial labor markets, for example, can enhance the likelihood that a tribe can import human capital (managerial expertise). Low transportation costs obviously enhance the marketability of exports and lower the social cost of imports. The Pine Ridge Reservation is extremely isolated; the White

Mountain and Mescalero Apache Tribes and the Crow Reservation, on the other hand, are adjacent to relatively large population centers with appealing climates. The San Carlos reservation represents an intermediate case.

IV.B External Factors: The System of Political Constraints

The issue here is the de facto sovereignty of the tribe. This is essentially a matter of property rights: What is the specific nature and degree of tribal control over internal affairs and resources and over relationships with non-Indian actors? For over a century -- and much longer in many cases -- the Federal Government, largely through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), has been the effective holder of property rights on reservations. Indian tribes not only have been denied control of their own resources but have been largely excluded from effective participation in major decisions affecting their own futures, including those in the development area. Yet those who have held effective decision-making power, such as the BIA, have faced perverse incentives and/or have seldom had to bear the consequences of their decisions.

The policy of self-determination has presented a significant opportunity to redefine property rights on Indian reservation and reverse this pattern of external control. The formal definition of those rights remains contentious, and a host of court cases currently in process, recently determined, or soon to come is engaging that definition. In the meanwhile, however, the White Mountain Apaches in Arizona, the Mescalero Apaches in New Mexico, the Yakima Nation in Washington, the Crow Tribe of Montana, and a number of other tribes have been quick to claim considerable control over reservation affairs, including development processes and the management of their resources, thereby testing the limits of their own autonomy.

At the same time as they have asserted rights guaranteed by treaty and legislation, but denied in practice, tribes have found themselves in growing conflict with state and local governments over property rights and jurisdictional issues. The resolution of these conflicts will have direct impacts on the opportunity structure tribes face, and thereby on the strategic decisions they can and do make.

IV.C Internal Factors

The structure of opportunities and constraints tribes face as they approach development includes internal factors. Tribes bring to the development process assets and characteristics that likewise function as constraints or open up opportunities in tribal decision-making and action. These factors have to do with tribal natural and human resource endowments, social organization, and culture. They may be indigenously given, derivative of particular histories, or products of recent experience.

IV.C.1 Internal Factors: The Resource Base

The resource base refers to three things: natural resource endowments, human capital endowments, and the available stock of financial capital. As noted above, larger resource endowments can be expected to be associated with more successful economic performance -- other things equal. In searching for explanations for variation in American Indian tribes' economic situations, however, the resource base is hard to cite as a central explanatory variable. At a gross level, the 200+ tribes in the country vary widely in their resource endowments, yet they are almost unanimously poor. In the "stories" of Section I above, it is the case that the White Mountain and Mescalero Apaches are relatively well-endowed with at least natural resources, while San Carlos and, especially, Pine Ridge are relatively resource poor. The Crow represent the counterpoint, having abundant natural resources (i.e., coal) but a struggling economic system.

IV.C.2 Internal Factors: Social Organization

American Indian tribes engage the development process as collective actors. As such, their indigenous social organization becomes a factor shaping their development-related capacities. Where tribal governing institutions, for example, depart substantially from still extant patterns of social organization, those institutions may find themselves unable to mobilize community allegiance and commitment on behalf of development programs.

Critical features of social organization include the extent of centralization or decentralization (local community autonomy versus traditions of centralized tribal authority); the history of tribal consolidation (for example, is the tribe a composite of traditionally unrelated groups or a modern version of an aboriginal unit?); the degree of differentiation between political and other aspects of social organization (where political structures are substantially embedded in kinship relations, for example, institutional innovation may be more difficult [e.g., Champagne, 1985]); the presence of significant organizational cleavages, as between clans or other kinship segments, that may serve as the organizational foundation of political conflict; and, conversely, the presence of kinship or other internal linkages that produce high degrees of community solidarity and discourage free riding.

IV.C.3 Internal Factors: Culture

The long standing attitude toward culture in policy discussions of Indian economic development was captured in a 1969 Bureau of Indian Affairs statement to Congress [U.S. Congress, 1969, p. 333]: "Indian economic development can proceed only as the process of acculturation allows." In other words, you are poor because you are Indian. This reflects a limited conception of the causal paths to poverty, a limited conception of the paths to development, and an outright rejection of Indian development goals.

In the context of development, culture may best be conceived as a set of interpretations, understandings, and models of action that provide individual and collective actors with strategic guidance and resources. "People developing new strategies of action," writes Swidler (1986, p. 279), "depend on cultural models to learn styles of self, relationship, cooperation, authority, and so on." That culture in this sense is in some ways limiting should be clear; some patterns of behavior are less accessible from any given cultural starting point. But just as the obstacles to development are various, so are the facilitations. If we take culture as a set of resources that, in combination with other internal and external factors, describe a particular set of development opportunities and constraints, it should be possible to design development strategies that maximize the impacts of some cultural resources and minimize the impacts of others.

To do so requires an understanding of certain aspects of indigenous culture in each case, viewed here as descriptors of favored paradigms or models of action. Among the more important:

- What are the typical targets of obligation (e.g., self, kinspeople, the collectivity)?
- What is the relative primacy of collectively vs. individually interested behavior?
- How tolerant is the culture of hierarchy in intra-group organization and, particularly the workplace?
- What are the primary sources of individual status within the group (e.g., accumulation, generosity, personal success, educational attainment)?
- Are orientations to the outside world insular or interactive?

Of course the strategic choices individual tribes make -- and the institutions they build -- can ignore any or all of these factors, defying the structure of opportunities and constraints. This is not necessarily a mistake: the structure itself can be changed. But to the extent that tribes ignore that structure they reduce the likelihood that their institutional constructions will lead to the realization of their development goals.

V. SUMMARY

This study represents an attempt to begin to put a structure on the extremely broad topic of American Indian economic development. The breadth of the topic derives from the fact that emerging Indian rights to self-determination and control over their own reservations places American Indian tribes in the position of having to consider overall social and institutional design. The days when economic development meant the next building project from Washington, D.C. are ending. Increasingly, economic development policy is conducted by Indians, under their own multi-dimensional definitions of success, in the context of their own social, cultural and resource settings, and through their own processes of public choice.

We have argued that American Indian tribes have three primary goals in their development efforts: economic growth, political sovereignty, and cultural sovereignty. The specifics of what the latter two objectives mean are highly culturally dependent and as varied as the number of tribal cultures. A central determinant of the course of economic development on Indian reservations hinges on the political, legal, and social institutions by which Indian societies are organized. Specifically, American Indian tribes asserting rights to self-determination face primary strategic choices over: 1) their forms of economic organization (federal control, privatization, microenterprise, tribal ownership); 2) their formal institutions of governance; and 3) the process (i.e., pace, level, and type) of economic development.

The choices that tribes make over their development strategies are conditioned by a number of factors. These include external constraints in the form of the markets they must operate in and the legal environment emanating from federal Indian policy. The choices made by tribes are also conditioned by their resource endowments, their indigenous social organizational forms and styles, and their cultural values and perceptions. The latter, we have argued, affects both the ability of tribes to pursue the collective goods of institutional and enterprise development, as well as the forms of this development which best match each tribe's distinctive goals and opportunities.

Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy

*AmeriCorps: A Promise to Indian Country?
An Assessment of the Potential Impact
of the AmeriCorps Program*

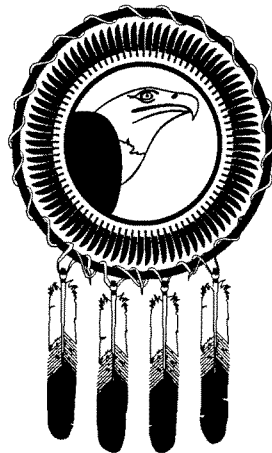
A Case Study of the Pine Ridge Reservation

by

Annette M. Pierson and Frederick Tombar III

PRS94-8

April 1994



Harvard Project on
American Indian Economic Development

John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of past and present sponsors of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, or Harvard University. Reports to tribes in this series are currently supported by the Christian A. Johnson Endeavor Foundation. The Harvard Project is directed by Professors Stephen Cornell (Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy, University of Arizona), Joseph P. Kalt (John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University) and Dr. Manley Begay (John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. For further information and reproduction permission, contact Dr. Begay at (617) 495-1338.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	iii
II. INTRODUCTION [AmeriCorps: A Promise for Indian Country?]	1
2.1 <i>Description Of Client And Problem.....</i>	<i>3</i>
2.2 <i>Description Of The Program.....</i>	<i>4</i>
2.3 <i>Explanation Of The Problem To Be Analyzed.....</i>	<i>5</i>
2.4 <i>Structure Of The Analysis.....</i>	<i>7</i>
III. DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH METHODS	8
3.1 <i>Reading.....</i>	<i>8</i>
3.2 <i>Investigating.....</i>	<i>8</i>
3.3 <i>Observing.....</i>	<i>9</i>
3.4 <i>Limitations.....</i>	<i>10</i>
IV. ANALYSIS.....	12
4.1 <i>The Feasibility Of An AmeriCorps Program At Pine Ridge</i>	<i>12</i>
4.2 <i>Impact Of An AmeriCorps Program At Pine Ridge</i>	<i>22</i>
4.2a <i>Primary Impacts of an AmeriCorps Program at Pine Ridge.....</i>	<i>23</i>
1. <i>Vehicle for Addressing Community Needs.....</i>	<i>23</i>
2. <i>Educational Opportunity.....</i>	<i>23</i>
3. <i>Skills Training.....</i>	<i>23</i>
4. <i>Employment.....</i>	<i>23</i>
5. <i>Structured Program for High School Graduates and High School Dropouts</i>	<i>24</i>
6. <i>Child Care.....</i>	<i>24</i>
7. <i>Health Insurance Benefits.....</i>	<i>25</i>
4.2b <i>Secondary Impacts of an AmeriCorps Program at Pine Ridge</i>	<i>25</i>
1. <i>Voter participation / Civic Responsibility</i>	<i>25</i>
2. <i>Decline in Alcoholism and Substance Abuse</i>	<i>25</i>
4.2c <i>Limitations on Impact of AmeriCorps at Pine Ridge.....</i>	<i>26</i>
V. RECOMMENDATIONS	30
5.1 <i>The Tribal Council should circumvent the State of South Dakota and apply directly to the Corporation for National and Community Service AmeriCorps grants.....</i>	<i>31</i>
5.2 <i>The Tribal Council should apply for an AmeriCorps planning grant.....</i>	<i>31</i>
5.3 <i>The Pine Ridge Tribal Council should apply for a waiver of the required 25% funding match.....</i>	<i>32</i>
5.4 <i>The Oglala Lakota College (OLC) should administer Pine Ridge's AmeriCorps Program.....</i>	<i>32</i>
5.5 <i>The Tribal Government should develop projects that prepare participants for business development, management, or other careers that promote economic development and tribal capacity.....</i>	<i>35</i>
5.6 <i>The Tribal Council should stipulate that an advisory committee be formed for the purpose of public input and deliberation.....</i>	<i>36</i>
5.7 <i>The Tribal Council should conduct an internal audit of the organization it ultimately selects to administer the AmeriCorps Program.....</i>	<i>36</i>

5.8	<i>The Tribal Council should conduct a comprehensive needs assessment.</i>	37
5.9	<i>The Tribal Council along with the administering agency should focus its program narrowly, engaging efforts and participants in one or two specific projects.</i>	37
VI.	POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAM IN INDIAN COUNTRY	38
6.1	<i>Any tribal governments interested in the AmeriCorps Program should join together to lobby the Corporation for National and Community Service to reconsider provisions of the legislation which are problematic with regard to their application in Indian Country.</i>	43
VII.	CONCLUSION	45
VIII.	APPENDICES	47
7.1	<i>Survey Of Tribal Needs & Potential Projects</i>	48
7.2	<i>Comparison Of Tribal Colleges</i>	49
7.3	<i>List Of Interviews And Contacts</i>	50
IX.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	52

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On September 21st of last year, President Clinton signed into law the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 (public law # 103 - 82). The primary component of the Act is the AmeriCorps Program. This legislation established the Corporation for National and Community Service who's mission is to engage citizens in community-based service to address the nation's educational, public safety, human, and environmental needs. The Corporation provides educational opportunity for those individual participants who make a substantial commitment to service. However, defects in the current legislation limit its potential effectiveness in Indian Country. Specifically, the following program requirements are problematic for most Indian nations:

- 1) the age limitation for participants,**
- 2) the provision of child care requirement,**
- 3) the provision of living allowances and educational awards for participants, and**
- 4) the limitations on administrative and equipment costs.**

Based on a case study of the Oglala Sioux Indian Reservation in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, the analysis determined the feasibility of the AmeriCorps Program and its potential impact at Pine Ridge and throughout Indian Country. Pine Ridge Reservation, the second largest and the poorest Indian reservation in the United States, is located in rural isolation in southwest South Dakota. Pine Ridge has a population of approximately 19,000 and covers 5,400 square miles. The social and economic problems are profound and many: high drop-out rate, low life expectancy, high unemployment, wide-spread substance abuse, few local employment opportunities, disabling health problems, and limited training opportunities.

Based on the assessment of Tribal capacity to administer the AmeriCorps Program and on the necessary steps to maximize its impact on the reservation, the recommendations to the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council are the following:

1. **The Tribal Council should apply directly to the Corporation for National and Community Service for an AmeriCorps grant.**
2. **The Tribal Council should apply for an AmeriCorps planning grant.**
3. **The Pine Ridge Tribal Council should apply for a waiver of the required 25% funding match.**
4. **The Oglala Lakota College (OLC) should administer Pine Ridge's AmeriCorps Program.**
5. **The Tribal Government should develop projects that prepare participants for business development, management, or other careers that promote economic development and tribal capacity.**
6. **The Tribal Council should stipulate that an advisory committee be formed for the purpose of public input and deliberation.**
7. **The Tribal Council should conduct an internal audit of the organization it ultimately selects to administer the AmeriCorps Program.**
8. **The Tribal Council should conduct a comprehensive needs assessment.**
9. **The Tribal Council, along with the administering agency, should focus its program narrowly, engaging efforts and participants in one or two specific projects.**
10. **Any tribal governments interested in the AmeriCorps Program should join together to lobby the Corporation for National and Community Service to reconsider provisions of the legislation which are problematic with regard to their application in Indian Country.**

The first phase of the analysis involved a feasibility study. We determined that an AmeriCorps Program was indeed possible for Pine Ridge. We based this determination on three things: a strong desire of the Tribal Council to sponsor a program, an appropriate match between the needs of the reservation and the goals of the AmeriCorps Program, and the existence of an organization with sufficient capacity to effectively administer the program.

The latter component of the feasibility study involved the design and application of a model of organizational assessment. The model incorporates 13 measures of institutional capacity within the categories of mission, internal system capacity, and authorizing environment. This model is also presented as a guide to tribal councils to aid in their selection of an administering organization for the AmeriCorps Program.

The next phase entailed an assessment of the potential impact of an AmeriCorps Program in Pine Ridge. We found the potential primary impacts to be:

- increased employment,
- enhanced opportunity for higher education and skills training,
- creation of a structured program for high school dropouts,
- provision of child care services and health insurance benefits for program participants,
- augmented tribal capacity, and
- a means to address community needs.

Additionally, we identified two secondary impacts:

- an increase in voter participation and
- a decline in alcoholism and substance abuse.

The extent of these impacts may be limited by the availability of alternative activities, the perception of the AmeriCorps Program by reservation residents, the availability of employment opportunities for post-program participants, and the relative size of the reservation's program. The structure of opportunities on the reservation is a key issue as it influences whether participants will remain on-reservation or migrate in search of better opportunities. As a strategy to address this concern, the proposed program should target development of particular skills for which there is a local market and the tribal council should take steps to address the social and personal needs of reservation residents. This will help to encourage well trained and educated residents to remain on-reservation and thus add to the stock of human resources. This increases the potential for building tribal capacity.

We illustrate how lessons from Pine Ridge can be applied to the rest of Indian Country by using information gathered through a comparison of Pine Ridge with other Indian reservations. We found that the conditions on Pine Ridge are characteristic of those on many reservations such that the provisions of the AmeriCorps Program which are problematic for Pine Ridge are likely to be problematic throughout Indian Country. Accordingly, we make a dozen suggestions for other tribal governments that may consider applying for an AmeriCorps Program grant.

We conclude that with careful planning, implementation of an AmeriCorps Program is feasible for Pine Ridge and is likely to have some desirable and meaningful impacts for Native populations living on reservations. Furthermore, these impacts can be maximized if some of the provisions are amended to take the social, economic, and political characteristics of Indian Reservations into account.

INTRODUCTION

This policy analysis is a response to a request for consultation from the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. Specifically, the Tribal Council wished to assess the potential impact of the Clinton administration's newly enacted National Service Program on the tribe's educational and economic development. The program, also known as the AmeriCorps Program, is designed to enhance educational opportunities for participants through community service. Congress earmarked approximately \$1.5 million of AmeriCorps funding for addressing the needs of Native Americans during the present funding period.

American Indians living on the nation's nearly 300 reservations are among the poorest people in the United States. Many Indian reservations continue to experience extremely high unemployment and poverty rates, high dependency on welfare and government jobs, and daunting social problems. The Oglala Sioux Indian Tribe is one of those tribes living with a multitude of social and economic problems. Among the most severe conditions are unemployment and the lack of educational resources.

Despite these discouraging conditions, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council is confident that development, consistent with tribal goals, is possible. Efforts which are compatible with tribal goals and customs are an important feature of successful development practices on Indian Reservations and have been associated with favorable progress in recent years.¹

Because of the political uniqueness of American Indian tribes as sovereign dominions coupled with the distinct cultural characteristics of many tribes (including social and economic institutions), it is often the case that legislation must be specifically tailored to meet the needs, goals, and capacities of Indian governments. Consequently, the potential impact of the AmeriCorps Program merits special review for American Indian reservations.

However, before we could address the foregoing concern, we had to first determine whether this Program was even feasible (i.e. possible) in the context of Indian Country.

¹ Cornell and Kalt, 1992.

Accordingly, we conducted a feasibility study of the AmeriCorps program using the Pine Ridge Reservation as a case study.

The approach to the feasibility study incorporated the key ingredients of development² as identified by The American Indian Studies Center at The University of California, Los Angeles. The Center classifies development as comprised of the categories of external opportunity, internal assets, and development strategy.³ This framework is used by many scholars and practitioners to analyze a variety of programs and policies in Indian Country.⁴ *External Opportunity* refers to the political, economic, and geographic settings in which reservations find themselves and by which they are linked to the surrounding society. These settings can limit or enhance a tribes' opportunities to accomplish their development goals, and are part of the reality they must deal with. *Internal Assets* refer to characteristics of tribes themselves and the resources they control that can be committed to development. This would include natural resources, human capital, institutions of governance, tribal organizations, and cultural traditions.⁵ *Development Strategy* refers to the decisions tribes make regarding their plans and approaches to economic development.⁶ For our purposes, the most important ingredient for analysis was that of internal assets. A look at the human capital and tribal organizations available on Pine Ridge was particularly relevant for the feasibility study.

For the past seven years, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development has been studying economic development on Indian reservations. The executive director and other lead staff of the Project are affiliated with the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. The Oglala Sioux Tribal Council in conjunction with the Project defined the

² "Development" as it used here includes, but is not limited to, reduction in unemployment, improved health status, higher educational attainment, improved infrastructure, and recapturing cultural values.

³ Cornell and Kalt, 1992.

⁴ e.g. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development employs this model of analysis.

⁵ Cultural traditions include, but are not limited to, values, mores, myths, and rituals.

⁶ Although economic development is not an explicit goal of the AmeriCorps program, we determined that economic development is likely to be a derived benefit of participation in this program.

issue to be examined by this policy analysis. This analysis is funded and otherwise supported by the Project.

DESCRIPTION OF CLIENT AND PROBLEM

Pine Ridge Reservation

The Pine Ridge Reservation is the second largest Indian Reservation in the United States and was first established in 1878. The reservation covers 5,400 square miles and is located in the Southwest region of South Dakota. The reservation has a population of approximately 19,000. Pine Ridge encompasses the poorest county in the nation.⁷ The unemployment rate is 61% according to 1990 U.S. census data but is reported to be 81% by tribal government figures.⁸ Per capita income is \$3,520.⁹ Individual household incomes average around \$3,000 annually for the entire tribe.¹⁰ Sharp political tension and high social stress mark the reservation. There are a plethora of social problems on the reservation including health problems such as substance abuse and addiction, fetal alcohol syndrome and infant mortality. Educational problems are equally prevalent. School underachievement and dropout are equally prevalent.

Our primary contact, Mr. Mike Her Many Horses, is the executive director of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. The tribal council is a group of 16 elected members representing nine electoral districts. The tribal president and vice president are elected at large, for two-year terms. The governing council takes a strong approach to sovereignty and tribal identity. The current tribal government stresses decentralized, consensus-based decision making. The council contends that Pine Ridge is a sovereign nation.

⁷ Shannon County, the poorest county in the United States, is located entirely within the Pine Ridge Reservation and has the lowest per capita income in America.

⁸ We have not ascertained the reason for this discrepancy.

⁹ 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing

¹⁰ Gagnon and White Eyes

Problem: Assess the Feasibility and Impact of the AmeriCorps Program in Indian Country

Pine Ridge, like many reservations, has limited human and other capital resources and must therefore dedicate them judiciously. As consultants to the tribe, we sought to determine whether the AmeriCorps Program is feasible for Pine Ridge, what the likely impact would be and therefore, whether it is a wise endeavor for the reservation to pursue. We also assessed the findings in terms of their applicability to other Indian reservations throughout the United States.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

On September 21, 1993 President Clinton signed into law The National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 (the Act), which created the Corporation for National and Community Service (the Corporation). The primary duty of the Corporation is the administration of the federal AmeriCorps program. Congress allocated \$150 million for this program which will engage youth age 18 -24 in community service projects (one year full-time or two years part-time) during which they may receive a living allowance and, upon successful completion of a term of service may receive an educational award of approximately \$5000. These awards may be used for student loan repayment or direct tuition payments to a college, university, trade school, or other educational institution. The AmeriCorps Program will "engage the energy and idealism of the individual participants, especially young people, in meeting the most critical educational, public safety, human, and environmental needs of America's communities. AmeriCorps will enable thousands of individuals to serve in a variety of programs on a full-time or part-time basis before, during, and after post-secondary education.

The Corporation awards grants to states, Indian reservations, federal agencies, or directly to institutions which will administer an AmeriCorps program. Indian tribes have

the option of applying to the states in which they are located for an AmeriCorps grant or applying directly to the Corporation.

Organizations which administer a service program are required to provide 25% of the budgeted operating cost of its AmeriCorps program. Also, the Corporation places limits on the use of program funds. No more than 5% of the total program budget may spent on administrative cost, and no more than 10% on equipment.

During this year's funding cycle, the Corporation will only fund programs designed to address community needs in the Corporation priority areas of education, public safety, human needs, and environment. Any program which does not address at least one of these priority areas is not likely to receive a grant from the Corporation.

Programs which include certain desired aspects receive funding priority. Programs which demonstrate an ability to document community impact, recruit a diverse participant group, and build skills and a service ethic within its participants are given special consideration. Also, the Corporation requires that programs build in a method of community involvement in the goal setting and operations of AmeriCorps programs.

EXPLANATION OF THE PROBLEM TO BE ANALYZED

The opportunities and challenges to be considered in determining whether the AmeriCorps Program is *feasible* in Indian Country and the likely *impact* the policy will have, are as follows:

- 1) **the cultural and political appropriateness of the program;**
- 2) **physical, demographic, and economic resources and constraints;**
and,
- 3) **the new and distinctive characteristics and regulatory limitations of the program itself.**

Because of the cultural and political uniqueness of American Indian Tribes as sovereign nations, the implementation of an AmeriCorps Program presents particular challenges for implementation in Indian Country. For example, the program administrators and participants will engage the tribal government in relationships with other authorities --

many, non-Indian. The dynamics of these relationships may pose some complications. In developing program regulations, federal officials neglected issues of political and cultural characteristics of tribes. This may lead to a mismatch in purposes restricting tribal participation in AmeriCorps. It is often the case that development, welfare, and other legislation must be specifically tailored to meet the needs, goals, and capacities of Indian governments.

There are several other important aspects which are challenging for the analysis:

- The physical features of the reservation may or may not inspire participation in the AmeriCorps program. For example, is there adequate infrastructure (e.g., roads) for participants and administrators to have access to work sites?
- Is the pool of potential corps participants --actual or potential students from 18 to 24 years of age-- large enough? It is probable that most participants in the program will be reservation residents. However, participation is not limited to this group.
- Economic considerations are particularly important. Can the tribal government meet the current financial requirements for participation? Does there exist sufficient opportunity for the development of eligible projects for participants? And are there sufficient realistic educational opportunities available for participants?

In short, the question to be addressed is twofold: 1) is it necessary to amend the current AmeriCorps Program legislation such that it is a feasible option for Indian Country and 2) are amendments necessary to maximize the impact of the program for tribal governments, and if so, in what ways?

In addressing the question of *feasibility* three factors were considered:

- 1) **whether the program was desirable to the tribal government;**
- 2) **whether the goals of the program were consistent with the needs of the tribe; and,**

- 3) **whether there existed an appropriate agency on the reservation with the capacity to administer the program.**

In assessing the *impact* the program might have on the reservation (and throughout Indian Country), we found that five specifications regarding participation warrant special attention as they are potentially problematic:

- 1) **age limitations;**
- 2) **provision of child care, living allowance and educational award;**
- 3) **matching funds; and,**
- 4) **limitations on administrative and equipment costs.**

(Each of these are addressed more fully in section 5.2) Additionally, we identified those factors which may limit any impact the program may have on the reservation:

- 1) **how well the tribal council and the administering organization fare along the feasibility measures;**
- 2) **the availability of alternative activities or opportunities for participants;**
- 3) **the perception of the AmeriCorps program on the reservation;**
- 4) **the structure of opportunities for post-program participants;**
- 5) **the type of individuals likely to be attracted to AmeriCorps participation; and**
- 6) **the limited size of an AmeriCorps program.**

STRUCTURE OF THE ANALYSIS

Following the introduction, we provide a description of the research methods we employed including an acknowledgment of their limitations. Next, in Chapter 3 we explain our framework for analysis of the feasibility of an AmeriCorps Program on the Pine Ridge Reservation and our analysis of the impact of such a program for Pine Ridge. Based on this analysis, Chapter 4 outlines the recommendations we suggest for the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. Then, in Chapter 5 we turn our attention to the implications of the AmeriCorps Program legislation throughout Indian Country. This section on policy implications describes specific provisions of the legislation which merit special review. In the final section, Chapter 6, we state our conclusions.

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH METHODS

The data collection process took on three phases: reading (review of literature and search for models), interviewing and surveying, and observing (site visitation).

READING

Review of literature -- The literature review included a study of the AmeriCorps program, tribal governance, and the history and culture of the Oglala Sioux tribe. We paid particular attention to the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993: Public Law 103-82. We identified and evaluated the essential features and implications of the AmeriCorps program.

Search for models -- Our search for models did not reveal any comparable federal programs in Indian Country which can serve as a reference for the AmeriCorps Program. There was, however a pilot program tested this summer in Indian Country. The Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians (Red Lake, MN) administered a Summer of Service program. Review of the Red Lake proposal revealed that the program was more akin to Public Lands Corps activities but it qualified and operated as an AmeriCorps Program.

INVESTIGATING

The analysis then identified both the internal assets and external opportunities available to the Reservation which either hinder or enhance the feasibility of adopting the AmeriCorps Program. This included an evaluation of tribal characteristics, human capital, financial capital, facilities, institutions of governance, and cultural traditions. We assessed the relationship between the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council and other Reservation agencies, and conducted an intensive review of each of the six agencies under consideration.

Surveys -- There is currently no comprehensive needs assessment conducted by the reservation across sectors (i.e. health, education, agriculture, etc.). Additionally, assessments, formal or informal were not always done within sectors. Occasionally, members of the staff had different ideas about perceived needs. Therefore, we customized a survey instrument to help capture the information needed for our analysis of

appropriateness. (See Appendix 1). Each of the six agencies¹¹ surveyed was asked to identify needs (as many as they chose and not necessarily specific to their sector), to provide a description of a job or project that could address those needs, to name the resources necessary to carry out the project including which of the resources can be provided by the agency, and finally, to provide a description of the skills and qualifications needed of individuals participating in the project.

In order to help determine whether a case could be made for generalizing our findings to other reservations throughout Indian Country, we surveyed each of the 24 tribal colleges. We determined that among reservations that those were most likely to apply for participation in the AmeriCorps Program, were those with tribal colleges.

Interviews -- Information gathered through interviews heavily supplemented the other data. Reservation interviews were conducted with individuals with the Tribal Council, staff of the Pine Ridge office of the BIA, the Department of Health, the Department of Education, the Natural Resource Regulatory Agency, and the Oglala Lakota College. We interviewed individuals both in high positions within each potential lead agency as well as others who are on the front-lines and more directly involved with service delivery. This was important in order to gather information on both the micro and macro levels. We also interviewed key staff at the Corporation for National and Community Service (see appendix 2). All eligibility, funding, administrative and other programmatic questions regarding the AmeriCorps Program were addressed to the Corporation.

OBSERVING

Reservation Visitation -- We visited the Reservation early in the information gathering process. In addition to conducting interviews, the purpose of the site visit was to get a sense of what the general response to the possibility of a forthcoming AmeriCorps Program was from tribal members and others. Visiting the various potential agencies provided a

¹¹ The Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, the Pine Ridge Office of the BIA, the Pine Ridge Dept. of Education, the Pine Ridge Dept. of Health, the Pine Ridge Natural Resource Regulatory Agency, and the Oglala Lakota College

means of evaluating the capacity and accessibility of the facilities. We also observed the physical landscape of the reservation to get a sense of the travel logistics that would be involved for program participants, especially those commuting from off the reservation.

LIMITATIONS

Various forms of data gathering were used but most of our research was qualitative in nature. There are a number of problems inherent in gathering and interpreting qualitative data. We have identified four factors that may have significant impact on the data gathered: interviewer bias, cultural restraints, lack of comparable models, and inadequate or inconsistent record-keeping. We acknowledge these limitations and urge the reader to bear them in mind when reviewing the findings.

Still, we believe the data we collected, albeit imperfect, is more than adequate to make a fair assessment. We gathered information from a broad variety of sources and applied analytic methods which we feel confident produced meaningful, reliable analysis.

Interviewer Bias -- This is a concern that all researchers encounter from cultural anthropology to physics. As it is not possible to completely lay aside personal knowledge, experiences and prejudices, much of the analysis gets filtered through the lens of one's personal experiences. We have attempted to make this analysis within the cultural context of the Pine Ridge Reservation. However, we acknowledge that our limited exposure to the issues of sovereignty, the decision-making process, and operational norms of the reservation may not lend itself to the most appropriate selection of frames of reference from which to judge effectiveness.

Cultural Restraints -- Although we were invited by the Tribal Council to conduct the analysis, we recognize that we were still "outsiders" to the Lakota people and we were likely perceived with some suspicion. The individuals whom we interviewed on the reservation may have been protective of information, guarding details that we might have found useful. Also, as "outsiders," unfamiliar with local and cultural norms, we may not have always accurately digested the information we received.

Lack of Comparable Models -- A factor that caused some difficulty with the feasibility study was the absence of other comparable programs at work on American Indian reservations. The AmeriCorps Program is new and distinctive.

Inadequate/Inconsistent Record-Keeping -- We encountered several instances of conflicting data or inadequate data collection. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Census Bureau each collect some of the same kinds of data for Indian populations. In some cases, the data are significantly different from one source to the next. Another restraint we experienced was inadequate (for our purposes) record-keeping practices of many of the agencies or colleges we interviewed. Some of the responses we received were based on "educated guesses."

ANALYSIS

In order to answer the question, “what impact the AmeriCorps program will have in Indian Country?” It is necessary to analyze the program’s viability from the perspective of Native Americans living on Reservations. Therefore, this analysis is conducted on two levels, *feasibility* and *impact* of National Service in Indian Country.

THE FEASIBILITY OF AN AMERICORPS PROGRAM AT PINE RIDGE

Our analysis suggests that the implementation of an AmeriCorps program is indeed feasible on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Three key points support this contention:

- 1) the Pine Ridge Tribal Council strongly desires sponsorship of an AmeriCorps program for the Reservation;**
- 2) the issues and priorities of the Corporation for National and Community Service are consistent with the needs stated by the Tribal Council; and,**
- 3) there is at least one organization with the overall capacity to effectively administer the service program.**

Each of these points is discussed below.

1. Desire to Sponsor

To be viable, the AmeriCorps Program must have the strong support of tribal government. As the governing body, the Tribal Council must apply to the Corporation for funding of the reservation’s service program. Upon receipt of the grant, the tribal government selects and subcontracts with an administrative agency to manage program operations. The Tribal Council is the only eligible grantee on the reservation.

The Pine Ridge Tribal Council signaled its strong desire to sponsor an AmeriCorps Program in requesting this study. Approaching the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development revealed initiative and concern for this National Service undertaking. Moreover, interviews with members of the Tribal Council further reveal broad support for this idea.

2. Consistency between Pine Ridge's Needs and the Corporation's Priorities

The Corporation for National and Community Service has established a set of issues and priorities which will guide grant-making decisions (see Table 1). All AmeriCorps programs which are funded by the Corporation must address at least one of these priorities.

Table 1

NATIONAL ISSUES AND PRIORITIES

<u>NATIONAL ISSUES AND ASSOCIATED CORPORATION PRIORITIES</u>
Education
School Readiness: furthering early childhood development
School Success: improving the educational achievement of school-age children
Public Safety
Crime Prevention: reducing the incidence of violence
Crime Control: improving criminal justice services, law enforcement, and victim services
Human Needs
Health: providing independent living assistance and home- and community-based health care
Home: rebuilding neighborhoods and helping people who are homeless
Environment
Neighborhood Environment: reducing community environmental hazards
Natural Environment: conserving, restoring, and sustaining natural habitats

Source: Principles for High Quality National Service Programs
- The Corporation for National and Community Service

The Pine Ridge Tribal Council has identified the needs of the Reservation in three of the priority areas: education, human needs, and environment. According to the Pine Ridge Director of Education, Randy Plume, there is a need for structured tutoring and enrichment programs in the public schools.¹² Tribal Council member Melvin Lee and Director of the Natural Resource Regulatory Agency, John Mousseau, both describes needs that are consistent with the Corporation's environmental priorities. These and other

¹² Interview with Randy Plume, Pine Ridge Director of Education. 12/5/93

similar tribal needs coincide with the issues and priorities established by the Corporation, and consequently speak to the feasibility of an AmeriCorps program.

3. Capacity to Administer

The third point in the feasibility analysis was to determine whether there was an organization at Pine Ridge capable of administering a successful program. In this assessment we considered the various needs of an AmeriCorps program in terms of planning, development, and sustainability. Specifically, we sought to determine if there is an organization on the reservation which has the capacity to fulfill those needs --in terms of mission, internal system capacity, and authorizing environment-- to manage, coordinate, and oversee a successful service program.

We evaluated each of the six agencies selected by the Tribal Council --the Tribal Council itself, the BIA, the Dept. of Education, the Dept. of Health, the Natural Resource Regulatory Agency, and the Oglala Lakota College-- across several measures and made our recommendations accordingly. (See Table 3.) These measures were selected because they are sound indicators of the successful operation of an AmeriCorps program. They were derived from the components of external opportunities and internal assets and reflect those characteristics identified by the Corporation as important for any organization administering an AmeriCorps Program.¹³ The Tribal Council may identify other agencies that are deemed suitable to take on this new challenge. If so, those agencies should be subjected to a similar assessment.

The measures of evaluation fall within three overall categories: **Mission** (the purpose and goals of the organization), **Internal System Capacity** (the ability of the organization to carry out its mission), and **Authorizing Environment** (agencies having jurisdiction over the organization). (See Table 2.) To successfully engage in a new task or venture, organizations must be mindful of these categories.

¹³ Principles for High Quality National Service Programs - The Corporation for National and Community Service

NOTE: "Organization" as it is used here is meant to include any of the groups, agencies, or institutions under consideration by the tribal council for administration of the AmeriCorps program. "The program" refers to any AmeriCorps program developed by the administering agency.

Table 2

<u>FRAMEWORK for EVALUATION</u>
Mission
Desire
Appropriateness
Internal System Capacity
Institutional Capacity
-Adaptability
-Cohesiveness
-Experience
-Financial Management
Human Capacity
-Skill Level
-Staff Experience
-Desire
-Leadership
Facilities
Authorizing Environment
Financial Capacity
Support of Authorizing Environment

Each of the dimensions is not equally vital to the success of administering an AmeriCorps program. Therefore, each measure of analysis was assigned to a category (tier) according to its relative importance. We assessed the desire of individual staff members as well as the desire of the institution to support and administer the program as the most important category. Next, we weighted equally the dimensions of appropriateness, adaptability, staff experience, skill level, and leadership as second priority category. The remaining dimensions -- cohesiveness, financial management, financial capacity, and support of authorizing environment -- represent the same degree of importance for the evaluation.

MISSION - Mission refers to the purpose, goals, or agenda of an organization. The mission guides the activities in which the organization engages and the direction the organization will take.

A. Appropriateness - Appropriateness is one measure of the compatibility of the goals of the grant recipient with that of AmeriCorps. Typically, the mission statement of an organization contains its goals and objectives. The measure of appropriateness assesses the logical "fit" of the AmeriCorps program with the administering body.

If an appropriate "fit" between program and organizational goals does not exist, significant internal and external consequences may result. Externally, an identification problem may arise through the misunderstanding of the client served and the general public regarding the purpose of the program and the organization. Internally, the program will likely suffer from a lack of appropriate institutional resources or disinterest and confusion among staff responsible for the program.

B. Desire - This is a measure of an organization's willingness to administer the program. Like appropriateness, desire is greatly influenced by the organization's mission. The degree of an organization's desire to undertake administration of an AmeriCorps program is also influenced by the political and social posture of the organization. An earnest desire to administer the AmeriCorps program provides the energy needed to carry the project through challenging situations. If the organization is unwilling to administer either program, then the success, even survival of the program is greatly compromised.

INTERNAL SYSTEM CAPACITY - This refers to the ability of the organization to carry out its mission and program. It includes all those components involved in development and implementation of activities. This is the procedural or operational capacity under the control or influence of the organization. There are three components of internal system capacity: institutional capacity, human capacity, and facilities.

A. Institutional Capacity - This refers to the competence of the organization and the ability to carry out its mission. This category examines whether and to what extent the

organization can deliver its services. We have identified four relevant measures of institutional capacity: adaptability, experience, cohesiveness, and financial management.

1) Adaptability - Adaptability allows organizations to respond to changes in their environment. It describes both the willingness and ability of the organization to adjust. As the organization grows it must be able to mobilize resources to make adjustments and take on new roles and tasks as needed. The AmeriCorps program would place new challenges and requirements on its administering organization. The ideal lead organization would be able to demonstrate its adaptive abilities through a history of growth or change in some capacity.

A lack of adaptability can destroy the seed beds of new ideas. Without flexibility, opportunities for innovation and improvement become squelched. Furthermore, a lack of adaptability may jeopardize the organization's existing programs.

2) Experience - Experience is a relatively straight forward measure. An assessment of experience looks at the organization's prior involvement with programs that require similar skills and knowledge necessary to administer an AmeriCorps program. Experience provides the organization with a level of institutional memory and a ready reference of resources useful in the administration of the program. This provides maturity in dealing with and even anticipating variances. Measuring organizational experience is useful because it provides the Tribal Council at least one indication of the likely success or failure of the AmeriCorps program.

3) Cohesiveness - Cohesiveness describes the coordination of thought and action among the individuals of an organization. It is also a measure of how well the personnel of an organization work with each other. A high degree of cohesiveness is essential to making decisions, reinforcing the mission, and implementing strategies. Occasionally, organizations experience periods of internal conflict and discord;

however, persistent or excessive internal conflict can stifle decision-making, impede progress and result in a loss of direction.

4) Financial Management - Administering the AmeriCorps Program will likely involve management of a large operating budget. Compliance with limitations on expenditures requires close attention to budgetary oversight. As with all federal programs, meticulous financial record-keeping is expected of the agency awarded federal funds. The financial officer of the organization can anticipate handling equipment and supply purchases, staff payroll, participant stipends, program expenses and other expenditures.

B. Human Capacity - This refers to the competencies of the individuals within the organization to carry out their functions and further the organizational mission. Ideally, individuals must support the goals of the program, have the required leadership skills, have sufficient time to carry out functions, and possess the necessary knowledge for developing and implementing the AmeriCorps program. We looked at four measures of human capacity: staff size, skill level, desire, and leadership.

1) Staff size - Staff size is the *number* of appropriately skilled people available within the organization to be actively involved in the administration of an AmeriCorps program. It is important to have adequate staffing to manage present responsibilities and to absorb the additional activities involved with these program. Insufficient staffing will jeopardize the success of the AmeriCorps program and may compromise current operations of the organization.

It should be noted that the organization chosen to administer the program will be provided resources to hire more staff.

2) Skill level - Skill level refers to the knowledge and training of individual staff members within the organization with regard to running a program like AmeriCorps. This dimension relates to the preparedness of the staff to execute program activities.

Ideally, the staff involved with these activities will have excellent motivational and interpersonal skills, be resourceful, and well organized.

An inadequately skilled staff would be unable to provide participants the training and development which is central to the successful implementation of an AmeriCorps program. The Corporation provides resources for recruitment, training and development of an effective staff.

3) Desire - A strong desire of the administrator (or other individuals directly involved in the operation of the program) to bring his or her personal endowments and those of the organization to bear on the program is critical. In the best situation, all individuals involved genuinely care about and invest themselves in the purpose and success of the AmeriCorps program.

A lack of desire may cause individuals to give the program and its needs low priority in the daily operations of the organization. In so doing, important elements of the project may be neglected.

4) Leadership - Effective leadership is essential to the direction, and ultimately the survival, of an AmeriCorps program and to the organization. Leadership provides vision and guidance for the organization and its staff. Ideally, an inclusive leadership style which involves others in the decision-making process provides the best environment for a successful program. A deficiency in leadership ability will hinder the program's capacity to grow and develop.

C. Facilities - The facilities necessary for administration of the AmeriCorps program greatly depend upon the type of service to be provided. The lead organization should have adequate space to store program supplies and to house whatever service activity the program participants must do indoors. The technological environment of the organization must be sufficient to insure that daily operations run smoothly. Adequate land, buildings, machinery, and supplies are essential. When facilities are insufficient, the ability to carry out routine communication and other functions becomes impeded.

Additionally, the facility should be conveniently accessible convenient to program participants. This encompasses infrastructure, transportation, and travel time. An inaccessible facility discourages participation.

AUTHORIZING ENVIRONMENT - This refers to those bodies or agents which must approve of organizational activities, authorize funding and expenditures, or otherwise has jurisdiction over the organization.

A. Financial Capability - This refers to the ability of the organization to secure funds needed to administer the AmeriCorps program. The Corporation requires that the organization administering the program provide 25% of the total program cost, in cash or in-kind. However, there is a waiver option for those applicants who can demonstrate an inability to meet this requirement. If granted, the waiver would insure that the Corporation will be able to meet all costs associated with the AmeriCorps program. If the waiver is not granted, the organization must either provide the required match or forgo participation.

B. Availability of Support - Support is a measurement of the degree of assistance that the authorizing agents give to the organization. This might include technical, managerial, or financial support. A high degree of support from the authorizing agent may be sufficient to overcome short-comings in some of the other areas. The Tribal Council, the Corporation for National and Community Service, and the Dept. of the Interior would each have influence over the agency administering the AmeriCorps program on Pine Ridge.

To determine the capacity to administer an AmeriCorps program on the Pine Ridge Reservation, we assessed the six possible lead organizations along 13 dimensions within the categories of *mission*, *internal system capacity*, and *authorizing environment*. (See Table 3). In this assessment we considered the various needs of an AmeriCorps program in terms of initiation, development, and sustainability. We then measured the various organization's observed capacity to fulfill those needs. The relative importance of these categories were factored into the evaluation. In so doing, we were able to prioritize the categories and judge the capacity of the organizations accordingly.

Table 3

EVALUATION OF POTENTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

CAPACITY TO ADMINISTER		TRIBAL AGENCIES					
		Tribal Council	BIA	Dept. of Health	Dept. of Education	Natural Resource Regulatory Agency	Oglala Lakota College
MISSION	Desire	M	O	O	M	O	H
	Appropriateness	H	L	L	L	L	M
INTERNAL SYSTEM CAPACITY	Institutional Capacity						
	Adaptability	H	L	?	M	?	H
	Experience	H	H	M	L	L	M
	Cohesiveness	H	M	M	H	H	H
	Financial Management	?	?	?	?	?	?
	Facilities	L	M	O	M	L	H
	Human Capacity						
	Staff Size	?	?	O	M	L	H
	Skill Level	M	H	M	?	M	H
	Desire	M	O	O	M	O	H
	Leadership	H	H	M	H	M	H
	AUTHORIZING ENVIRONMENT	Financial Capability	O	M	O	O	O
Availability of Support		H	H	L	H	L	L

O = No Match between Capacity & Need
L = Minimal Match between Capacity & Need
M = Moderate Match between Capacity & Need
H = Appropriate and effective match between Capacity & Need

Table 3 illustrates our assessment of each of the potential lead organizations. The following observations are noteworthy:

- Four of the six organizations rated low on the *appropriateness* measure. Only the OLC and the Tribal Council were found to have an appropriate match between capacity and need.

- Both the BIA and the Tribal Council demonstrated a high degree of *experience* relevant to administrating an AmeriCorps Program.
- All of the organizations had at least a moderate degree of *cohesiveness* relative to what is required for successful program implementation.
- *Leadership* was a strong characteristic of each of the organizations.
- The question marks across the *financial management* row indicates our inability to effectively assess this measure.
- The OLC demonstrated an appropriate and effective match between capacity and need within each of the four measures of *human capacity*.

IMPACT OF AN AMERICORPS PROGRAM AT PINE RIDGE

We have identified a number of primary and secondary impacts which are likely to result from the AmeriCorps program. The primary impacts are employment, educational opportunities, skills training, structured programming for high school graduates, child care, health insurance benefits, and a new vehicle for addressing tribal needs. The secondary impacts include increased voter participation / civic responsibility and a decline in alcoholism and substance abuse. Each of these impacts is discussed in greater detail below.

While an AmeriCorps program will likely have several positive impacts for the Pine Ridge Reservation, the Tribal Council should bear in mind that the extent of these impacts is strongly connected to and in some cases dependent upon other factors. Some of the impacts will have short range effects and others will have more lasting effects on the reservation. Outside factors will also affect the endurance of the potential impacts. These factors include how well the tribal council and the administering organization fare along the feasibility measures (addressed earlier in this chapter), the availability of alternative activities or opportunities for participants, the perception of the AmeriCorps program on the reservation, the structure of opportunities for post-program participants, the type of individuals likely to be attracted to AmeriCorps participation, and the limited size of the term of service in an AmeriCorps program. Each of these limitations of a reservation-based AmeriCorps program is described after the discussion of primary and secondary impacts.

PRIMARY IMPACTS OF AN AMERICORPS PROGRAM AT PINE RIDGE

1. Vehicle for Addressing Community Needs

The reservation will benefit directly from the services via AmeriCorps program projects. If the tribal community implements projects in the areas of education, human needs, and environment, then improvements can be expected in these areas. Additionally, the participants who are involved in these projects gain a greater awareness and understanding of tribal needs and strategies for mitigating these needs.

2. Educational Opportunity

The post-programs educational awards is likely to motivate more tribal members to pursue higher education where they might not have done so otherwise. Upon successful completion of each term of service in the program, participants will be eligible for nearly \$5000 in an educational award. This money can be used by the individual for repayment of student loans or for direct tuition payment.

3. Skills Training

Program participants will gain a higher skill level which may expand their post-program opportunities. An AmeriCorps Program at Pine Ridge will engage its participants in activities designed to meet the needs of the larger reservation community. Participation in these activities may require the development of new skills. Therefore, the reservation's AmeriCorps program should provide these individuals with ongoing skills training during their term of service.

4. Employment

Depending upon the size of the program, the Tribe's AmeriCorps program will provide numerous¹⁴ new employment opportunities for residents of the Reservation. This is especially important in light of the high unemployment rates at Pine Ridge. Participation

¹⁴ Dependent upon the level of demonstrated local need, an AmeriCorps program can be as large as several hundred participants and as few as 20 participants. Given the social and economic needs demonstrated at Pine Ridge (and other reservation), it is likely that a local service program would qualify for a relatively large participant base.

in an AmeriCorps program may ease this problem to some degree by creating employment opportunities.

5. Structured Program for High School Graduates and High School Dropouts

The program presents recent high school graduates and high school dropouts with an opportunity for employment while they provide service to the community. Presently the Pine Ridge Reservation has no structured activities for high school graduates, many of whom do not directly enter the workforce or college.¹⁵ The AmeriCorps program focuses on attracting individuals between the ages of 18 and 24. While we do not fully understand why reservation residents delay pursuit of higher education, it is supposed that this program may stimulate earlier matriculation into college. Additionally, this may increase the percentage of those who graduate from college by affording these individuals an opportunity for personal growth and maturation which contribute to success in completing college.

For those individuals who were unable to graduate from high school, participation in AmeriCorps offers them the opportunity to acquire and expand skills by using their educational award for either trade school or some other educational institution. This gives these individuals a chance to further develop themselves for greater market-ability.

6. Child Care

The AmeriCorps program ensures child care services for participants with young children. The Corporation requires all programs either to provide child care services directly , or issue vouchers, which can be used at “certified child care providers.”¹⁶ This is to ensure that tribal members who have young children can take advantage of the opportunity to work and guarantee that their children will receive adequate care.

¹⁵ Interview with Renee Mills, Director of the Pine Ridge Office of Higher Education. 3/14/94

¹⁶ AmeriCorps: National Direct Application

7. Health Insurance Benefits

Like child care, the Corporation guarantees all AmeriCorps participants health care benefits. Therefore, any tribal member who was previously uninsured will gain health care coverage through participation in the service program. Other participants who are already insured will have the option to accept or deny this coverage.

Secondary Impacts of an AmeriCorps Program at Pine Ridge

In addition to direct impacts, the reservation is likely to experience a number of secondary impacts. The possible secondary impacts are many. The realization of these is dependent upon the limitations discussed earlier making some of these impacts more likely than others. Among the most likely are an increased voter participation / civic responsibility and a decline in alcoholism and substance abuse.

1. Voter participation / Civic Responsibility

Through engaging in projects which address the needs of their community, AmeriCorps participants may grow in their level of awareness of what is required of them as tribal members and citizens. With this heightened awareness, individuals may be inclined to become more concerned with and participate in civic affairs. Thus, Program participants may begin to take a more active role in elections and other civic activities.

2. Decline in Alcoholism and Substance Abuse

By engaging residents in service activities, the Tribal Council may be able to provide these individuals with a positive, structured venue for the fulfillment of their needs. In so doing, the level of alcoholism and substance abuse may be reduced.

Individuals are motivated by certain basic needs. If positive opportunities for the fulfillment of these needs do not exist, individuals will find alternate, negative means. Alcohol and other drugs often serve this purpose.

LIMITATIONS ON IMPACT OF AMERICORPS AT PINE RIDGE

While our findings show that the above-mentioned impacts can be realized by the Oglala Sioux Tribe, those impacts are subjected to the following limitations.

The long term impact of the AmeriCorps program may be greatly influenced by the opportunities available to residents on the reservation after completing the program. This gets at the issue of retention of program participants and other skilled individuals on the reservation. Without economic and other opportunities available on the reservation, the program could serve to escalate the pattern of out-migration of some of the best educated and highly skilled residents.

Better educated and skilled tribal residents certainly add to the stock of resources on the reservation, but they are not captive resources. It is possible that after their term of service, participants may choose to use their educational award at some college other than the Oglala Lakota College. They may not return to the reservation after completion of their studies. Also, and perhaps more likely, it is possible that program participants, now endowed with heightened awareness and skills, will outgrow the present opportunities of the reservation.

In order to retain participants, and curtail the "brain-drain" pattern, the Tribal Council must attempt to identify those factors which would likely motivate participants to stay. These factors may be economic or social/psychological.

If the economic opportunities on the reservation are viable and satisfying, the impact of an AmeriCorps Program can be greatly enhanced. In addition to the immediate effects of the Program, the impacts can produce a ripple or multiplier effect. This can be achieved if people whose income increases because of the Program, in turn support tribal businesses instead of the current practice of patronizing merchants in Rapid City, Gordon, and surrounding communities. By meeting consumer demands locally, the reservation is able to retain and turn over dollars which further stimulates economic activity. These spin-off benefits can be sustained in the long term if an increased demand for goods and services

is created thereby enhancing the opportunity for import-substitution. Import substitution occurs when consumers purchase goods and services locally that they once purchased outside of the area.

It should be emphasized that human capital alone is not sufficient to ensure long term positive impacts on the reservation. In addition to human capital, physical and financial capital must also be made available to create institutions which can meet the local demand for goods and services.

It is important not to overstate the economic impact this program may have on the reservation. The economic conditions on the reservation are extreme and the AmeriCorps program can play only a small and partial role in addressing these conditions. The program should not be viewed as an independent vehicle for sustainable economic development. However, as discussed above, there is real potential for stimulation of the economy through this program. Tribal participation in the AmeriCorps Program can thus be integrated into a transition process for the tribe to develop a more productive and stable economic base. This is important for those residents who leave the reservation in search of better economic opportunities.

Financial benefits are not the only incentive important for retention of highly skilled and educated residents. Among the basic psychological needs which motivate individuals are: achievement, influence, affiliation, security, and the avoidance of discomfort.¹⁷ The Tribal Council should determine how these needs are currently being met on the reservation. Furthermore, in order to increase retention of post-program participants, the Tribal Council must assess how the reservation can create social opportunities which fulfill their needs. The Tribal Council can help to satisfy social and psychological needs of residents by building in opportunities for personal growth, networking, and recognition. For example, the need for influence or affiliation may be met by connecting residents with regional or national organizations. In so doing, individuals understand that the issues on

¹⁷ Derived from Karen Pittman and Marlene Wright, *A Rationale for Enhancing the Role of the Non-School Voluntary Sector in Youth Development*

which they are working locally not only affect their native communities, but also influence a larger regional or national movement. Similarly, the need for achievement can be satisfied by involving these individuals in activities which provide on-going opportunities for both personal and professional growth such as leading new projects or chairing special committees.

The availability of alternative activities may explain why some tribal residents tend to delay pursuit of higher education and entry into the labor force. Residents may already be productively engaged during this roughly 10 year period -- beginning after high-school -- in ways that were not discerned from the study. If so, the impact of new employment or earlier college will be influenced by how residents view the tradeoff of what they are now doing during this period.

Tribal residents and potential participants may hold attitudes and beliefs that influence the program's development and implementation. For example, there may be a prevailing mistrust of federal programs. Those who do choose to participate may be considered outcasts in the community. In either case, the program will be stigmatized and its impact limited. Conversely, if the program is well respected and the participants are admired by tribal residents, this could enhance the impact that a program may have on the reservation.

Likely AmeriCorps participants may have sought alternate means of gaining program benefits. The individuals who are sufficiently motivated to participate in AmeriCorps due to the benefits offered -- skills training, employment, and education, among others -- are likely to have been motivated enough to achieve these benefits through other means. Therefore, the benefits or impacts attributed to their participation in AmeriCorps would have probably been realized in the absence of the program.

The relatively small size of and the restricted term of service in the reservation's AmeriCorps program will limit the potential impact. Because the total reservation population is roughly 19,000 and a service program will likely have a participant base

An Assessment of the Potential Impact of the AmeriCorps Program

reaching a maximum of a few hundred individuals, the degree to which the impacts of this program is enjoyed by the entire reservation community will be constrained. While the effect of a program this size will be more dramatic at Pine Ridge compared to a larger community, the direct benefits will be enjoyed by a relatively small portion of the population.

In response to this concern, it should be noted that any increased economic activity on Pine Ridge is not likely to attract many non-residents¹⁸ because of the geographic isolation of the reservation. Therefore, it can be assumed that most impacts of the AmeriCorps program would be accrued by current residents of the reservation. Additionally, the employment, child care, and health insurance benefits will be short-lived by this limitation.

¹⁸ The Corporation is however, developing a national participant database to link potential participants into programs throughout the country. The Pine Ridge AmeriCorps program could receive non-reservation participants through this database in order to increase diversification as recommended by the Corporation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study suggests that the implementation of an AmeriCorps program at Pine Ridge is feasible and desirable. Accordingly, recommendations to the Tribal Council are based on the assumption that the application for an AmeriCorps Program grant will be made. Based on our assessment of the Tribe's capacity to administer the program, and in an attempt to maximize its impact on the reservation, we make the following recommendations:

- 1. The Tribal Council should apply directly to the Corporation for National and Community Service AmeriCorps grants.**
- 2. The Tribal Council should apply for an AmeriCorps planning grant.**
- 3. The Pine Ridge Tribal Council should apply for a waiver of the required 25% funding match.**
- 4. The Oglala Lakota College (OLC) should administer Pine Ridge's AmeriCorps Program.**
- 5. The Tribal Government should develop projects that prepare participants for business development, management or other careers which promote economic development and tribal capacity.**
- 6. The Tribal Council should stipulate that an advisory committee be formed for the purpose of public input and deliberation.**
- 7. The Tribal Council should conduct an internal audit of the organization it ultimately selects to administer the AmeriCorps Program.**
- 8. The Tribal Council should conduct a comprehensive needs assessment.**
- 9. The Tribal Council, along with the administering agency, should focus its program narrowly, engaging efforts and participants in one or two specific projects.**
- 10. Any tribal governments interested in the AmeriCorps Program should join together to lobby the Corporation for National and Community Service to reconsider provisions of the legislation which are problematic with regard to their application in Indian Country**

We will discuss each of these recommendations in greater detail below.

Recommendation #1:

The Tribal Council should apply directly to the Corporation for National and Community Service AmeriCorps grants.

As is customary with federal programs, sovereign tribal governments receive special funding consideration under The National Service Trust Act of 1993. Since the Pine Ridge Reservation is a sovereign Indian nation, the tribal government may apply directly to the Corporation for funding instead of going through the state. The Corporation is required by administrative law to reserve 1% (approximately \$1.5 million) of all allocated funds expressly for Indian Reservations. Because competition for this pool is likely to be less, the Pine Ridge Reservation would increase its likelihood of securing funds by applying directly to the Corporation as opposed to going through the state of South Dakota.

Although we recommend that the Oglala Lakota College administer Pine Ridge's AmeriCorps program, the Tribal Council, as the reservation's governing body, must sponsor the program. As such, the Council is responsible for all grant requests that the reservation submits to the Corporation on National and Community Service.

Recommendation #2:

The Tribal Council should apply for an AmeriCorps planning grant.

In order to more fully assess needs, develop program goals, and develop an organizational structure, the Tribal Council should apply to the Corporation for a planning grant. The Corporation recognizes that some programs will have "identified a sound concept for a National Service program, but require resources in order to plan, develop, and prepare the program for implementation."¹⁹

The advantages of applying for a planning grant at this time are twofold. First, with a planning grant, the OLC will have a funded six months to one year to prepare for the administration of Pine Ridge's AmeriCorps program. Second, if successful in obtaining

¹⁹ AmeriCorps: National Direct Application

**Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University**

**AmeriCorps: A Promise for Indian Country? An Assessment
of the Potential Impact of the AmeriCorps Program
A Case Study of the Pine Ridge Reservation**

by

Annette M. Pierson and Frederick Tombar, III

PRS94-8

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR NATIVE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY
HARVARD PROJECT ON AMERICAN INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

April 1994

this planning grant, the reservation is guaranteed an operating grant during the Corporation's next funding cycle.

Recommendation #3:

The Pine Ridge Tribal Council should apply for a waiver of the required 25% funding match.

Organizations operating AmeriCorps programs are required to meet 25% of the total budgeted program cost. This match can be made through providing either cash or "fairly valued" in-kind payments. Given the limited ability of the OLC (and other tribal agencies) to offer financial support to an AmeriCorps program²⁰, we perceive the tribe will be unable to implement a service program if it must meet this 25% requirement.

Understanding the situation of the tribe and other similar organizations, the Corporation is authorized to grant waivers of this match regulation to institutions that demonstrate a need. Thus, it is likely that the Tribe will be granted this necessary waiver.

Recommendation #4:

The Oglala Lakota College (OLC) should administer Pine Ridge's AmeriCorps Program.

Having considered six organizations on the Pine Ridge Reservation as a possible lead organization for the AmeriCorps Program based upon the demands of the program and each organization's relative capacity to meet those needs, we recommend that the OLC administer the Program. The Oglala Lakota College was chartered by the tribal government in 1971 and provides education for about 1000 students each year. OLC is fully accredited and acts as a stimulus for the development of tribal members and programs.

Of the six organizations observed, OLC showed the highest potential for administering a successful AmeriCorps program. Four factors support this observation.

1. *Desire* - Both in terms of institutional and staff desire, OLC demonstrated a strong will to administer the program. The obvious connection of National Service to

²⁰ As per Interviews with all six agency directors.

college education led the college's administrators to favor having the OLC serve as the lead organization for an AmeriCorps program on Pine Ridge Reservation. The institution's enthusiasm to administer the program grew out of its mission to develop and educate its student body. This type of development is one of the primary objectives of the AmeriCorps program.²¹

2. *Skill Level* - Members of the staff of the OLC are trained in an area which is particularly important to a successful AmeriCorps program. This is the ability to train and develop others. "Service learning" is central to the concept of National Service. The program is designed such that participants are involved in actual service delivery and spend a significant time period in classroom settings where they reflect on their efforts. This process of reflection is facilitated by trained professionals who serve as "teachers" leading discussions. This service learning component is closely akin to the usual classes OLC offers. Consequently, the faculty and staff of the OLC have developed the skills necessary to administer this portion of the program effectively.

3. *Adaptability* - The OLC demonstrates an ability to change and respond to client needs by expanding curriculum & degree programs, offering night classes, and attempting similar efforts designed to better address the needs of the community. This organization's willingness and ability to adjust is necessary for the demands that the AmeriCorps program will place upon it.

4. *Facilities* - The OLC has a main campus and eight satellite sites across the reservation. These buildings are often at less than full capacity.²² Adequate office equipment is also available for personnel. Therefore, the OLC can comfortably house the Pine Ridge AmeriCorps training component and administrative offices.

Additionally, the Oglala Lakota College demonstrated a high capacity to meet the program's needs in terms of cohesiveness, leadership, staff size, and appropriateness of

²¹ Principles for High Quality National Service Programs - The Corporation for National and Community Service

²² Interviews with Dowell Smith, John Haas, & Mike Her Many Horses

administration. The OLC showed moderate, yet sufficient, capacity to meet the demand of AmeriCorps in the area of experience. This capacity is judged to be sufficient in that the areas of teaching offered by the college span across the spectrum of tribal needs. Moreover, the fact that individuals who were instrumental in the OLC's formation remain on staff with the college attests to the experience and knowledge base the OLC can offer to the AmeriCorps program especially in its early formation and development period.

One area of concern with the OLC's administration of the AmeriCorps program is its observed low level of support from its authorizing body. Due to past problems at the OLC, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, the authorizing agent, has had decreased confidence in the institution's operations. Recently, however, this confidence has been somewhat restored due to changes in OLC administration. Subsequently, it appears that the OLC will be able to gain the support from the Tribal Council to effectively administer the AmeriCorps program.

A less viable alternative to the OLC is the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. The Council shows strong capacity in many of the areas considered. However, we do not recommend that the Council assume this role because the most important dimension, desire, seems lacking. It is clear that members of the Tribal Council recognize the benefits of and are very concerned with having an AmeriCorps program on Pine Ridge Reservation. However, tribal leaders seemed to support the idea of having the service program administered by another tribal agency. Consequently, their desire was rated moderately low. Additionally, the Tribal Council appeared to lack the facilities and staff to sustain an AmeriCorps program.

The other four organizations showed moderate to low capacity to meet the needs of the AmeriCorps program in most of the areas of evaluation. Therefore, none of these organizations appear to have an ability to initiate, develop, or sustain an AmeriCorps program in their present state of operation.

Recommendation #5:

The Tribal Government should develop projects that prepare participants for business development, management, or other careers that promote economic development and tribal capacity.

One of the overarching issues regarding the potential impact of the AmeriCorps Program in Pine Ridge is the need for building tribal capacity. Capacity-building includes such elements as management training, education, and economic development. Each of these can be addressed, at least to a limited extent, through the AmeriCorps program. Projects can be designed that provide opportunity for participants to develop business, management and/or administrative skills thereby laying a foundation for economic development and capacity-building.

Traditionally, the tribe has experienced an out-migration of many of the best educated tribal residents, often in search of better employment opportunities.²³ This pattern undermines any capacity-building efforts. If an AmeriCorps Program provides participants the opportunity to gain a set of skills for which there is a market on the reservation (or off-reservation in the case of exporting goods or services), the range of on-reservation career options will be enhanced, encouraging retention of highly skilled and educated residents.

Also, if the tribe is to develop its economic and governmental capacities, management training of Native residents is essential. "There is a socioeconomic demand for effectively trained tribal managers and administrators. This demand is inextricably linked to developing tribal capacities." (Begay p. 2) A lack of appropriately skilled managers is "a result of failure to develop managers to meet the needs of the Indian organization rather than a lack of managerial talent among Native peoples." (Begay p. 3)²⁴

²³ Moreover, the vast majority of those employed on the reservation are in public sector jobs.

²⁴ The move toward becoming more politically and economically independent coupled with the reality of a multitude of social problems, makes *how* managers are trained essential to the socioeconomic process. See "Designing Native American Management and Leadership Training" by Manley A. Begay for a complete discussion on management training for Native Americans.

Recommendation #6:

The Tribal Council should stipulate that an advisory committee be formed for the purpose of public input and deliberation.

The Corporation for National and Community Service requires that the development process of AmeriCorps Programs include some mechanism for incorporating public input and feedback. Broad-based local community involvement is required in the design, implementation, and evaluation of AmeriCorps projects. An advisory committee can be an effective and efficient way to comply with this requirement. We further recommend that the advisory committee include representatives from civic, educational, religious, social service, and business sectors as suggested by the Corporation. Perhaps most importantly, there should be representation from the Tribal Council on the committee. The Tribal Council remains the official sponsor of any grant awards from the Corporation. As such, its members should have input in all phases of an AmeriCorps Program on the reservation.

Recommendation #7:

The Tribal Council should conduct an internal audit of the organization it ultimately selects to administer the AmeriCorps Program.

The Tribal Council should conduct an internal audit with the purpose of identifying the strengths and weaknesses of any organization being considered for administering the AmeriCorps Program, especially in regard to managerial and operational functions. The description of our analysis outlined in Section 4.1 is presented as a framework for the tribe to conduct its own assessment. This component of our feasibility study is the most vulnerable to interviewer bias and to the limitations we face as "outsiders" to the tribe. The customary practices which influence how things get done in the reservation setting create the context for the dimensions along which the organizations are assessed. Tribal members are best suited to do this.

Recommendation #8

The Tribal Council should conduct a comprehensive needs assessment.

The Tribal Council should conduct a comprehensive needs assessment to identify better the areas of tribal concern which could be addressed through an AmeriCorps program. Through this process the Council will be able to prioritize needs and plan its projects accordingly. Moreover, through conducting a needs assessment the Tribal Council will be able to strengthen its grant application by offering the Corporation documented support of tribal needs.

We further suggest that the Tribal Council take extra steps to ensure community participation in this process. (The Corporation offers suggestions which might be helpful in this endeavor.) By including community members in this process, the Tribal Council can build support and consensus on the goals and projects of its AmeriCorps program.

Recommendation #9

The Tribal Council along with the administering agency should focus its program narrowly, engaging efforts and participants in one or two specific projects.

Any number of projects are eligible as long as they are within the priority areas established by the Corporation. However, the program is likely to have greater impact if a single area of need is identified and an intensive program is designed to address that need. Note: While a large number of participants will likely have a greater than a smaller number, the Tribal Council should be careful not to propose projects larger than it can effectively manage given available resources.

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE
PROGRAM IN INDIAN COUNTRY
&
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTHER TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS**

"Making [National Service] programs more sensitive to the conditions in Indian Country requires that tribal governments take specific actions based on the situations existing on their particular reservations. While the unique circumstances of some tribes will dictate some reservation-specific responses, certain issues will have wide-spread impact across Indian Country and require unified action among tribal governments." (Hargreaves & Chang p 2)

In this Chapter, we will discuss the implications that our findings at Pine Ridge have for other Indian Reservations. We offer a critique of some aspects of the program and give tribal leaders points to consider when examining the possibility of tribal participation in AmeriCorps. Also, we identify policy obstacles and limitations placed on potential program success in Indian Country.

Although at the extreme in many respects, Pine Ridge is still representative of other reservations in a number of ways. A comparison of the Pine Ridge Reservation and the 23 other reservations which have tribal colleges, show important commonalties.²⁵ (Our findings in this comparison are captured in Table 4). Pine Ridge and other reservations share high unemployment and poverty rates. Moreover on these reservations, employment opportunities are highly concentrated in the public sector. Comparison also reveals similarities in demographic characteristics in college students across tribes. In surveying each of the 24 tribal colleges in the United States, we found that the average age of students at tribal colleges, the average percentage of students enrolled receiving federal financial aid, and the average percentage of enrolled students who are single parents are all significantly

²⁵ These tribes were chosen because we deemed them the most likely to sponsor an AmeriCorps program since tribal members had ready access to an institution of higher education.

higher than national averages but consistent with our findings at Pine Ridge. In fact, Boyer's study reveals the same:

Most students enrolled at tribal colleges ... tend to be considerably older than those at non-tribal institutions ... The average income, for students and their families, is far below the national average, so most require federal assistance.

Because of restricted funds, tribal colleges do not have good data gathering procedures that would provide a full profile of their students. We found, however, that each institution has a remarkably similar story to tell. At Fort Berthold College ... the average student's age is 33. The average age for students at Little Hoop Community College is twenty-nine. (Boyer pp. 30-31)

Because of these important similarities, the challenges that program requirements present for Pine Ridge will be relevant for other tribes.

Fundamentally, the AmeriCorps program engages tribes in four ways -- socially, economically, politically, and educationally. (Each is discussed in detail below). The tribe is challenged through this engagement. Therefore, the question of the broader implications of our assessment of Pine Ridge becomes a question of whether -- and subsequently *how* -- tribes are prepared to respond to the challenges.

Social

Tribal participation in the AmeriCorps program will be limited by two social characteristics of the tribe. Tribes must have needs that fit the priorities of the Corporation. In the absence of this connection, tribes are highly unlikely to receive AmeriCorps grants. Sponsoring an AmeriCorps program requires that the reservation has (or has access to) a certified child-care provider. This is requisite because all participants are guaranteed child care services for their dependent children.

1) Consistency of Tribal Needs & Corporation's Priorities -- The social challenges tribal governments will encounter in considering participation in the AmeriCorps program are partially a function of the Corporation's priorities for the program. Tribes must have community needs that are consistent with the issues and priorities established by Congress for this term of program funding. (See Table 1). The social conditions of the reservations

will determine tribal needs. Careful assessment of these conditions is therefore necessary. In evaluating this issue we offer tribal leaders the following courses of action and questions to consider:

- The Tribe should conduct a comprehensive needs assessment.
- Are the needs of the tribe consistent with the issues and priorities established by the Corporation?

2) Provision of Child Care Requirement -- The vast majority of college students at tribal colleges are single parents (see Appendix 2) and those participating in the AmeriCorps program would therefore be in need of child care services. The legislation recognizes the potential for this need to be met and provides funding for such services in certified child care facilities. The problem, however, is that not all reservations (e.g. Pine Ridge) have private "certified child care facilities" available on-reservation. So, although the grant provides funds for child care services, some questions still arise:

- Are these funds sufficient to establish a child care center where one does not exist?
- Can the funds be used to certify facilities that do exist thereby making them eligible?
- Can this requirement be waived in favor of alternative forms of child care which are more readily available on reservations (e.g. baby-sitting services)?

Economic

The tribe must bear in mind three components of the AmeriCorps program which involve financial ramifications: the 25% matching fund requirement, the 5% limitation on administrative cost, the 10% on equipment cost..

1) Matching Fund Requirement -- The Federal share of the cost of carrying out a national service program may not exceed 75% of total costs. The grantee must provide the remaining share of the cost through cash or in-kind contributions. The Corporation may waive in whole or in part this requirement in any fiscal year if the Corporation determines that such a waiver would be equitable due to a lack of available financial resources at the

local level. When considering the ramifications of this requirement tribal leaders should answer the following:

- Is there an organization with the capacity to administer the program successfully?
- Can that organization meet the 25% funding match?
- If not, does the organization qualify for a waiver of this funding requirement?

2) *Limitation on Administrative and Equipment Costs* -- Not more than 5% of the amount of assistance may be used to pay for administrative costs. This includes costs for financial, accounting, or contracting functions, costs for insurance that protects the entity that operates the program, salaries and benefits of administrative staff. The dollar amount this 5% represents will naturally depend on the size of the grant award. But as some resources necessary for program administration may, in some cases, already be severely lacking or non-existent within the lead organization, 5% of the award may not be sufficient to carry out required administration functions. Additionally, there is a 10% limit on equipment costs. This limitation gives rise to the same concerns. When evaluating the effect of these requirements on tribal participation in the AmeriCorps program, the following should be considered:

- Does the program's administering organization have the capacity to successfully administer a program with
 - a) a 5% limitation on administrative cost, and
 - b) a 10% limitation on equipment cost?
- If not, can the legislation be changed to accommodate communities which have limited non-human capital to contribute to the administration of an AmeriCorps program?

Political

Interaction with Federal Authorities -- The most significant political challenge that results from a tribe's participation in the AmeriCorps Program is the necessary interaction between the tribe, a sovereign nation, and the federal government. Through participation, the tribe must comply with certain federal guidelines. In complying to these guidelines, the

tribe may have to relinquish some of its autonomy. Thus, the issues tribal leaders must consider are the following:

- Is a tribal AmeriCorps program desired by tribal government?
- Is the tribal government willing to be engaged with federal authorities?

Educational

The educational challenges of tribal participation in the AmeriCorps program concern the educational incentives offered to the program's participants, as well as the typical age of reservation college students. Tribes must evaluate whether the program actually provides disincentives for participation and whether it excludes the relevant population on reservation. (See Appendix 2.)

1) Provision of Living Allowance and Educational Award -- One of the primary benefits an individual receives from participation in the AmeriCorps program is the post-program education award. Upon successful completion of service, AmeriCorps participants receive an educational award of \$4,725 to be applied toward educational purposes.²⁶ However, this provision ignores the fact that most of the potential participants in Indian Country are receiving Federal Pell Grants to subsidize their educational expenses.

If the amount of "need" calculated for Pell Grant awards meets or exceeds the cost of the participant's education, then the full benefit of the AmeriCorps education award cannot be realized. This is highly likely given that residents on the reservations are generally eligible for the maximum Pell Grant and will likely attend the local tribal college where the average tuition is only \$50 per credit hour. Thus, their Pell Grant will cover these costs and the AmeriCorps education award incentive is lost.

This fact may likely negatively impact an individual's desire to participate in the program. Therefore, alternative incentives for individuals whose situations match the foregoing description must be considered.

²⁶ An educational award of \$4,725 is for AmeriCorps participants who complete a full-time term of service. Part-time participants will receive \$2,363.

Additionally, there is a living allowance provided for participants involved both part-time and full-time.²⁷ Part-time participants are generally enrolled in college while serving. Thus, the living allowance for part-time participants may affect Pell Grant eligibility or Pell Grant award amount, and subsequently, may provide a further disincentive for participation. Therefore, we offer the following considerations:

- Does the AmeriCorps educational award provide the intended incentive for tribal residents?
- If not, are there other incentives which the Corporation can offer tribal residents in its place?
- How will the living allowance affect Pell Grant eligibility?
- Does this allowance create a further disincentive for participants who are Pell Grant eligible?

Age Limitation for Participants -- The legislation sets age limits for program participants with the intent to capture the ages of most college students. This age restriction of 18 to 24 years does not take into consideration that the average age of most college students in Indian Country is far above that of the national average, thereby excluding them as eligible participants. The following must be considered:

- What is the average age of college students on the tribe?
- If the average age is above 25, can the legislation be changed to accommodate tribal college students?

Recommendation #10

Any tribal governments interested in the AmeriCorps Program should join together to lobby the Corporation for National and Community Service to reconsider provisions of the legislation which are problematic with regard to their application in Indian Country

The issues surrounding the feasibility and implementation of the AmeriCorps Program which were significant for Pine Ridge are likely to be significant for many other reservations. If Indian tribes that are interested in participating in the AmeriCorps Program

²⁷ The amount of the living allowance for AmeriCorps participants must be at least but not more than twice, \$7,440 for full-time participants (1700 hours of service per year). Program may provide a prorated living allowance for part-time participants.

agree that some of its requirements deter successful participation, then they should lobby Congress for changes such as those described above. Specifically, we believe the following provisions require particular attention:

- Limitations on administrative and equipment costs
- Provision of child care requirement
- Provision of living allowance and an educational award for participants
- Age limitation for participants

If these provisions are not adequately addressed, as it is currently written, the National and Community Service Trust Act will not likely help many Indian populations. It is necessary to tailor the current National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 to be an appropriate and feasible option for Indian Reservations. In so doing, the changes will increase the likelihood that residents of Indian Reservations will administer a successful AmeriCorps program.

CONCLUSION

In the face of the many social and economic problems which typically plague Indian Reservations, the AmeriCorps program seems to bring promise. Through sponsoring programs, tribes and their residents can address some of the community's most pressing needs in the areas of education, human needs, public safety, and environment. Additionally, tribes can benefit from new employment opportunities and program participants could potentially gain new skills and earn financial assistance for college or other post-secondary education.

Indeed, the AmeriCorps program does offer promise to Indian Reservations. Unfortunately, however, its impact is limited and uncertain. It is contingent upon a number of factors. First, tribal leaders must influence the Corporation to conduct a comprehensive appraisal of some key aspects of the AmeriCorps program. The designated age for program participants, 18 -24, does not correspond with the average age of college students at the reservations' tribal colleges as it does in the rest of the country. The restriction on the use of program funds and the requirement that organizations provide 25% of their total AmeriCorps program cost presumes an economic base which is atypical among tribes. Two of the primary benefits of an individual's participation in the program -- the post-program educational award and the living allowance -- may at the very least provide no incentive, but likely a disincentive, to participation. Additionally, despite the fact that many reservations do not have private "certified child care providers," their participation in the AmeriCorps program requires one. These things taken together diminishes the promise the AmeriCorps program brings to Indian Reservations.

Still, there is more. Tribal leaders must determine whether an AmeriCorps program is feasible for their reservation. This determination must rest on three issues. Tribal leaders must discern their own desire to support the program. Also, these individuals should evaluate the needs of the tribe and identify where these needs are consistent with the Corporation's priorities. If the needs and priorities coincide, tribal leaders must then

determine whether there is an organization on the reservation which has the capacity to administer a successful AmeriCorps program. The absence of either of these three considerations will prohibit the realization of the AmeriCorps program's promise.

Beyond these issues, tribes must consider the potential long term effect of AmeriCorps participation. Through serving in the program, tribal residents will gain new skills and earn an opportunity to further their education. In so doing, these individuals will be prepared for more personal and professional challenges. Moreover, individuals have needs for achievement, influence, affiliation, security, and the avoidance of discomfort that opportunities on the reservation may not adequately meet. If this is the case, these individuals are likely to leave the reservation in search of opportunities where these basic needs can be met. In order to reverse this pattern of "brain drain," tribes must develop physical and financial capital to compliment the human capital development which may occur through AmeriCorps participation. Subsequently, tribal leaders will be able to ensure that the AmeriCorps promise is further realized on their reservations.

The AmeriCorps program offers opportunity for capacity-building to tribes. Community needs can be addressed, tribal residents can gain skills, and education, economic development may be encouraged, and a stronger sense of "connectedness" can be fostered throughout the reservation community. But, in order to guarantee that the full promise of AmeriCorps is gained, tribal leaders must pressure the Corporation officials to make changes in the program's requirements such that it is appropriate for reservations, and they must ensure a proposed program is feasible on their respective reservations given their available resources. Tribes should focus on retention of AmeriCorps participants to maximize the program impact. In taking these steps, tribal leaders can help to ensure that the promise of AmeriCorps is delivered to the reservation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:
SURVEY OF TRIBAL NEEDS & POTENTIAL PROJECTS

APPENDIX 2:
COMPARISON OF TRIBAL COLLEGES

APPENDIX 3:
LIST OF INTERVIEWS AND CONTACTS

APPENDIX 1

SURVEY OF TRIBAL NEEDS & POTENTIAL PROJECTS

AGENCY / ORGANIZATION _____

1. Description of Community Needs _____

2. Description of job or project to address these needs (include how long the job or project is meant to last, the location of the work site, and how many persons are required for the assignment.) _____

3. Resources necessary to carry out the job or project _____

4. Which, if any, of these resources can your organization provide (include technical expertise, equipment, transportation, physical space, etc. as applies) _____

5. Description of skills and qualifications of participant _____

APPENDIX 2

Comparison of Tribal Colleges

Tribal College	Reservation Unemployment Rate [†]	Average Age	% Single Parents	% Receive Financial Aid
Bay Mills Community College		28	70	98
Blackfeet Community College		32		90
Cheyenne River Community College				
Crownpoint Institute of Technology	78	26	50	80
D-Q University		23	2	80
Dull Knife Memorial College		26	40	50
Fond Du Lac Community College	50	18		90
Fort Belknap Community College	60	30	38	96
Fort Berthold College	79	33		
Fort Peck Community College	63	29		
Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College	73	30	50	90
Little Big Horn College				
Little Hoop Community College		29	50	95
Navajo Community College	50	19		60
Nebraska Indian Community College		30		65
Northwest Indian College				
Ogala Lakota College	61	33	65	50
Salish Kootenai College		30	75	98
Sinte Gleska College		31		67
Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College	75	29		98
Standing Rock College	87	25	63	
Stone Child College		31	50	97
Turtle Mountain Community College	53	22		95
Unity Tribe Technical College		28	55	100
AVERAGE	66	28	51	83

**Source: 1990 U.S. Census*

NOTE: Blank cell indicates information is not available.

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF INTERVIEWS AND CONTACTS

- Begay, Manley A. -- Executive Director, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
- Chase, JoAnne -- National Congress on Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.
- Cotier, Linda -- Director, Department of Health, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
- Ecoffey, Robert -- Administrative Officer, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
- Eschbach, Karl -- Sociologist
- Farr, John -- Member, Kennedy School Project on National Service (KPONS)
- Haas, John -- Vice President of Instruction, Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, South Dakota
- Her Many Horses, Mike -- Executive Director, Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
- Honnet, Ellen Porter -- Consultant, Corporation for National and Community Service, Washington, D.C.
- Jorgensen, Miriam -- Pre-Doctoral Candidate, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
- Kalt, Joseph P. -- Director, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
- Mills, John -- Agriculture Extension Agent, Cooperative Extension Service, SDSU, Porcupine, South Dakota
- Mills, Renee -- Director, Pine Ridge Department of Education, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
- Mousseau, John -- Coordinator, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Natural Resources Regulatory Agency, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
- Parker, Allen -- National Indian Policy Center, Washington, D.C.
- Plume, Randy -- Director, Department of Education, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
- Pulliam, Lomoiné -- V.P. of Community Service & Student Development, Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, South Dakota
- Smith, Dowell -- Chair of the Dept. of Human Development & Social Justice, Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, South Dakota
- Spencer, Velvalou -- Native American Student Advisor, South Dakota State University
- Talbear, Suzie -- City Year, Boston, Massachusetts

Thompson, Patricia -- Director of Evaluations, Corporation for National and Community Service, Washington, D.C.

Thorp, Clay -- Member, Kennedy School Project on National Service (KPONS)

Wilshire, Ashley Andrus -- Chair, Kennedy School Project on National Service (KPONS)

Wilson, Holly -- Department of Health, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota

Wilson, Julie Boatright -- Director, Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Yellow Bird Steele, John -- President, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Pine Ridge, South Dakota

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Begay, Manley A., Jr. "Designing Native American Management and Leadership Training: Past Efforts, Present Endeavors, and Future Options." Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, Project Report Series. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. November 1991.
- Boyer, Ernest L. Tribal Colleges: Shaping the Future of Native America. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Princeton University Press. 1989.
- Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior. "Indian Service Population and Labor Force Estimates." January 1991.
- Cornell, Stephen and Joseph Kalt. "Where Does Economic Development Really Come From? Constitutional Rule Among the Modern Sioux and Apache." Faculty Research Working Paper Series. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. July 1993.
- Cornell, Stephen and Joseph P. Kalt. "Pathways from Poverty: Development and Institution-Building on American Indian Reservations." Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, Project Report Series. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. May 1989.
- Cornell, Stephen and Joseph P. Kalt. "Reloading the Dice: Improving the Chances for Economic Development on American Indian Reservations." Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, Project Report Series. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. March 1992.
- Cornell, Stephen and Joseph P. Kalt. "Where's the Glue? Institutional Bases of American Indian Economic Development." Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, Project Report Series. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. February 1991.
- Corporation for National and Community Service. "AmeriCorps: National Direct Application." January 1994.
- Corporation for National and Community Service. "Principles for High Quality National Service Programs." January 1994.
- Gagnon, Greg and White Eyes, Karen. Pine Ridge Reservation: Yesterday & Today. Badlands Natural History Association. 1992.

Hargreaves, Margaret Barnwell and Hedy Nai-Lin Chang. "Evaluating the Impact of Federal Welfare Reform Legislation in Indian Country: A Case Study of the Rosebud Sioux Reservation." A Report to the Council of Energy Resource Tribes. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, Project Report Series. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. April 1989.

Kennedy School Project on National Service. "To Serve and To Lead: Impacts and Incentives for National Service." A Report on Focus Group Discussions. May 1993.

Wilson, Dr. Jim. Land of Red Cloud: Home of the Lakota Oglala. The Oglala Sioux Indian Tribe. Pine Ridge Indian Agency. Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

