INDIGENOUS POLICY

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

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Co-Editors:
Phil Bellfy, American Indian Studies Program, Michigan State University, 262 Bessey Hall, East Lansing MI 48824, (517)432-2193, bellfy@msu.edu.
Thomas Brasdefer, tpb7403@louisiana.edu, Web Master
Thaddieus (Tad) Conner, New Mexico State University: conner03@nmsu.edu. Editor to end of 2014.
Jonathon Erlen, Ph.D., History of Medicine Librarian, School of Medicine, University of Pittsburgh (412)648-8927 erlen@pitt.edu.
Leo Killsback, American Indian Studies, Arizona State University, Discovery Hall, Room 356, P.O. Box 874603, Tempe, AZ 85287-4603, (480)727-0061, lkillsba@asu.edu, Editor as of January 2015.
Paula Mohan, Political Science Department, 305 Salisbury Hall, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, Whitewater, WI 53190 (262)472-5772 (o), (608)233-2812(h), paulamohan@gmail.com.
Ignacio Ochoa, M.A., Director, Nahual Foundation / Fundación Nahual, A Think Tank by and for the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, 2a Avenida Norte 6 B, Antigua Guatemala, Sacatepéquez. Guatemala.
Of: (502)7832-0167, Cell: (502)5985-4954, ignacio@fundacion-nahual.org, ochoa.ignacio@gmail.com, www.nahualfoundation.org, www.fundacion-nahual.org.
Michael Posluns, Daytime & Cell: (416)995-8613, mposluns@accglobal.net.
Annalise Romoser (410)230-2800 ext. 2845, aromoser@lwr.org.
Steve Sachs, 1916 San Pedro, NE, Albuquerque, NM 87110 (505)265-9388, ssachs@earthlink.net, Senior Editor
Jay Toth, M.A., Professor of Anthropology, SUNY Fredonia , jtoth@atlanticbb.net.
William (Bill) Taggart, New Mexico State University, Department of Government, Box 30001, MSC 3BN Las Cruces, NM 88003, (575)646-4935, witaggar@nmsu.edu.
Mark Trahant, Atwood Journalism Chair, University of Alaska Anchorage, marktrahant@thecedarsgroup.org.
David Weiden, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Native American Studies, Metropolitan State University of Denver, King Center 494, Campus Box 43, P.O. Box 173362, Denver, CO 80217-3362, 303-556-4914, dweiden@msudenver.edu. Book Review Editor
ISN Cochairs:
Sheryl Lightfoot, University of Minnesota, slightft@umn.edu.
Laura Evans, evansle@u.washington.edu.

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

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

***IPJ* is seeking volunteers to join the Editorial Committee to collaborate with Leo Killsback, our a new Editor in coordinating the refereeing process for submitted articles**, sending submissions round to advisory committee members for review, and making final decisions on articles based on reviewers' advice. **If you are interested in on the Editorial Committee, please contact Tad Conner until end of 2014: conner03@nmsu.edu, and beginnning January 2015: Leo Killsback, lkillsba@asu.edu**.

***IPJ* INVITES VOLUNTEERS TO SERVE ON ITS ADVISORY COMMITTEE, REFEREEING SUBMITTED ARTICLES.** If you are interested in being a reviewer of submitted articles in the *IPJ* refereeing process, please contact **Tad Conner until end of 2014: conner03@nmsu.edu, and beginnning January 2015: Leo Killsback, lkillsba@asu.edu**

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

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DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS FOR THE NEXT ISSUE IS November 8

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INDIGENOUS POLICY PLANS FOR 2014-15 - WE INVITE YOUR HELP AND INPUT

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

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

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

Send us your thoughts and queries about issues and interests and replies can be printed in the next issue and/or made by e-mail. In addition, we will carry Indigenous Studies Network (ISN) news and business so that these pages can be a source of ISN communication and dialoguing in addition to circular letters and annual meetings at APSA. In addition to being the newsletter/journal of the Indigenous Studies Network, we collaborate with the Native American Studies Section of the Western Social Science Association (WSSA) and provide a dialoguing vehicle for all our readers. This is your publication. Please let us know if you would like to see more, additional, different, or less coverage of certain topics, or a different approach or format.

***IPJ* is a refereed journal**. **Submissions of articles should go to Tad Conner,** conner03@nmsu.edu, who will send them out for review. Our process is for **non-article submissions to go to Steve Sachs**, who drafts each regular issue. Unsigned items are by Steve. Other editors then make editing suggestions to Steve. Thomas Brasdefer posts this Journal on the **IPJ web site**: **http://www.indigenouspolicy.org**.

GUIDE TO SUBMITTING WRITINGS TO *IPJ*

We most welcome submissions of articles, commentary, news, media notes and announcements in some

way relating to American Indian or international Indigenous policy issues, broadly defined. Please send **article submissions electronically attached to an e-mail to Tad Conner until end of 2014: conner03@nmsu.edu, and beginnning January 2015: Leo Killsback, lkillsba@asu.edu**, who will send them out for review. **All non-article submissions (including Research Notes, which usually are non refereed articles) go via e-mail to Steve Sachs: ssachs@earthlink.net**, or on disk, at: 1916 San Pedro, NE, Albuquerque, NM, 87110. If you send writings in Word format, we know we can work with them. We can translate some, but not all other formats into word. **If you have notes in your submission, please put them in manually, as end notes as part of the text. Do not use an automated footnote/end note system that numbers the notes as you go and put them in a footer** such automated notes are often lost, and if not, may appear elsewhere in the journal, and not in your article, as several writings are posted together in the same file. The one exception is the Proceedings of the AIS section at the WSSA meeting, in fall issues, where each article is kept in its own file, and it is O.K. to use an automated note system. **If you use any tables in a submission, please send a separate file(s) for them**, as it is impossible to work with them to put on the web when they are an integral part of a Word text. Some other format/style things are helpful to us, and appreciated, but not an absolute requirement. As we publish in 12 point Times font, with single spacing, and a space between paragraphs, it saves us work if we receive writings that way. Many thanks. We look forward to seeing what you send us.

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INDIGENOUS WEB PAGE ON RACE ETHNICITY & POLITICS SECTION LINK

Paula Mohan has constructed the **American Indian and International Indigenous webpage on the Race and Ethnic Politics link to the APSA website** at http://facstaff.uww.edu/mohanp/nasa.html. She is actively soliciting material for ISN's webpage in the areas of syllabi, directory of scholars, graduate and undergraduate programs, new publications, resources and related areas. Contact her at mohanp@mail.uww.edu.

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UPCOMING EVENTS

ISN PROGRAM AT APSA 2015 IN SAN FRANCISCO, CO

The Indigenous Studies Network (ISN) will put on one or more panels and a business meeting/networking session at the 2015 American Political Science Association (APSA) Meeting, September 3-6m in San Francisco, CA, at the Hilton/Hotel Nikko/Parc 55. Deadline for submitting panel proposals may be November 15, 2014, but might be later. For more information contact **ISN Program Coordinators: Laura Evans, evansle@u.washington.edu** (University of Washington) and **Sheryl Lightfoot** (University of British Columbia): **sheryl.lightfoot@ubc.ca**, or see the ISN call for papers that will soon be listed on the APSA web site under unafiliated group calls for papers. More information about the APSA meeting is, or will be available at: http://www.apsanet.org.

WSSA 2015 AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES SECTION PROGRAM, April 8-11, 2015

The **American Indian Studies Section of the Western Social Science Association**, at its 57th meeting, expects to again have a full program of panels at the association's meeting at the **2015 conference** in **Portland, OR** April 2-5, 2014, at the Marriot Hotel. Paper/panel proposals for the American Indian Studies Section can either be submitted on line by going to: http://wssa.asu.edu/, or by sending them (preferably by E-mail) to AIS section coordinator Leo Killsback: lkillsba@asu.edu. Deadline for proposals, including abstracts, probably will be December 1, 2014. Information, which will eventually include the preliminary program, can be accessed on line at: http://wssa.asu.edu.

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Lists of Indigenous Language Conferences is kept at the Teaching Indigenous Languages web site at Northern Arizona University: http://www2.nau.edu/jar/Conf.html**;** and at **The Linguistics List: Interantiojnal Linguistics Community Online:** http://linguistlist.org.

The D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at the Newberry Library, in Chicago, has an **on going Newberry Library Seminar in American Indian Studies** on many Thursdays, 5:30-6:30 pm, as well as other occasional events. All papers are pre-circulated electronically to those who plan to attend the seminar. E-mail mcnickle@newberry.org or call (312)255-3564 to receive a copy of the paper. For more on this and other events at the Newberry Library go to: http://www.newberry.org/mcnickle/AISSeminar.html.

Curriculum Development, Lesson Planning and Language Activities for Immersion Classes workshop may be at tfe end of June or in early July 2015 in Albuquerque, NM. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

7th International 3L Summer School: Endangered Languages: From Documentation to Revitalization may be in July 2014. For details visit: http://www.ddl.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/colloques/3l_2012/index.asp?Langues=EN&Page.

The **International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) 40th Anniversary Treaty Conference** is September 17-20, 2014, in Okemah, OK. For deteails visit: http://www.iitc.org/conferences-events/treaty-conference/.

Foundation for Endangered Languages EL XVIII is at Naha, on the Ryukyuan island of Okinawa, during 17-20 September 2014. For details visit: http://www.ogmios.org.

43rd Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest, Heritage Languages (of the Southwest) in the era of e–learning is September 18-20 in San Diego, CA. For details go to: http://linguistlist.org/callconf/browse-conf-action.cfm?ConfID=174956.

The People's Climate March is September 20-21 in New York City. For details visit: http**://peoplesclimatemarch.org.**

People's Climate March in mid-town Manhattan, New York City, Sunday afternoon, Sept. 21, 2014. For details go to: http://peoplesclimate.org**.**

NIHB Annual Consumer Conference is September 22-26, 2014 at Navajo Nation. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

2014 Fall Finance & Tribal Economies Conference is September 22-23, 2014 at Hard Rock Hotel, San Diego. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

The **United Nations high-level plenary meeting of the General Assembly: the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples** is September 22-23, 2014, at UN Headquarters in New York City. The main objective of the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples is to share perspectives and best practices on the realization of the rights of indigenous peoples and to pursue the objectives of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. For details visit: http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples/WorldConference.aspx. See the discussion, bellow, of issues concerning organization of the meeting in International Activities, and in the report of the 13th Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the beginning of International Developments.

Native American Finance Officers Association Fall 2015 Finance and Tribal Economics Conference is September 21-22 at Hard Rock Hotel, 207 5th Ave, San Diego, CA 92101. For more information visit: http://www.nafoa.org.

National Indian Health Board (NIHB) Annual Consumer Conference is at Navajo Nation, September 22-26, 2014 (http://www.ncai.org/events/2014/09/22/nihb-annual-consumer-conference).

National Intertribal Tax Alliance 16th Annual Tax Conference is September 24-25, 2014 in Valley Center, CA. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

Memories of the Past and Future... Idle No More, a virtual event to support our First Nations brothers & sisters in Canada through solidarity and elsewhere, is September 30, 2014 at 12:00 PM. For information visit: http://www.idlenomore.ca/events.

"**Dialogue on Indigenous Sustainability Implications for our Future**" is October 6-7, 2014 at Tempe Mission Palms Hotel and Conference Center, Tempe, AZ. For details go to: http://www.aisc.ucla.edu/news.

Department of the Interior (DOI) Indian Health Service & IHS Tribal Self-Governance Advisory Committee Meeting is October 7-9, 2014, is in Washington, DC (http://www.ncai.org/events/2014/10/07/doi-ihs-tribal-self-governance-advisory-committee-meeting).

Salish Kootenai College American Indigenous Research Association Annual Meeting is October 10-11, 2014 in Pablo, MT. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

NIEA 2014 Convention & Trade Show is October 15-18, 2014 in Anchorage. AK. For details visit: http://www.niea.org.

45th Annual National Indian Education Association Convention and Trade Show is October 15-19, 2014, in Anchorage, AK. For details go to: http://www.niea.org/events/overview.php.

AFN 2014 Conference is October 23-25, 2014 in Anchorage, AK. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

71st Annual Convention & Marketplace is October 26-31, 2014 in Atlanta, Georgia. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

The Indigenous Leadership Development Institute, Inc. (ILDI) is holding the **2014 World Indigenous Business Forum** in Guatemala City, Guatemala, October 27-31, 2014. For details visit: http://wibf.ca/.

The Indigenous Leadership Development Institute, Inc. (ILDI) is holding the **2014 World Indigenous Business Forum** is in Guatemala City, October 27-31, 2014. For details visit: http://wibf.ca/.

Annual, Sunrise Gathering on Alcatraz Island may be in October or November 2014. For details go to: http://www.iitc.org/conferences-events/community-events/.

MEES **Australia** in cooperation with the Eduarda Foundation, Inc. may hold the **2014 National Indigenous Health Conference** in November, 2014. For details contact: Mike Edubas: edubasmike@yahoo.com.

Tribal Interior Budget Council is November 5-6, 2014 in Washington, DC. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

NACA Annual Conference & Expo is November 10-13, 2014 in Palm Springs, CA. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

7th Annual Tusweca Tiospaye 2014 Lakota Dakota Nakota Language Summit: "Uniting Our First Nations to Save Our Languages" is November 12-14, 2014, in Rapid City, SD. For details visit: http://tuswecatiospaye.org/2014savethedate.

The 2014 **Lakota, Dakota, Nakota Language Summit** is in Rapid City, SD, November 13-15, 2014. For details go to: http://www.tuswecatiospaye.org/.

Tribal Technical Advisory Group is November 19-20, 2014 in Washington, DC. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

19th La Cosecha Dual Language Conference is November 19 - 22, 2014 in Santa Fe, NM. For information visit: http://www.dlenm.org/.

STEAM (Science Technology Engineering Arts and Math): The Wisdom of Our Languages & Cultures 40th Bilingual Multicultural Education / Equity Conference, is November 20-22, 2014. For details visit: http://bmeec.net/.

First Nations Language Keepers Conference is in December 2015 at the Saskatoon Inn and Conference Centre in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. Details area available at: http://www.sicc.sk.ca/.

Language revitalization in a Russian & European context: Exploring solutions for minority language maintenance is December 2, 2014. For information go to: http://blogs.helsinki.fi/minor-eurus/conference2013/..

HHS Secretary's Tribal Advisory Committee Meeting is December 4-5, 2014 in Washington, DC. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

Intertribal Agricultural Council Annual Convention is December 8-11, 2014, details TBD. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

A **Community on Ecosystem Services Linking Science, Practice & Decision Marking** is December 8-11, in 2014 Washington, DC. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

2014 World Indigenous Domestic Violence Conference is in Cairns, Australia, December 8–10, 2014. For information visit: www.indigenousconferences.com or email: admin@indigenoushealth.net

NICWA Training Institutes-Positive Indian Parenting -ICWA Basics -Advanced ICWA is in San Diego, CA, December 13, 2014. For details visit: http://www.nicwa.org

SSILA Annual Winter Meeting may be in January 2015. For more information http://linguistlist.org/ssila/AnnualMeeting/AnnualMeeting.cfm.

Center for Advanced Research in Language Acquisition, **5th International Conference on the Development and**

Assessment of Intercultural Competence may be in January 2015. For information visit: http://cercll.arizona.edu/development/conferences/2014_icc.

22nd Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium may be at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, in January 2015. Information will become available at www.uhh.hawaii.edu.

Eleventh international conference on environmental, cultural, economic and social sustainability is at the Scandic Copenhagen Hotel, Copenhagen, Denmark from 21-23 January 2015. The On Sustainability knowledge community is brought together by a common concern for sustainability in an holistic perspective, where environmental, cultural, economic and social concerns intersect. For details go to http://onsustainability.com/2015-conference?utm_source=Dan%27s+Promo&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=S15A+Dan%27s+Promo.

The **18th Annual National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Legislative Summit** is likely in February 2015, in Washington, D.C. For information go to: http://www.niea.org/Membership/Legislative-Summit.aspx.

The **United National 2015 Indian Tribal Youth Midyear UNITY Meeting** may be in February 2015. For details go to: http://www.unityinc.org/.

National Association for Bilingual Education 43rd Annual Conference may be in, February 2015. For information go to: http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/icldc/2013/call.html.

5th International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC): may be at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI, February or March 2015. For details visit: http://events.hellotrade.com/conferences/international-conference-on-language-documentation-and-conservation/.

The 2015 **Conference of the National Association of Native American Studies** is at the Crowne Plaza Executive Center, Baton Rouge, LA, is February 9-15, 2015. For more information, please visit the following: http://www.naaas.org/.

Native/Indigenous Studies Area of the 2015 Southwest Popular Culture/American Culture Association (Formerly the Southwest/Texas Popular Culture/American Culture Association) 36th annual meeting is February 11-14, 2015 in Albuquerque, NM. Further details can be found at: http://swtxpca.org/https://mail.msu.edu/cgi-bin/webmail?timestamp=1187041691&md5=r%2B8zeYT8m2RajaxaGpmkeQ%3D%3D&redirect=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.swtexaspca.org%2F.

The NCAI 2015 Executive Council Winter Session is February 23-25, 2015 at the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel, Washington, DC. For details go to: http://www.ncai.org/Conferences-Events.7.0.html.

The 4th International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC): Enriching Theory, Practice, & Application is February 26-March 1, 2015, at Ala Moana Hotel, Honolulu, HI. For details visit: http://icldc-hawaii.org.

SWCOLT is in Colorado - Denver, OMNI Interlocken, February 26-28, 2015. For information go to: http://www.swcolt.org/.

The 38th Annual California Conference on American Indian Education may be in March 2015. For more information contact: Achel McBride: (530)895-4212 x 110, Irma Amaro: (707)464-3512, or Judy Delgado at 916-319-0506, judelgado@cde.ca.gov, or go to: http://www.aisc.ucla.edu/admin/gcal.shtml.

The 10th Annual Conference on Endangered Languages and Cultures of the Americas may be at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT, in March 2015, put on by the Center for American Indian Languages, at the University of Utah, which also runs a series of workshops. For details go to: http://www.cail.utah.edu, or contact Jennifer Mitchell: cail.utah@gmail.com.

Ninth Heritage Language Research Institute: Heritage Speakers and the Advantages of Bilingualism may be in March 2015 at UCLA. For details go to: http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/.

Third International Conference on Heritage/Community Languages may be in March 2015 at UCLA, Los Angles, CA, For details visit: http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/.

TESOL: Explore – Sustain – Renew may be in March 2015. For details go to: http://www.tesol.org/.

National RES (Reservation Economic Summit) Las Vegas is March 9-12, 2015 in Las Vegas, Nevada (ttp://www.ncai.org/events/2015/03/09/national-res-reservation-economic-summit-las-vegas).

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development 69th Annual Conference is March 15–17, 2014, in Los Angeles, CA. For information visit: http://www.ascd.org/conferences.aspx.

National RES (Reservation Economic Summit) Las Vegas is March 17-20, 2015 in Las Vegas, Nevada (http://www.ncai.org/events/2014/03/17/national-res-reservation-economic-summit-las-vegas).

Massachusetts Association of Bilingual Education Cross-Cultural Connections is March 22, 2015, in New Haven, CT. For information visit: http://www.massmabe.org/.

National Johnson O'Malley Association Conference is March 25-7, 2014 in Denver, Colorado. For Details go to: http://www.njoma.com/.

The National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES) 43rd Annual Conference may be in April 2015 For details contact National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES), Department of Ethnic Studies, Colorado State University, 1790 Campus Delivery, Fort Collins, CO 80523-179, www.ethnicstudies.org.

The 11th Giving the Gift of Language: A Teacher Training Workshop for Native Language Instruction and Acquisition may be in April 2015. For information visit: http://www.nsilc.org/index.htm.

Alaska Native Studies Conference 2014 may be in April 2015 at the University of Alaska Anchorage campus. For details go to: http://alaskanativestudies.org.

American Indian Cultures and Literatures area of the PCA/ACA (Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association) National Conference 2015 may be in April, 2015. For details. Visit: http://www.pcaaca.org/conference/national.php.

The **Western Political Science Association (WPSA)** 2015, April 2, 2015 - April 4, 2015Caesars Palace, Las Vegas, Nevada, will likely include one or more **Race, Ethnicity an Politics panels** that could include Indigenous issues. For details go to: http://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/

Tenth Annual Southeast Indian Studies Conference is April 10-11 2015, at **University of North Carolina at Pembroke**. For more information contact Alesia Cummings at (910)521-6266, alesia.cummings@uncp.edu or Dr. Mary Ann Jacobs, (910)521-6266, mary.jacobs@uncp.edu, http://www.uncp.edu/sais/.

Washington Association of Bilingual Education: Culture and Content Connections: Keys to Academic

Success is April 11 – 12, 2015, in Tacoma, WA. For details go to: http://wabewa.org/.

Native American Finance Officers Association's 32nd Annual Conference is April 14-15, 2015 at the Roosevelt Hotel New Orleans, LA. For more information visit www.nafoa.org.

National Indian Child Welfare Association 33rd Annual Protecting Our Children National American Indian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect is April 19-22, 2015 in Portland, Or. For Details go to: www. nicwa.org.

NICWA Training Institutes-Positive Indian Parenting -ICWA Basics is in Portland, OR, April 23-24, 2015. For details visit: http://www.nicwa.org.

The Native American Student Advocacy Institute may be in May 2015. For details visit: http://nasai.collegeboard.org/.

The 7th Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Conference may be in May 2015. For more information go to: http://conferences.la.utexas.edu/naisa2014/or http://naisa.ais.arizona.edu/.

22nd Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference and 6th Western Symposium on Language Issues (WeSLI) may be in June 2015. For details go to: http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/AIE/conf.html.

Fostering Indigenous Business and Entrepreneurship in the Americas Conference: FIBEA 2015 may be in June 2015. For information and to make submissions contact fibea@mgt.unm.edu, or visit http://conferences.mgt.unm.edu/fibea/ or http://fibeamanaus.mgt.unm.edu/defaultENG.asp.

4th Annual Indigenous Peoples' Rights Course & Field Visit in Costa Rica by Human Rights Education Associates (HREA) and University for Peace (UPEACE), Costa Rica: E-Learning Course Indigenous Peoples' Rights: June 4 - July 15, 2014; Field Visit: Amburi, Talamanca, Costa Rica: 4 - 10 August 4-10, 2014. For details go to: http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base_id=1457&language_id=1

The **2015 International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries, and Museums** may be in June 2015. For information, to view past conference programs and/or submit a proposal before the November 15 deadline, visit: http://www.atalm.org. Please direct questions to atalminfo@gmail.com.

The Society of American Indian Government Employees (SAIGE) is a national non-profit organization that advocates for American Indian and Alaska Native federal employees. **SAIGE 22nd Annual National Training Program: "Native Pride and Spirit: Yesterday, Today and Forever"** is likely in June 2015. Information is available from the Society of American Indian Government Employees, P.O. Box 7715, Washington, D.C. 20044, www.saige.org.

UCLA American Indian Studies Center Summer in Montana may be in June 2015: Child Welfare, Family Law, and the American Indian Child. For details see: www.aisc.ucla.edu/news/.../**Summer**%20in%20**Montana**%20flyer.pdf.

The International Society for Language Studies, co-sponsored by Akita International University, is pleased to announce that we will hold a **conference** from June 13-15, 2014 at Akita International University, in Akita, Japan. The theme of the conference will be "**A Critical Examination of Language and Society.**" For more information go to http://www.isls.co/index-2.html.

Dene (Athabaskan) Language Conference may be in Prince George, BC, June 2015. For more information, please visit: http://www.uaf.edu/alc/.

2014 TESOL Advocacy & Policy Summit is June 22-24, 2014 in Arlington, Virginia, at Crystal Gateway Marriott, 1700 Jefferson Davis Hwy, Arlington, VA 22202. For details go to: http://www.tesol.org/events-landing-page/2014/03/20/2014-tesol-advocacy-policy-summit.

ATDLE is June 23 – 26, 2014, in Sacramento, CA. For details visit: http://atdle.org/.

The Northwest Indian Language Institute Summer 2015 may be in June-July 2015, at the University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. For details go to: http://pages.uoregon.edu/nwili/.

Seventh International Conference on Climate: Impacts and Responses may be at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland, June 2015**.** The Climate Change Conference is for any person with an interest in, and concern for, scientific, policy and strategic perspectives in climate change. It will address a range of critically important themes relating to the vexing question of climate change. Plenary speakers will include some of the world's leading thinkers in the fields of climatology and environmental science, as well as numerous paper, workshop and colloquium presentations by researchers and practitioners. For details go to: http://on-climate.com/the-conference.

The NCAI 2015 Mid Year Conference is in June 2015. For details go to: http://www.ncai.org/Conferences-Events.7.0.html.

Regional RES (Reservation Economic Summit) D.C. is June 15-17, 2015 in Washington, DC. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

The **2014 National UNITY (United National Indian Tribal Youth) Conference: Technology and Tradition for Today and Tomorrow"** may be at tfe end of June or in early July 2015. **UNITY also holds occasional training sessions.** For details visit: http://www.unityinc.org/.

Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA) Summer Meeting may be in July 2015 in Ann Arbor, Michigan, LSA Summer Institute. Information about the Institute is available at: http://lsa2013.lsa.umich.edu. For information about SSILA go to: http://linguistlist.org/ssila/AnnualMeeting/AnnualMeeting.cfm.

NCAIS Graduate Student Conference at the Newberry Library in Chicago may be in July 2015. The Consortium offers graduate students from NCAIS member institutions an opportunity to present papers in any academic field relating to American Indian Studies at the Graduate Student Conference. We encourage the submission of proposals for papers that examine a wide variety of subjects relating to American Indian and Indigenous history and culture broadly conceived. For details go to http://www.newberry.org/.

Australex 2014: Endangered Words, and Signs of Revival may be in Australia, in July 2014. For details go to: http://www.australex.org/.

NCAIS Summer Institute, may be in July and August, 2015, **Recording the Native Americas: Indigenous Speech, Representation, and the Politics of Writing**. For more information go to: www.newberry.org/mcnickle.

The **Tenth Annual Vine Deloria, Jr. Indigenous Studies Symposium** is at Northwest Indian College, probably in July 2015. For details and reservations contact Steve Pavlik, Co-coordinator, Native American Studies, Northwest Indian College, 2533 Kwina Rd., Bellingham, WA 98226 (360)392-4307, spavlik@nwic.edu, www.nwic.edu.

Sixth American Indian / Indigenous Teacher Education ConferenceIndigenizing Education: Empowering Students, Empowering Communities imay be at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona, in July 2015. For more information go to: http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar or contact: Jon Reyhner, Ed.D., Professor of Bilingual Multicultural Education, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona 86011, Jon.Reyhner@nau.edu,

NACA Emerging Native Leaders Summit may be in July 2015. For more information go to: http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events.

Native American Finance Officers Association 2015 Bond Summit may be in July 2015. For more information visit: www.nafoa.org.

50th International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages may be in August 2015 (http://www.cdacasino.com/). More information is available at: http://icsnl.org/.

Puliima National Indigenous Language and Technology Forum 2014 may be in August 2015, in Melbourne, Australia. For details go to: http://www.puliima.com.

CIDLeS Summer School 2015: Coding for Language Communities may be in August 2015. The Summer School will take place within the "Parque Natural das Serras de Aire e Candeeiros" in or near Minde, Portugal. For more details visit: http://www.cidles.eu/summer-school-coding-for-language-communities-2014.

CIDLeS Summer School 2015: Community-driven Language Documentation may be in August 2015. For information GO TO: http://www.cidles.eu/summer-school-community-driven-language-documentation-2014/.

3rd International Indigenous Peoples Corn Conference, may be in September 2015. For information visit: http://www.iitc.org/news-updates/.

At the **22nd International Congress of Historical Sciences (CISH) 2015 conference** in Jinan in August 2015, The **International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) will sponsor two sessions, one on "Histories of Education in East Asia: Indigenous Developments and Transnational Entanglements**." For details go to: http://www.ische.org/ISCHEannouncement/ische-sessions-cish-2015-conferencejinan/.

Language is Life Biennial Conference may be in September 2015. For details, visit: http://www.aicls.org/.

Eighth Minnesota Indigenous Language Symposium may be in September 2015. For details go to: http://www.grassrootsindigenousmultimedia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=69&Itemid=1 37

National Indian Health Board (NIHB) Annual Consumer Conference is in the Nashville, TN Area, September 21-22, 2015 (http://www.ncai.org/events/2015/09/21/nihb-annual-consumer-conference).

The Indigenous Leadership Development Institute Inc. (ILDI), O'ahu, Hawaii, is host for **World Indigenous Business Forum 2015**, possibly in October 2015. for details go to: http://wibf.ca/.

72nd Annual Convention and Marketplace is October 18-23, 2015, in San Diego, CA. For details go to: http://www.ncai.org/Conferences-Events.7.0.html.

Eleventh Native American Symposium and a performance event may be in November 2015, possibly at

Southeastern Oklahoma State University in Durant, Oklahoma. For details visit www.se.edu/nas/, or contact Dr. Mark B. Spencer, Department of English, Humanities, and Languages, Box 4121, Southeastern Oklahoma State University, Durant, OK 74701-0609, mspencer@se.edu

The 2015 **Lakota, Dakota, Nakota Language Summit** is in Rapid City, SD, November 19-21, 2015. For details go to: http://www.tuswecatiospaye.org/.

USHRN Bi-annual Human Rights Conference may be in December 2015. For more information and registration: http://www.ushrnetwork.org/.

The NCAI 2016 Executive Council Winter Session is February 22-24, 2016, in Washington, DC. For details go to: http://www.tuswecatiospaye.org/.

SWCOLT is at the East West Center, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI, in March 2016. For information go to: http://www.swcolt.org/.

NIEA 2015 Convention & Trade Show is October 13-17, 2015 in Portland, OR. For details visit: http://www.niea.org.

National Indian Child Welfare Association's (NICWA) 34th Annual Conference, Protecting Our Children National American Indian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect is April 3-6, 2016 in St. Paul, Minnesota (http://www.ncai.org/events/2016/04/03/nicwa-annual-conference).

Breath of Life / Silent No More Language Restoration Workshop for California Indian Languages is possibly in June 2016, For details visit: http://www.aicls.org.

National Indian Health Board (NIHB) Annual Consumer Conference is in the Tucson, AZ Area, September 19-23, 2016 (http://www.ncai.org/events/2016/09/19/nihb-annual-consumer-conference).

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

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

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
2014 AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES SECTION MEETING

Richard M. Wheelock, " Experiences in Tribal Self-Determination: Strengthening Native Community Identity and Dealing with Public Perceptions Since the 1960's"

Amoneeta Beckstein, " Native American Subjective Happiness: An Overview"

Stephen M. Sachs, "Expanding the Circle: Developing an American Indian Political Theory for Living Well in the Twenty-First Century"

Experiences in Tribal Self-Determination: Strengthening Native Community Identity and Dealing with Public Perceptions Since the 1960's

By Richard M. Wheelock, Ph.D.
Native American and Indigenous Studies Emeritus
Fort Lewis College
©April 3, 2014

Today's aging generation of Native people have had some incredibly diverse experiences with what has been called "Indian Self-Determination." So much has been written, often by Native scholars themselves, about this historical period that one can hardly produce a suitable bibliography about the policy and its implications in the space of a book-length publication. Yet it has usually been left to fiction-writers, satirists[1], poets, artists, film-makers and actors to express the human experiences this time of great change since the 1960's has thrust upon us all. Oral histories of the times will surely reveal more of what the Native people have experienced, too, adding another level of meaning to what historians and scholars have recorded in more arcane, academic terms. After all, the empowerment within Native communities and the revitalization, then the extension of indigenous thought into the surrounding global consciousness in our times has truly been a thing of terrible beauty, perhaps more suitable for expression in terms Native ancestors relied upon: storytelling of the first order. The fact that Native peoples, both as nations and as individual targets of prior assimilation policies, have faced a life-changing, sometimes disorienting social and cultural environment is still little acknowledged in the public consciousness as a result.[2] It is with the hope that my own experiences can be of value to the perspective of today's Native people that I wish to add my little piece of the lived, human experience with self-determination from my own perspective with this paper.

An Intergenerational Experience of "Indian Self-Determination"

For many of us of advancing years, a sense of ambiguity about whether and how to embrace Self-Determination under the federal policy has often been a major part of our experience. From its beginning, Native people have struggled with aspects of de-colonization at so many levels of the processes of limited and incremental

[1]One especially poignant history of the Native peoples' experiences with government policies and popular culture in Canada and the US is

[2] Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co, Inc., 2005, is an interesting model for providing the human experiences behind the self-determination policy for those tribes with which Wilkinson has familiarity and experience. His experience and that of the Native people he worked with for many years is the focus of this engaging book.

empowerment involved. Rebounding from poverty, cultural crisis and powerlessness began in federal policy generations earlier with the 1930's federal policy of Indian Reorganization, but self-empowerment in Native communities remained an unclear prospect as economic forces and many of the 1950's Termination policy's original sponsors were clearly unrepentant. The threat remained that even if tribes succeeded well under self-determination, termination's forces were simply awaiting another chance to ambush them so that ending federal responsibilities and ending "special legal standing" for tribes could again be sold as the "final solution" to the Indian problem. Ending that standing would open tribal land and other assets to exploitation once again, of course, which is the actual goal of terminators, despite rhetoric about "equal rights." Thus both tribal failure and success under Self-Determination might lead back to termination of tribal authority, it seemed, especially since the original congressional statement of intent in House Resolution 108 of 1953 remained on the books until 1988, despite several US president's pronouncements and a number of laws that denounced, but did not revoke the resolution. Distrust and ambiguity have remained throughout our times, as tribal sovereignty, in practically every avenue of self-determination, has been met with resistance from non-Indian governments and economic entities. Many laws, like the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, after all, could easily be read either way: as a strengthening basis for tribal citizenship or as a trump card over tribal sovereignty in favor of outside modes of operations and of outside jurisdictions which might assume authority over tribal "citizens."

Internally, tribal members often expressed doubts and even opposition to the "federally recognized" governments that seemed to have been imposed upon them in the take-it-or-leave it atmosphere of the Indian Reorganization era of the 1930's. In fact, there was a lot of room for cynicism, since Native people had been assured for generations that new policies, however flawed, were sure to benefit them. After all, any congressional or executive action in the US has always required attention to the many interests involved, making even the flowery pronouncements about meeting the needs of Native peoples suspect, especially as groups like the National Congress of American Indians made the content of congressional hearings more available to local Native people. One can review aspects of a number of federal laws since the 1970's that were intended to find a middle ground between tribal sovereignty and American interests. That political reality has often led to hidden agendas among federal policy-makers, forcing Native people to be extremely wary of offers of supposed federal largess which could later prove fraudulent.

With a history of arbitrary and contradictory federal policies in the background, Native people of the 1960's could hardly be expected to quickly find unanimity of support for any actions that could easily become a basis for conflicts, either internally or with nearby jurisdictions, which many feared would be resolved in favor of powerful economic and political interests in hostile courts in what has been called "judicial termination" or in congressional actions where Native leadership were likely to be coopted. But Native people have taken action despite the risks, and as has become clearer over the years since then, their overwhelming desires for tribal sovereignty have somehow kept termination threats at bay to a surprising degree today, while still leaving many confusing strands of policy yet to be worked out in today's tribal communities. The outcome of self-determination remains in doubt, of course, as tribal authority is challenged almost daily in the legal arena and as communities struggle with many internal questions about adaptive strategies for implementing their opportunities under the policy. Even today, then, several generations into the policy, tribal members are often cynical about the federal policy.

An unresolved question remains: what degree of sovereignty are Native people willing to accept in the long term quest for sovereignty implied in the 1970's term "Indian self-determination?" Since the very early days of the Red Power Movement, there have always been calls for international levels of tribal sovereignty that would completely sever any constraints on tribal nations. Others took what seemed to them to be a more pragmatic approach in local affairs, grasping at the treads of federal offerings under the policy, and seizing the opportunities they saw under federal laws. Vine Deloria was among the Native scholars who explored the divisive challenges involved in these positions. His comments on "The future of Indian Nations" chapter of *The Nations Within* in 1984 were a good profile of that issue.[3] There, he contrasted the Native positions of "self-government," a limited

[3] Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

prospect under federal policy, with "sovereignty" an aspiration of many Native leaders that was far more open-ended. Practically speaking, most Native Nations today have found a middle ground, one that ebbs and flows between aspirations of greater sovereignty and of practical powers of self-government that can be achieved in the specific arenas tribal nations experience daily under federal laws. Today's fascination with "de-colonization" among Native peoples seems to explore the question in more experiential cultural and social terms as people struggle to define what is really "our way" (tsi ni yok wali ho' tu, as is said in Oneida, for instance) in any given situation. It is a continuation of a long struggle. Native people have, since "contact" became conflict, struggled with the question of how to survive on their own terms as peoples, as well as or in spite of their subjugation by colonial regimes and, as time passed, their legal standing as individual American citizens.

Quite a few Native activists over the years have challenged the notion that tribal nations should be "domestic, dependent nations," as the famed *Cherokee v Georgia* decision proclaimed far earlier in federal policy. Despite any mixed reaction to the federal policy in the reality of the 1970's, rapid economic development seemed crucial, for instance, to escape the economic dependency tribes faced, providing little time for creating some kind of adaptive indigenous economic model that would support at least nominal independence from federal funding. The crucial area of economics on Native terms has been a huge practical barrier to achieving greater sovereignty for many tribes, though some notable developments are emerging across Indian country as this is written. The human experience of regaining greater authority over economic and political development among Native people, then, has been a less than satisfying process.

For many of us, helping design education processes that reflect our own peoples' priorities and values have been among the intermediate steps we've found necessary for building the human capacity to establish tribal sovereignty. Creating appropriate education programs in indigenous terms that can establish the space necessary, we've hoped, for adaptation of tribal values into such areas as "economics," many of us came to believe. Many of us have continued to search for ways to reach beyond Western-style education, seeking adaptive models of tribal education traditions, where ever we can find, stimulate and reinvigorate Native educational resources. Since tribalism itself is still often discouraged in the Americas and by current economic forces eager to create a proletariat, regeneration of kinship instruction, for example, has had to proceed for generations in truncated, marginalized conditions. Even today's tribal schools have to meet regional, non-Indian accreditation processes. Such requirements to fit American standards for schools make inherent tribal systems like kinship-based instruction very difficult to implement, though creative Native educators have adapted models like the Montessori approach as an intermediate basis for intergenerational cultural development. In education, especially, innovation by tribes has clearly shown that adaptive models can be found at times under self-determination's banner. With great good luck, future generations might gain even more latitude to continue such developments, using the tools developed by our generation's educational strategists.

So what might today's rising generation of Native people learn from the experiences of the now-aging generation who have been at the forefront of the development of the Native response to "Indian Self-Determination" since the confusing days of the 1960's? After all, ambiguity and confusion continue to cloud today's efforts. Can future generations of indigenous peoples not only maintain and build upon the hard-won successes and redouble efforts to correct failures, but also find a way through continued and future threats to political and cultural sovereignty? George Santayana's point that we might wish to remember the past, in this case the recent past, to avoid repeating the same experiences over and over seems especially poignant, since tribal language, culture and identity seem more threatened with the passing of each generation. Tribal lands and resources remain targets for exploitation by powerful economic entities, too, of course.

As I write this paper, I struggle with another question, perhaps fundamental to my preoccupation with self-determination and sovereignty. Is human nature somehow the crucial factor in such advanced concepts? Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs,[4] for example, seems to imply that group identity is crucial for an individual's

[4] Abraham Maslow. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review, 50*(4), 370–96.

development toward self-actualization. My media experiences and studies drew me into an inconclusive rumination over this sort of question. Western sociological concepts of gemeinshaft and gesellshaft[5] seem to follow in my considerations of the relationships between tribalism and today's mass society, initially stimulated by Robert K. Thomas' adaptations of Robert Redfield's concepts of small and large human social arrangements.[6] Are humans simply destined to follow stages of development into that eventually obviate tribal identity in favor of a mass society? Are there alternatives to the current mass society that may be more supportive of indigenous values?

Despite some personal confusion over that kind of question, the practical value of maintaining specific tribal identity has become pretty immediate in my thinking. Beyond the vital personal need to find connections with human community, there are pressing issues that have completely stumped mass society. For instance, unless humans can find more "natural" social arrangements than those of mass society, where humans are steadily becoming more powerless in the face of vast and undemocratic corporate and governmental individualization, the attack on the planet, our earth, will continue. The complex relationships indigenous peoples have always shared with the elements of the earth, I believe, remain a key to survival for humans as a species. As many Native people have pointed out, it is probably futile to "save the Whiteman," to reverse the massive processes generated by modern corporate economics. But can smaller, tribal peoples, rooted in specific lands, become self-sufficient enough to maintain at least a more balanced relationship with the cosmos that supports life? I believe Vine Deloria, Jr., most directly in his *Metaphysics of Modern Existence*,[7] was searching for answers to those kinds of questions from a far more informed and competent viewpoint than my own. Yet I, and I believe others, are still working on such things, despite our individual limitations in resolving such questions. As a result, I'm challenged at this point of my life to consider what I can do to help keep indigenous worldviews alive in order to counter the self-destructive nature of current structures of mass society as well as to help maintain the heritage and values of my relatives. I'm not naïve enough to believe that Native American tribalism has been perfect in balancing its relationships with the natural world or in balancing the needs of individuals with those of community. Nor do I imagine that mass society can somehow emulate classic tribal models. Still, tribal systems have been a basis of experience of humans for many thousands of years. Can they somehow remain a viable part of the adaptive processes we human beings will need into the future?

In considering questions like these, I have found that it is important to acknowledge what I have not been able to accomplish in my own personal development as a tribal member. In dedicating my efforts to helping to create academic programs and even Native communications, I have not found the time to deeply involve myself in the community efforts in Oneida to regenerate the many systems of tribal tradition in my life. Though I've been able to learn a smattering of our tribal language and have tried to maintain family connections over the years, I have not taken the steps necessary to be adopted into the matrilineal kinship system of our people, for instance, a basic community-building process currently being regenerated in Oneida. If that process can be successful in drawing many tribal members into kinship relationships again, many other decolonization efforts based within our tribal community could proceed. My personal challenges in this regard are an example or the work that still needs to be done by individuals in many tribes to advance beyond the colonized model of "Indian self-determination" tribes now face. I hope to more fully develop such missing portions of my experience in the years ahead!

Since this paper represents an on-going intellectual effort by one writer, my limited perspective has to be acknowledged, of course. But I hope that may be a useful viewpoint, if the reader can appreciate a narrative that is intended to capture the essence of the hopes and dreams of a person who has been privileged to have encounters with significant individuals and events during a lifetime dedicated to the self-determination cause among Native

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[5] Ferdinand Tonnies. *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* by Ferdinand Tonnies, translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis, pp. 223-231. Copyright 1957, The Michigan State University Press.

[6] Robert K. Thomas. "Community and Institution Among American Indians." In *Traditional and Non-traditional Services in American Indian Mental Health*. Eds. Yvonne A. Red Horse, Edwin Gonzalez-Santini, Patricia A. Toslon-Gonzalez and Sidney Bean, 316-330. Tempe: ASU School of Social Work, no date.

[7] Vine Deloria, Jr. *The Metaphysics of Modern Existence*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Books. 1979, 2012.

peoples. So in the first analysis, what follows in this essay is an autobiographical sketch, a personal narrative offered in good faith as a telling of the story of one person's pathway through amazing times since the late 1960's. On another level, with great good luck (satla? swi ohak) it also may offer some subjective analysis and even some suggestions to those who seek some sense of wisdom about the road ahead. Let us see if this can become a useful approach for a person like me who hopes to continue to contribute finding the keys for a secure, satisfying future for our peoples. As writers often do at moments like these, I thank my many teachers, human and others, who have helped provide valuable ideas I may refer to. I take full responsibility for the errors in my thinking that simply confuse the issues raised below!

One Person's Struggles to Contribute to Indigenous "Self-Determination"

In the following pages, I will reflect upon experiences with three major career-building experiences I have had so far in my nearly 38-year career. For now, at a conference that brings together a number of my elders, peers and many young scholars in what has become a fascinating on-going discussion of issues facing the American Indian Studies section, I'll focus on those useful "discoveries" I think I can reflect upon from my current somewhat experienced perspective.

The three career-based experiences I'll draw from for this subjective exercise began in 1976 in Jackson County, Oregon, where I was hired to become the coordinator of a new program that combined five school districts in southwestern Oregon under a federal grant to public schools under the Indian Education Act of 1972. The second experience was as a teacher during the first years of the Oneida Tribal School, beginning in 1979. As a crucial corollary for my teaching experiences in Oneida was my career shift from teaching in the tribal school to tribal journalism, when I became editor for our small bi-weekly tribal newspaper, the *Kalihwisaks*, in 1980. That shift to the communications function has remained a vital element of my perspective ever since. The third experience has been the return to my undergraduate alma mater, Fort Lewis College in 1982 and subsequent nearly 30 years of experience in scholarship, teaching and service will also provide plenty of material for my rambling reflections, as the patient reader will experience.

Crucial to the three career experiences were my parallel graduate academic experiences, first at the University of Arizona's American Indian Studies master's degree program, where I studied from 1982-1984, and second, at the University of New Mexico's American Studies Program, where I finally completed my PhD in 1995. At the U of A, I met and took classes from the Native intellectuals Vine Deloria, Jr. and N. Scott Momaday, already highly-revered back then. I also took classes from Robert K. Thomas, Tom Holmes and one in oral traditions with emphasis on media production from Larry Evers and Ofelia Zepeda. An amazing, unanticipated benefit of studying among such well-known Native people was the chance to interact with student peers, who came to this program from some pretty impressive experiential backgrounds. Quite a few of those fellow students remain influential in their fields, having since become a cadre of mutually supportive intellectuals you might meet at conferences like this one.

At the University of New Mexico, which at the time I began there (I studied there intermittently while I worked at Fort Lewis College from 1987-95) did not have a Doctorate program in Native Studies (later established with the influence of many Native people, notably Gregory Cajete), I was lucky enough to take courses of special application to my interests in Native Studies from Marta Weigle (folklore), Jane Young, Jane Caputi, Philip "Sam" Deloria, Vera Norwood and Ted Jojola. My 1995 dissertation is entitled *Indian Self-Determination: Implications for Tribal Communications Policies*. I still hope to find a way to publish it one day.

Needless to say, these fine teachers and personalities of the University of Arizona and the University of New Mexico were a magnificent influence on my personal development. I could name a number of other amazing teachers and, significantly, student peers who greatly influenced my development at those institutions, but for now, this short list should give the reader a notion of how lucky I have been in graduate studies! Of course, conferences,

symposia and workshops have also influenced my development throughout my adult life. Associations, friendships, and even family experiences have added to the experiences, shaping my perspective substantially.

In my search to find valuable bits of experience that could be useful to today's scholars, teachers, professionals and community members across Indian country, I found it necessary to remind myself of the policy and social climate of "Indian affairs" in which my generation found itself back in the 1970's, when my career, or rather my vocation, began in earnest. Many Native young people found their vocations at this time, largely because issues of social justice and cultural crisis became so obvious to us all in the 1960's and 70's. Amid the Civil Rights and anti-war protests, Native people began to speak out on Native issues, too, as mass media became a powerful, cross-cultural conduit for activists and policy-makers. The American Story, the on-going saga of American identity, was truly being rewritten, to some degree, to one that "…includes Indians, too…" as the 1967 song "Warm San Francisco Night"[8] put it. Though I soon realized that such sentiments were usually based on stereotypes, meaning Indians were little understood in the crucible of the times, I at least saw glimmers of recognition of Native worldviews and more acceptance of my own identity by some non-Oneidas. Americans, it seemed, were ready for a shift in their viewpoints that allowed room for less-fettered exploration of the implications of my tribal heritage, largely suppressed in my own development until then. Though I had been isolated from my tribal identity by policies and social forces I hadn't considered fully to that point, I was now stimulated to participate in the intoxicating processes that would involve so many of my generation in self-determination struggles.

On that experiential level, I was among many who watched the fishing rights confrontations in Washington State on TV in nearly live coverage. The occupation of Alcatraz, the Longest Walk, Wounded Knee 1973 – media coverage of many protest events became a part of the experience base for us as we developed our own life paths as young adults. My family connections in Oneida took on new significance for me, as did my relationships with Native people of other tribes. For my wife Liz and me, our degrees in teaching suddenly became more than just credentials for jobs, they became bases for finding fulfillment along the very unclear pathway to greater self-determination among America's indigenous peoples.

Experiences in the Urban-Rural Domain of Indian Self-Determination

In 1976, After several years of experiencing America as many did in the times of our youth by traveling and living and working in Idaho and Oregon, I had the strange serendipity of finding a job opening in southwest Oregon: the program coordinator position of the Indian Education Program (Title-A) of Jackson County Educational Service District, serving five school districts. Before my arrival there as coordinator of the program, the districts had decided to pool their student-entitlements under terms of the Indian Education Law of 1972 into one program under the county-wide entity in order to maximize the impacts of funds.

It was a dramatic experience. With a help of a number of motivated parents, administrators and a few outstanding teachers in those districts, we formed the required "parent committee," including four representatives from each of the districts involved. Those school districts were Ashland, Phoenix-Talent, Medford, Central Point, and Eagle Point, from south to north, in Jackson County. Of great importance was the advocacy of a group of activists, including Native American people, who helped keep the early momentum going, a group who soon became known as Southern Oregon Liaison, once the Indian Education program got going in the schools. Those activists were the lightning rod for action early in the education program's development, then shifted their focus to advocating for the rights of migrant workers, which included significant numbers of Native workers along with Hispano-Americans, and in building Native and Hispano cultural organizations beyond the schools.

It was a climate of high morale and sometimes frenzied action as many activities and events began to take place in a very short time. Media coverage of the Indian education program's development was of immediate concern. With very little experience or formal education in news media strategies, people like me were thrust into the media spotlight, with all its intimidating and heady moments. I soon learned in my position as coordinator that

[8] Eric Burdon and the Animals. "Warm San Francisco Nights." Popular Rock song, 1967.

the program was seen by the public as a part of the controversial political activism of the times, subject to frequent review by often poor media coverage that could be improved by careful education of the often sympathetic journalists we met. As the initial media frenzy died down after the first year or so and the program itself began to take shape, our program began to publish its own newsletter, which was mailed to those involved with, especially parents of the students registered with the program, interested educators in the region and those expressing interest elsewhere.

The publication was dedicated to presenting our own voices in the quest of supporting the Native identities of the mostly urban Indian students involved in the program. As we developed summer camp experiences, field trip opportunities, a library of Native materials and special events for school students and teachers, we found greater confidence and support among schools across the county. But we also found underlying resistance, often based upon political reactions that many New Frontier (Kennedy administration) and Great Society (Johnson administration) programs had met and would meet in the years ahead. Of course, long-standing racism and ethnocentrism were also present, as they are today.

Though the pace of activity was exhausting, most of the members of the Parent Committee and the small staff of the program retained a very high level of confidence, especially since a significant number of parents and community members became so active in the program's activities. In our rather thorough "needs assessment," required by terms of Title IV-A of the Indian Education Act,[9] we found that many Native students suffered from poor self-esteem, a problem exacerbated by the fact that they were from Native American families thinly scattered across the five school districts. That fact compounded the problem of understanding their tribal identities in a context of public schools of the area. One strategy we formulated was to improve the learning environment by finding a way to assert positive information about Native peoples. In-school presentations were frequent, as we made ourselves available for classroom and school assembly presentations, using newly-purchased program materials we learned of from other nearby Title IV-A program and from the well informed United Indians of All Tribes Title IV-B program centered in Seattle that also offered training sessions for us. We also relied upon the expertise of Native community members who were attracted to the program as we built up our public image. Teachers who requested such presentations, often elementary teachers, not only got a one-time boost in their units about Indian people, but often found us to be good resources for materials that would improve their own courses in the future. Yet presentations in public schools became somewhat controversial to the Washington, DC administrators of the federal funds, since they often were not sold on the idea that young Indian students in largely non-Indian classrooms would benefit from the improved learning environment we hoped would result for them. Thus, in our efforts to overcome stereotyping and misinformation that was often taught in schools about "Indians," we often had to try to win over our grant funder to the idea that moneys intended for the "special educational needs" of the Native students should be spent in these activities. That didn't slow us down, though. We even were able to host a National Geographic traveling exhibit on eagles, bringing many students from school across the county to the defunct school building where our office was housed in Medford, using the resulting educational moment to tell what we knew of the traditional position eagles embody in several tribal traditions. Creative community members even created a sound track of contemporary music with lyrics about eagles so that those visiting the exhibit would have another level of association for their memory of the show.

In conjunction with the new Oregon Indian Education Association, which I got to participate in from its beginnings, our parent committee and staff participated in the review of textbooks where information about Native people could be improved. Along with many other reviewers involved state-wide, we announced our own results locally, urging text selection entities to consider a number of principles be used in their considerations for textbooks in such disciplines as social studies and history, especially. Though few texts seemed satisfactory to us, we noted that similar efforts of the time across the country seemed to put publishers on notice about the issues, though little substantive change has resulted in the long run, many feel. Still, in establishing a "voice" on such

[9]As Native educators may know, the proper reference for today's amended section of the law is "Title VII – A, subsection 1."

issues, an important advocacy process was begun. In fact, in our early approach, we were unknowingly anticipating the "Indian education for all" concept that a number of others were also developing at the time.

A cultural center and library, a week-long Summer camp, field trips to locations of historic importance to the Takelma people (the Rouge River Indians) and the nearby Klamath people of the area, classroom presentations, after-school arts and crafts classes, and special events became elements of the program in the three years Liz and I were a part of the action. On a shoe-string budget and with a lot of volunteer support, we kept a very busy schedule. As I look back on that amazing set of experiences working with the great people of Jackson County and the over 34 tribal affiliations we found there, I realize many lessons and opportunities for development went unfulfilled. Yet some unexpected successes also resulted, and lasting impacts were made upon both the Native intertribal community in the area and upon the educational institutions that serve Jackson County. One can find some surprisingly clear antecedents for today's institutional structures in our efforts back in the 1970's, and the atmosphere of hope and pride among Native students, parents and other Native people and, to a less profound degree, the sensitivity of schools in the area were improved. Other later developments may have been just as important our efforts in the 1970's, but as a starting point in Native identity development in a rural-urban environment where the Takelma Indians had historically been nearly eradicated (see *Requiem for a People* for a history of the "Rogue River" people[10]), and the nearby Klamath people had been terminated as a federally recognized tribe in 1954, our initiative in Indian education was revolutionary, to say the least. That may sound like an exaggeration, but given the times and the great effort by many people to understand the complexity and diversity of the American society that "…includes Indians, too," as the song said, such small steps are the actual on-the-ground experiences that have shaped continuing developments, I believe.

As the Jackson County Indian Education program moved into its next stages of development, it became clear that it was time for me and Liz to move on. The strain of maintaining the energy that had been generated in the early days of the program had faded a bit by the third year and the need to more directly serve the academic needs of Native children demanded such programs as targeted tutoring, programmed mentoring and other direct services to individual Native students. With great hopes that the momentum of community empowerment would continue, we began to seek another way to contribute to Native survivals.

As luck would have it, the energy of Self-Determination initiatives of the times was also being generated by tribes. Liz and I were recruited to teach in the brand-new tribal school of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, of which I am a member. When Principal Dr. Jerry Hill met with the two of us in Albuquerque, we were immediately fascinated by the opportunity he laid out in his vision of the proposed tribal school. The fact that I would be able to learn much more about my own tribal background, of which I knew embarrassingly little, was certainly an inducement for me. Liz would be able to teach full time again, as she had in our sojourn through Salmon, Idaho and Mapleton, Oregon a few years before. For both of us, the chance to be involved as teachers in the creative atmosphere of new curriculum development and tribal community initiative was irresistible. At the tender age of our late 20's, we began another exciting experience, this time in the homeland of the Oneidas in Wisconsin!

The Tribal Domain: Experiences with Self-Determination in Oneida

In the three years of this part of my life experience, from 1979 to 1982, I was first a teacher of grades six-seven, then the editor of the tribal newspaper, the *Kalihwisaks*. Liz continued to teach in the tribal school through those years. Both were intense experiences! As teachers in the Oneida Tribal School, Onu yote aka tsi? thuwatili hunya? nit ha, Liz and I were treated to an incredible expression of tribal self-determination. The Oneida community in Wisconsin rallied to create its own school, after generations of marginalization for Oneida children in nearby public schools, where they met conditions not unlike those students sometimes felt in Jackson County, Oregon. The rich experience of learning from elders in the Oneida Language Department's classes designed for new teachers, then teaching with elders and even faith-keepers in and outside the classroom was a great

[10] Stephen Dow Beckham, *Requiem for a People: The Rogue Indians and the Frontiersmen*. Norman: U of OK Press, 1971.

confidence-builder for us, since without their help, it would not have been possible to teach the Oneida Language and cultural values that have become so crucial to the tribal school's success. The intergenerational processes, I would soon learn, were the only way to bridge the gaps Oneida kids had in their understandings of their own tribal identities.

Many Oneida youth first came to the school bringing with them an atmosphere that rivaled the so-called "alternative schools" of the times, designed elsewhere to deal with "problem students." As a result of the marginalization many young Oneidas had felt in nearby schools and from generations of crises brought on my poverty and assimilation policies, many were hostile to practically any kind of authority, making our work as educators extremely challenging. While those conditions would ease in the years that followed, at least for the first few years, students were more than a handful, making it difficult to really educate them from the cultural viewpoint we were trying to convey. Needless to say, any naïve notions we had about the creation of tribal schools were quickly set aside as we sought ways to regenerate or create effective family-based motivation systems in the community. Heroic efforts were made and, as time has passed, the OTS has become a driving force for Oneida identity. Friends and family and several Oneida scholars became a bulwark for Liz and me in this stressful yet rewarding time.

When I took over the editor's position for the *Kalihwisaks* in 1980, I was in for another special challenge and a great treat. It was a crash course in Oneida self-determination, as our tribal government was beginning to take on much more authority under the federal policy of self-determination than it had exercised in many generations. Our tribe had been through all the negative policies of the past in very direct ways. Removal, beginning in the 1820's for Oneidas, for instance, had divided those tribal members who came to Wisconsin into factions created by the religious conversion process that was almost a prerequisite to Removal from homelands in what is now New York State, where an important remaining population of Oneidas somehow held on. The Oneida Nation in New York has struggled on for generations since, remaining not only one of the powerful examples of tribal survivals, but a potential resource for Oneidas in Wisconsin and in Canada. In Wisconsin in the 1830's, Oneidas of the First Christian Party, the Second Christian Party, the Pagan Party were expected to somehow assimilate over time into the rapidly expanding populace of the new State of Wisconsin, supposedly after a period of tutelage on the then-new 64,000-acre reservation just west of what would become the City of Green Bay. Another devastating policy for Wisconsin Oneida was that of Allotment of lands in the 1880's through the 1930's, when nearly all the tribal lands were lost to non-Oneidas, to come under the laws of the State of Wisconsin. These were devastating, traumatic intergenerational experiences, of course, and even tremendous efforts by Oneidas under the 1930's Indian Reorganization Act and the Self-Determination policy Liz and I were experiencing in the 1970's and 1980's, could not erase the community disorganization that resulted. Nonetheless, in an amazing story of recovery of lands, identity and culture, the Oneidas of Wisconsin today have somehow persevered to become a vital cultural, political and economic force in the region. When Liz and I began our work in Oneida in 1979, that recovery was just gaining steam.

The *Kalihwisaks* tribal paper was called upon to be a conduit of information between tribal members and tribal government as those struggles to regain our peoplehood began a new chapter under Indian Self-Determination. Of course, we as staff soon learned we had at least two other "communications spheres" to deal with beyond our intratribal Oneida sphere. I later came to describe this situation as a concentric image of three spheres to help communicators understand their tasks and responsibilities in media.[11] The second of the three spheres is the intertribal sphere that includes sources and readers crucial to our task of covering regional and national developments among Native peoples. The third is the interethnic sphere of communications included non-Oneidas of many interests, a nearly global non-Native population of policy-makers, neighbors, local governments and economic interests. To be truly successful, our little staff needed to be aware of all three spheres of communications in order to be of greatest service to our own people, as we soon discovered.

[11] See my later dissertation where I used these "spheres" as framing devices for characterizing the news coverage of the *19 Pueblo News* and the *Kalihwisaks.* Richard M. Wheelock, *Indian Self-Determination: The Charge for Tribal Communications Policies*. Unpubl. Diss. University of New Mexico, 1995. I have used the conception in my classes and in several other scholarly works.

Though it was a daunting task for our staff of three, we quickly delved into the stories of tribal, local and national events and politics, while trying to reflect the cultural revitalization that was taking place with renewed vigor around us. Controversy was rampant on practically every front, it seemed. Tribal elections were, of course, highly charged, sometimes divisive processes, as they often are today. Internal capacities had to be developed to handle initiatives in economic development, land re-acquisition and management, social services and cultural revitalization. Local governments of Wisconsin were sometimes in conflict with tribal initiatives as lands fractionalized by allotment were bought and returned to federal and tribal jurisdiction under the federal policy, sometimes removing them from state and local government tax bases and jurisdiction. Local media, especially television stations and the *Green Bay Press Gazette* quickly portrayed nearly every tribal action as a conflict, with existing governments and economic interests, even when conflict was not involved, making intergovernmental relationships very difficult. At one point after controversy had arisen over tribal management of pollution sources along Duck Creek, the *Green Bay Press Gazette* printed unsigned letters-to-the-editor which expressed clearly ignorant and racist attitudes among its non-Oneida readers. I met with editors of the *Press Gazette* as a part of their own initiative in dialogue with community groups and did my best to educate them about the consequences of their unethical action. Yet through it all, a characteristic unwritten Oneida principle of moderation in responses to provocations seemed, at least to those of us on the *Kalihwisaks* staff, to consistently win the "high ground."

In editions of the *Kalihwisaks* from those times, our news coverage looks pretty meager at times. Still, the experience of "telling the Oneida Nation's story" as well as we could was riveting, to say the least. Our tribal contributors and sources for articles were well aware of the inherent conflicts likely to arise and sometimes helped us find effective approaches to reporting. About this time, national organizations of Native journalists like the American Indian Press Association, which would eventually become the Native American Journalists Association, began to arise, providing much-needed training and sounding boards for us as staff. Paul DeMain, who later became the editor of *News from Indian Country*, published by Indian Country Communications, Inc. near the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation in Hayward, Wisconsin, was a special resource as I took over the editorship. Once again as I had seen in Oregon and in our tribal school's development, a sense of heroic struggle emerged in my eyes and heart as I both observed and reported the news around me as editor of the publication, with great help from our one reporter and our secretary. We did research, photos and writing on articles, prepared them for publication on Selectric typewriters, did our own darkroom for photos, printed our paper in-house, then prepared second-class mailing and sought advertising when we had a chance; it was an intellectual, emotional and physical challenge to get the news out every two weeks!

As members of the Oneida Nation, we had a lot to do to overcome misinformation broadcast about us by outsiders, I would soon discover. We even struggled internally with the need for free press guarantees, since we were mostly funded by the tribal government. Nonetheless, we managed to publish coverage of tribal issues in as balanced a way as possible. It was a difficult position to be in at times, but any insecurity we felt as reporters and editors was overcome by our dedication to the self-determination of our people. My personal commitment to what I'd later teach in college classes about tribal journalism emerged. To me, we were striving to "provide accurate, accountable information so the Oneida People could exercise their sovereignty knowledgeably.

Though it was a brief experience of only two years, being editor of the *Kalihwisaks* was a crucial experience for me. When Liz and I decided to return to the Southwest after this stimulating crash course in tribal self-determination, we left believing that the tribe was on its way to steadily more participation in the education of its youth, more competent government administration among tribal leaders and more informed decision-making at the community level. The Oneida Tribal School, a growing tribal library and museum, improved health services, a bingo operation that would eventually grow into a casino providing the economic base of tribal operations in agriculture, and far more participation among members in tribal governance was taking place. We had noticed the amazing efforts of Oneida members in such developments as Tsyunhekwa, the traditional gardens project, and the reestablishment of the Long House, a vital part of Oneida culture that had been lost to the community during the assimilation policies of the past. We had played our small part in just the education and communications portion of those developments as we enjoyed the strengthened family ties and friendships that have remained so important to

us ever since. Though it was hard to leave, we knew our roles in the self-determination process could be filled and expanded upon by other community members. There is always the possibility that we might someday return in another capacity, of course!

The Intertribal and Interethnic Domain: Experiences as a Faculty Member of Fort Lewis College (FLC)

Since I had graduated from Fort Lewis College (FLC) in 1972 with a degree in English with a secondary school teaching credential, returning there in 1983 after the career experiences I've recounted above seemed natural to me. Liz and I had left Oneida, partly because my mother Irene had been diagnosed with cancer. She and my dad, Martin K. Wheelock, and my brother and sister had lived in Santa Fe since he was transferred there from the Aberdeen Area Office of the BIA in 1967. As we returned to the Southwest in 1983 fresh from our experiences in Oneida, we soon realized that, since Mom's terminal illness would continue for over a year, we needed to find work in our fields. Liz continued her teaching career in the public schools, eventually gaining a position as a Fifth Grade teacher in Ignacio, Colorado, 25 miles southeast of Durango, a tri-ethnic community with a significant population of Southern Ute students and students of other, mostly Southwestern tribes. We moved to Ignacio and I applied to be a student advisor in the Intercultural Center at FLC and began to teach a couple classes in Native studies in the Intercultural Department, a nascent initiative of a committee of concerned faculty and staff. Notably, my tribal journalism career was of great value, as a group of students asked me to help publish a Native student newsletter on campus. The effort began as an extra-curricular activity of the student organization, the Wanbli Ota Club and our paper championed a version of that name: *Wanbidiota News*. It later morphed into two three-credit courses, which produced six bi-weekly issues, one every two weeks, of the *Intertribal News* for over 20 years. A few of those issues ending in 2012 are currently on-line under that name.

As my career at FLC developed, I left for several semesters without pay to pursue the advanced degrees I mentioned earlier in this paper. I was lucky each time to return to my steadily advancing career path leading to an eventual tenured faculty position in Southwest Studies and finally, to Native American and Indigenous Studies. In addition to becoming a tenured faculty member, I was coordinator of NAIS when it finally became a department of the college in 2010. In my 30 years leading to that experience at the college, I seemed to have come full-circle with FLC, from being a student there from 1968 to 1972 to being an associate professor and department chair in first Southwest Studies and finally, in Native American and Indigenous Studies.

At FLC, I had always felt my best opportunity to contribute to Indian Self-Determination was what I was able to accomplish in the classroom. From my early days as a student there, the idea of an NAIS Department seemed a distant, perhaps unattainable, dream. Over my teaching career at FLC, I taught undergraduate courses in federal Indian Policy, Native Americans and the Modern World, Native people and Mass Media, Native Philosophies, the courses producing the *Intertribal News*, Indigenous Economics and writing courses supporting the department of Southwest Studies and the NAIS majors. My writing background was also useful in teaching courses in the college's Freshman and Sophomore Seminars, back when those writing courses were crucial to FLC's liberal arts approach to meeting mandated writing requirements. Though I never thought of myself as an outstanding teacher, I found ways to draw upon my experiences, the amazing formal education I had in graduate school, and a number of annual conferences and symposia in the evolving fields of Native and Indigenous Studies as motivation to keep me continually striving to move the ball for self-determination through higher education.

My experiences and education were now being put to use in the environment of higher education, one with the potential to influence emerging Native leaders and even non-Native students in profound ways. And, though my mother, then my father, too, passed away from cancer in Santa Fe by 1986, I maintained family ties with my brother and sister in New Mexico and often returned to Oneida during summer months and sometimes over the Thanksgiving break ever since. The sense that I was part of a dynamic educational development in Indian self-determination at FLC has kept me here over the years and connections in Oneida have helped ground my efforts in real-life conditions in indigenous development. I came to believe that my efforts were a significant contribution to the self-determination of the students and others I continued to meet at FLC.

But teaching and my continued scholarship wasn't to be my only responsibility. Fort Lewis College has a very large Native student population, owing in large part to its Native student tuition waiver, required by the original agreement between the federal government and the State of Colorado that turned over lands to the state that had once been a federal fort, then a federal Indian boarding school. The provision that required Colorado to admit qualified Indian students "on a par with other students" without tuition fees, remains a key element of the unique character of education at the college today. The demand and leverage steadily grew for the pursuit of a department-level program in an empowering Native Studies degree program that quite a few Native people and others who supported self-determination, both students and faculty, had dreamed of for years.

In the final few years of my career at FLC, the critical mass and the human commitment among Native American and other staff, faculty and students reached the level to support the arduous task of creating a Native Studies program. With support of FLC administrators, I was appointed to form a task force to explore the possibilities of such a program. As in my experience back in the 1970's in Oregon's Indian education program, this inclusive effort eventually centered upon the creation of a fairly large steering committee: first, faculty representatives from each of the three schools on campus: Arts and Sciences, Natural and Behavioral Sciences and the Business School, were asked to join in. Experience in Oneida, too, became useful as tribal representatives from the nearest tribes were recruited from the education offices of the Southern Utes, the Ute Mountain Utes, the Navajos and the Jicarilla Apaches, with the idea that we'd somehow include other tribes later. Representatives from key student services, and library and information services of the college were also recruited along with two student representatives and a Native American alumni member. Ex-Officio members from administrative units and the program's faculty were also included. A unique 18-member committee resulted that eventually helped create the momentum on campus for appropriate curriculum and procedures for the development of the new major and minor, then the actual department of Native American and Indigenous Studies. I documented what would become the Native American and Indigenous Studies Advisory Board's efforts carefully[12], with an eye toward providing future researchers with a record of the sometimes intense conversations that led to the creation of NAIS at FLC. A number of controversies were dealt with in addition to the more mundane duties of advising the college as the program was developed, giving the Advisory Board a role in the campus politics surrounding the process.

As coordinator, I was now truly challenged to meet my responsibilities as a faculty member and to deal with the many tasks of the budding program, including the hiring of new faculty and design of curriculum. Gaining the needed approvals for a new major/minor degree from FLC's curriculum committee, administrative units and its board of trustees, then the Colorado Commission on Higher Education was among the challenges. Once again, it was a rare opportunity to be a part of something that seemed to me to be a major step in self-determination for Native people: the education of leadership to take on the many tasks that Native peoples will face into the future. One major point I found I had to relearn was just how little one person can take credit for in such an endeavor! College people in general are "smart," often accepting very little leadership beyond the spelling out of major goals. Subcommittees could complete tasks that one person could never hope to accomplish, though someone nearly always had to handle the organizational details, paperwork and budget.

Of course, not everyone across the campus supported our efforts and we dealt with a number of administrative problems partly resulting from resistance from a few members of existing departments which felt threatened by the development of a new degree program that might compete with them for students. It was a reminder that for many Native initiatives in the self-determination era, it has been a struggle to find a niche in already fully developed economic, educational and even social arrangements in order to proceed. If new funding can become available to remedy the competition for scarce resources in such situations, intramural scuffles might be reduced, but as people often note, existing power structures rarely give up their authority without resistance!

[12] Records of the development of the NAIS degree program and department are stored in the department office. I have also kept many duplicates in digital form and as hand-written notes in order to back up those records.

Today, the college can boast of a number of services to Native peoples beyond its new NAIS academic program, including its long-standing services of the Native American Center, which evolved partly from the Intercultural Center I first worked for at FLC. Outreach programs like the Upward Bound summer bridge program, have demonstrated the college's commitment to its Native student population and their communities. A special connection for me throughout my experience was with the Teacher Education Division, especially its Native American program in teaching that was especially active a few years ago because of committed faculty members in that program. There are many student organizations, too, that include Native students. Several are dedicated specifically to indigenous initiatives that change with their student participants, proving that a sense of community is often created among Native students, even in this undergraduate, liberal arts college where approximately 800 individual Native students of 145 tribes are part of the 4,000 student population, about 16%. In many ways, such programs and the efforts of students, staff and faculty across campus helped create the space for our initiative in Native American and Indigenous Studies at FLC. The college is one of six "Native American Serving" non-tribal colleges in the US. According to FLC's list of core values under its mission and vision, the college recognizes its "…historic mission to educate the Nation's Native Americans within the liberal arts framework." [13] The statement is both an acknowledgement of commitment and a challenge to the school's faculty when it comes to how Native viewpoints are included and characterized in the classrooms of the 30-some majors programs of the school.

For me, the arduous paperwork and administrative tasks had to be accomplished with heroic, but only part-time secretarial help. Orientation of new faculty and steadily growing administrative details became additional responsibilities for me as coordinator above and beyond my full-time, four-course teaching load. Even with help from our one new faculty member and three "affiliated faculty" from other departments, the stress and long hours began to take their toll. I became emotionally and physical exhausted and was happy to turn over the job of chair of the NAIS Department as the need for the dynamic Native American and Indigenous Studies Advisory Board ebbed. I retired soon after the NAIS Advisory Board was dissolved, completing my "transitional year" in 2012. By then, the new NAIS Department was established, after years of hard work by many Native people and their supporters.

Though I have stepped back from that arduous set of tasks, I am hardly "retired" from my commitment to Indian self-determination and tribal sovereignty! After two years of personal reorganization, during which I have struggled to regain physical fitness and find new directions in scholarship, I am now embarking on another yet unclear pathway to my work in Native self-determination. Of course, I hope to draw upon the many experiences I have tried to document so far in this paper. Perhaps readers can help and/or join an intergenerational process that begins with discussions I hope to help stimulate as we reflect on the hard knocks and great accomplishments since the 1970's that can truly empower Native people into the future.

Relying Upon Experience: The Continuing Vocation of Seeking Indigenous Self-Determination

At a July 26, 2007 session at the Second Annual Vine Deloria, Jr. Memorial Symposium, scholar, activist and president of The Morning Star Institute, Suzan Shown Harjo, spoke of Vine Deloria, Jr.'s legacy in terms we all understood.[14] She said of Vine that he found ways to help Native Peoples in a significant way, beyond his huge tasks in policy-analysis, advocacy, teaching, writing and development of Native thought. Suzan said that Vine offered to listen to Native activists and/or intellectuals, help them think through their positions and applied strategies, then "watch their backs" to the best of his ability as they moved to find solutions to issues they faced. Though I don't imagine I could offer such insightful mentoring for Native activism as Vine or Suzan have done, I do hope I can continue to find ways to support continuing positive developments through my writing and scholarship. Only time will tell how that might be accomplished, but several enticing developments I won't

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[13] For more on the overall commitment to Native American students at Fort Lewis College, see information on the website, including *http://www.fortlewis.edu/Home/About/Mission,VisionCore.aspx*. Accessed 3/20/14.

[14] Comments of Suzan Shown Harjo, President of The Morning Star Institute. "Why Vine Deloria, Jr. is Important," Second Annual Vine Deloria, Jr. Memorial Symposium. NW Indian College, Lummi Nation, Bellingham, WA., July 26, 2007.

mention here may offer me and others of my advancing age a chance to continue to move the ball. The idea of "think tanks" in topics concerning self-determination for indigenous people is especially interesting for someone whose life vocation has been dedicated to such study. Also, I am aware of the insightful efforts of people like LaDonna Harris, Stephen M. Sachs, and Barbara Morris, who have recently published *Re-Creating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self-Determination*[15] after years of work in mentoring Native scholars and in exploring ways tribal traditions can again become the basis of true tribal sovereignty. I know theirs and other initiatives in scholarship with continue to keep things moving, providing effective models for developing Native thought.

In the brief time since my retirement, I have volunteered as a board member for the non-profit Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum near my home in Ignacio, Colorado. And, I have contemplated my on-going desire to contribute to self-determination from a new perspective for me as an older, perhaps somewhat wiser, Native scholar. In embarking upon another level of participation from my perspective as a long-time advocate of self-determination through education and communications, I hope I will find ways to be of value in continuing efforts of people like those who attend this section, the American Indian Studies section of the annual WSSA conference; those involved in the Vine Deloria, Jr. Memorial Symposium at Northwest Indian College; and in other, still nascent scholarly endeavors supporting the sovereignty of tribal nations.

But for now, my continuing dedication to Native self-determination has reached another milestone. I'm in a position to reflect upon the incredible experiences and education I've had and to try to offer some observations and, perhaps, some appropriate approaches for those deeply involved in today's on-going expressions of Indigenous self-determination. It should be understood that it takes some effort to review one's own career trail, viewing the seemingly endless events and encounters of one's experience to try to perceive significant elements in the far broader quest for greater self-determination for Native peoples. Admittedly, it's a self-conscious review that may be of greater importance for my own personal development than it will be valuable for others! Hindsight is so much clearer than foresight, of course, though my admittedly limited perspective remains a problem. I have to admit that many ideas below are still in the development stage, so I'll reserve the right to reconsider anything that sounds like I'm taking a firm position on things. In this case, there is always the hope that even when a person is clearly incorrect in his/her analysis, valuable directions might emerge. So here we go-

Self-determination and Tribal Sovereignty are group processes

Not everyone has the same working definition of self-determination and tribal sovereignty, as I've mentioned in my discussion of Vine Deloria's comments on the terms. We all know people who seem pretty self-righteous about what is appropriate on a scale of "true Indianness" we've fashioned from our experience or lack thereof. Surely, we've probably all voiced opinions that are pretty judgmental of other Native people's "authenticity," their apparent level of commitment to what we believe is "Indian enough." Here lies one of our key issues in the daily work of self-determination, since in the final analysis, self-determination and sovereignty are group concepts that can be undermined by endless scuffles over relative qualifications of group members. Self-development of individuals is crucial to the process, of course, but the group process, the ideas of community, kinship and political organization require cooperation beyond the competition that arises in personal development. Obviously, this crisis has been going on for humans since time immemorial, even within traditional cultures. Perhaps a remedy can be found in tribal models like ceremony and rites of passage, where the crisis of individual vs. community is channeled in some interesting ways that might be useful today.

On a related note, we've probably all noticed that in our personal lives, behaviors that make us successful in mass society can be quite inappropriate within tribal and even intertribal communities. This is one of those challenges that must be acknowledged among ourselves in some meaningful way. Otherwise, we'll continue to

[15] LaDonna Harris, Stephen M. Sachs and Barbara Morris, eds., *Recreating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self-Determination*. Albuquerque: U of NM Press, 2011.

"out-Indian" each other while urgent community development needs go unmet. Maturation among individuals seems to be at least a partial solution, but the demands of our work and the constant enticement of surrounding mass society make it difficult to be consistent on our community commitment, since so much time is demanded by our jobs and the bureaucratic responsibilities that are likely to require us to attend to mass society's demands. It's interesting to note that today's ceremonies, powwows and tribal social dances offer some salve in this constant crisis as opportunities for informal caucus, but we still are our own "best enemies" at times even there, as we find new ways to erect boundaries against each other. Sometimes we have to struggle with completing viewpoints to get to useful directions, but clearly, we will have to think of other strategies here beyond making negative judgments about each other that can create great harm and trauma. It's one of those balancing processes, I suppose, that can only be dealt with on the ground, by people of good will who really seek positive results. Those are very nearly Vine Deloria's exact words from his observations about the future of Indian nations.[16]

But even though individuals clearly differ over priorities of what's acceptable and what needs to be changed immediately to meet pressing needs for Native peoples, most of us operate in a relatively pragmatic way. For instance, while each of us may eschew some technological devices that seem to create great cost to traditions, we still find ourselves making use of those devices for strategic reasons. Adapting innovations to our group needs takes time, as Robert K. Thomas seemed to imply in his analysis of "nativization" and what we mean in our reference to "indigenization" today. Yet technological changes happen so rapidly in our immediate environment, we as individual sometimes simply have to hold our noses and dive in. I use this example because it demonstrates the dilemmas we each face daily in pursuing tribal self-determination, often not giving our seemingly inconsistent behavior a second thought. In adapting to cultural dissonance as we do, we are following another of the strategies Thomas delineated, that of "compartmentalization."[17] As individuals, we simply separate our Native value system from certain aspects of daily demands in order to make it through the day, then return to our indigenous behaviors when appropriate.

Group processes like indigenization need to be considered somewhere along the way, so that we don't continue to be fragmented by new innovations that have not been factored into our group processes. This isn't a new issue, but reminding ourselves of our need to remain peoples as well as individuals is an on-going process we should consider so young people can clearly see they have resources within our group identities for innovation. One interesting strategy I have heard of is that tribes can use their own languages to name innovations like "computers," finding the proper term in tribal language that becomes broadly applicable among the associations and relationships tribal languages so clearly convey. It's just one approach: Perhaps you can offer others!

Group Processes: Being Carefully Pragmatic is not selling out

This is a touchy one, connected as it is with the very personal challenges we all feel about our compromises between individual successes in mass society and our responsibilities in our communities. Self-determination has meant that we have had to organize in innovative ways to accomplish community-wide goals. In taking action to help form groups like advisory boards to pursue self-determination , we face a slightly different level of crisis than our non-Native friends do, since successes and failures of organizations we create to meet community needs reflect a greater risk to our individual and group identities. We essentially "go on record" as supporting certain objectives in certain ways, the comfort of being among the critical, less involved Native people we may have hoped to bring into the process. In a way, it's the paradox of social organization of our times. Getting the "right people" into the organization process is crucial, of course, but criteria for selection remains pretty sketchy, right? Especially in intertribal and interethnic environments, we often simply have to steel ourselves and get very strategic, trying to

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[16] Vine Deloria, Jr. "The Future of Indian Nations," *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
[17] Robert K. Thomas. "Community and Institution Among American Indians." In *Traditional and Non-traditional Services in American Indian Mental Health*. Eds. Yvonne A. Red Horse, Edwin Gonzalez-Santini, Patricia A. Toslon-Gonzalez and Sidney Bean, 316-330. Tempe: ASU School of Social Work, no date.

accomplish short-term goals that contribute to overall sovereignty, relying expeditiously on the synergy of our group before entropy sets in.

Tribal boards and councils are also subject to the same crises, of course. The fact that tribes are often extremely diverse these days has to be considered, especially where colonial forces have held sway for generations. In searching for some kind of unanimity of purpose and consensus in decision-making based upon reciprocal interactions, tribal members often appeal to tradition, yet find that fragmented structures remaining from earlier times are less than functional. As I view the development of community dialogue in Oneida governance, I am heartened to see reinvigoration and use of tribal language that evokes community identity in governance and civil justice systems that reveal hard work among our people on this situation.[18] Only time will tell if this strategy can succeed, but from my perspective, it is an encouraging dynamic. Perhaps internal, intratribal developments like those in Oneida will result in the strengthening of broader, intertribal efforts as people find ways to extend processes into that arena. First, though, we'll have to find a way to better succeed in the "on the ground" experiences of regeneration and adaptation within tribal communities. That will take some time and probably some hard knocks, but in case we think it's time to give up on such things, we should remember how much has been accomplished by good people since the self-determination policy began! As always, our first motivation has to be for the benefit of our Peoples.

Group processes in Indigenous terms involves consideration of ideas like reaching consensus, which can only arise consistently when people are mutually interdependent, allowing reciprocity in a kind of indigenous marketplace of exchanges on policy issues. Otherwise, people have little motivation to compromise their own interests with those of others. The complexity of shifting our modes of operations from the bureaucratic models we've learned to use over the past several generations to more traditional approaches such as kinship-based structures continues in many emerging tribal and intertribal groupings, often in admittedly experimental ways.

Of course, we are not near to escaping bureaucracy in our daily operations, no matter how much we hope to reinvigorate traditional group processes. So we have to be pragmatic in our work in today's bureaucratic environment. I believe a key point in any new initiative of self-determination is to pragmatically assess who "we" are and where our human resources for development lie. In a number of cases I could cite in my own experience, that "grounding" was at least partially lacking, often as a result of pressing timelines, creating headaches as we met barriers we probably could have anticipated with some systematic research. I realize that group efforts like those I have been a part of can sometimes be de-railed by an intimidating accounting of obstacles that may be encountered, but some thought to "plan B" approaches can be useful. Native program developers have a special responsibility here in providing careful analysis of conditions!

Acknowledging Human Nature and Intergenerational Trauma

My own "take" on human nature has sometimes inspired me, yet sometimes greatly disappointed me! In efforts to organize people to take on the responsibilities of self-determination and sovereignty, I've experienced both the synergy and the entropy that motivational speakers frequently refer to. It clearly takes a lot of mutual respect among people to bring out the best efforts of a group, but establishing that respect among such diverse and often "fully-deployed," distracted people in today's social environments is tricky. Many are already jaded by past experience in group activities of many kinds. I noticed that when I relied upon small intertribal and interethnic student groups to produce media products in my classes in Native Americans in the Mass Media, many of those groups quickly fell into entropy on the first task of getting organized. Some groups, though, were just as quick to succeed in their efforts, finding skills among members in a very cooperative way. That example is probably a poor parallel to the many small and large group efforts that are necessary for tribal self-determination, but they indicate to me the complexity of the kind of work the people in our American Indian Studies section today are engaged in.

[18]The Oneida Nation in Wisconsin's website includes a statement of the vision, mission and core values at http://www.oneidanation.org/uploadedFiles/CULTURAL%20HERITAGE%20FY2014.pdf. Accessed 3/30/14.

Herding cats is far less complex than expecting humans to be attracted to the hard work of self-determination, then find shared goals upon which to act, then execute intermediate objectives toward meeting larger goals. I sometimes have felt that in our naiveté, we expect too much from people; at other times, I think we need to be as demanding of ourselves and others as possible, given the urgency of our work. Obviously, most of us need training on facilitating group dynamics in traditional ways, but it's clear that people, including ourselves, are pretty unpredictable over the long haul. Patience and other human virtues are crucial, of course. We have to be able to recognize and value each other's personal gifts and challenges. We also have to wade through our own and other's missteps with as much grace as possible, so people don't give up. This sounds corny, but maintaining a humble, open approach to group processes is crucial, I'm sure we all agree. Good luck on this one; it takes practice and perseverance to succeed in group efforts, especially if you are perceived as the "leader," a damning label, to be sure.

Realizing the trauma we've experienced as peoples is vital to our work, too. Even the most privileged and elite of us, and I use those terms advisedly, has to deal with the devastating history our peoples have been through. I recall my own reactions to discovering the depth of the wrongs that were committed against Oneidas. I have seen college students react angrily to their own studies of American Indian policy, too. For many of us, there's a deep wound that goes unexpressed for years, only to surface as anger from what seem to be relatively minor provocations. For me, media stereotypes of "Indians," when used in certain ways, are simply debilitating, calling forth an embedded rage I can't exactly explain. My only remedy has to been to express my objections as clearly as I can in ways I hope will do some good, though it's rarely possible to feel satisfied with the result, since perpetrators of those stereotypes often fail to see any harm. That's just one example, but I know many Native people harbor similar frustrating moments with pent up feelings that are so common among us. It's as if we're unexpectedly affronted by the very attitudes that our ancestors have felt throughout the American Story's development. Living with the fact that most non-Native Americans will never question the propriety of past Indian policy and that many will continue to express attitudes that are clearly dismissive of Native thought remains a crisis for many of us. Anger also comes as a result of the realization that groups like the Citizens Equal Rights Association, known as CERA, still preach genocidal policies towards Native peoples.[19] This national organization directly attacks many aspects of tribal identity as they seek "equal rights," somehow seeing themselves as victims of the continued existence of tribal nations. They are with us now, trying to convince other Americans that the legal protections that still remain for tribes are unconstitutional and must be abrogated. It is a direct challenge to our existence, one which we have to weather with magnanimity, somehow!

Channeling intergenerational rage into activities that demand endurance has been my best remedy. I often think that my preoccupation with physical fitness, as futile as that preoccupation may be, has had positive outcomes for me in both physical and emotional ways. In getting demanding tasks done, I've also sometimes consciously reminded myself that I am doing the work for the very People who suffered so much over the generations. Whatever your approach to trauma, whether it's the intergenerational kind or a more immediate, lived crises you've experienced, I hope you are successful in turning those internal processes to your advantage! On the larger scale, I hope that realizing others around us in Native America are dealing with similar patterns can make us more empathetic and supportive, rather than hardened, manipulative and jaded. I benefitted a lot from seeing Charlie Hill perform on the Johnny Carson Show many years ago. I only wish I had such an effective sense of glib humor to share! Perhaps expressing a confident, happy personality as Charlie did can be the ultimate consolation for people still occasionally haunted by what has been called intergenerational trauma.

Of course, the trauma hasn't ended for Native peoples. Broken homes and addictions are still symptoms of the powerlessness, disorientation and poverty many Native people face. Our work in self-determination should always recognize these human costs that have been the legacy of assimilation for generations and which continue today. In creating the intellectual space we've sought in academia, for instance, we can hope our students will not only be

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[19]CERA is active in Wisconsin and continues to challenge nearly every action of the Oneida Nation. To see an example of their amazing rhetoric, see their website. http://www.citizensalliance.org/, Accessed 3/30/14.

better armed to deal with the hopelessness and trauma in their own lives, but better able to extend their service to their wider communities. I've been blessed to see a number of students take their academic experiences into their chosen fields with the express purpose of healing their communities in some way. That has been my greatest reward for the many hours of sometimes frustrating work I've had to face in academia.

Staying Healthy and Avoiding "Burnout"

Truly creative approaches are always of great value, yet there are also great costs to individuals who seek innovation as they take on the tasks of self-determination. I don't think I'm breaking any news to readers when I say our work is stressful. Dealing with "burnout" and the martyr syndrome (when does a warrior become a martyr?) should be an important part of our training for all those involved in aspects of self-determination and tribal sovereignty, I suppose. I began my vocation in self-determination for Native peoples with the sense of urgency we probably all still share. The need to push forward at all costs can lead not only to the stress that destroys one's health, but to mistakes that are hard to retract, since errors are often made with such emotional investment in times of stress. Cycles of stress can sometimes be anticipated and planned for. At other times, one is likely to devoutly decide to see some initiative through at all costs, since opportunities for gaining a foothold for the future seem to be so fleeting. In such cases, the cost to us as individuals seem insignificant compared to those of our ancestors or of others who suffer in our communities today. When our work becomes frenzy, though, we have to be able to find our way out of the maelstrom. Most college campuses have established mental health services to help students; some provide such services to administrators, staff and faculty, too. When those aren't available or don't fit the need, how do we find ways to help our fellow warriors and ourselves?

Sometimes, we simply have to give up on a portion of our stressful load, hoping our constituents will understand and support us. I've know I've failed in the past to offer support for colleagues or students who were in desperate straits, fearing my intervention might just add to their crisis. In a several cases, my support was spurned by those who probably could have used my help, no matter how unsure I was in offering it. Perhaps we need to establish networks to help out when we see our peers in the throes of burnout. I've found that sometimes, only the long view is comforting: someday our dreams may become reality, but as Martin Luther King said, "..I may not get there with you…"[20] It's a kind of wistful optimism that at least captures a sense of hope in a wasteland of despair that can otherwise result. I offer this short section in this paper because I know practically all of us will experience a feeling of hopelessness sometime in our careers as a partial result of our intense dedication. I hope that one of the benefits of our generations-long struggle in academia, has been the establishment of a few more appropriate resources among ourselves for meeting this on-going crisis of stress.

Finally, there can come a time when one simply has to get out of the way and find another way to participate. We are part of an intergenerational process, after all. And, competent folks are likely to be nearby to fill our spot if it is really a significant function. I like to say that it's important to get out of the way when "the People are coming through," meaning at times, some of one's best efforts are too slow or off the mark anyway and an organic process of group action is about to take place. In my view, letting go can be rewarding anyway, since the impact on one's ego can be somewhat dispelled by the realization that others can now take your work beyond your real or imagined limits. So we should endeavor to enjoy life, no matter what. We have to be more than survivors, more than victims. We need to flourish when we can and enjoy life, so the next generation gets a positive model - a chance to take up the battles with a kind of joy in joining in an intergenerational endeavor. After all, young people aren't likely to be interested in what appears to them to be drudgery. Enjoying life is the best revenge/reward, as they say, and having a "bushy tail" may be the best remedy for the stress that comes with continuing battles for self-determination!

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[20] Martin Luther King, "I've been to the Mountain Top." Speech given at the Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike. Memphis, TN, April 3, 1968. You can read his inspired speech at http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/ index.php/ encyclopedia/documentsentry/ive_been_to_the_mountaintop/. Accessed 3/30/14.

Life-Long Learning and Teaching

It's a humbling process to be involved in education systems over the long term. One probably learns more as a teacher than in any other environment, it seems to me. If any wisdom has somehow passed to me, it has been because I've met so many astounding students and so many stellar teachers. It has often been difficult to say which are students and who are the teachers. Though I've called upon as a teacher in higher education to be an expert in my field, I have to admit that academia and formal education processes in America barely scratch the surface of the kinds of knowledge people will need to succeed in the long term with indigenous self-determination. At this point of my own life, I can still say I have more to learn than to teach.

In the even larger domain, the human population and human appetites on the planet have grown beyond sustainable levels. Even with the best technologies and anticipated "discoveries" of anyone's imagination, climate changes have already shown we are powerless to stop further, likely catastrophic natural reactions to human impacts on the planet. Now that's humbling.
How do we teach and learn responsibility, maturation, wisdom about such things in these times? My experience in the Oneida Tribal School showed me a glimmer of hope for education within tribal communities. I know students and alumni of Fort Lewis College, too, who are diligently searching for solutions or at least survival techniques. I meet young people, my peers and elders almost daily who seem to hold keys to today's challenges. I only hope we have the time for their efforts to bear fruit. The work of those I've known in my generation continues to amaze me, though. If we haven't succeeded in reversing the crisis created by colonial attitudes toward nature and natural peoples, we have at least maintained what we can from our traditions and adaptations for consideration of future generations. I don't consider myself a religious person, but in the presence of the natural beings and forces of the cosmos, I hope and pray we human beings can find a way to live in harmony. I am convinced Native and indigenous thought and ways of life hold crucial understandings for the future, even if those understandings have barely survived among us!

And Finally, Some Concluding Thoughts

For many of us who have met in conferences like this American Indian Studies section of the WSSA Conference for many years, it may seem like little has been accomplished in many areas of self-determination. We still concern ourselves with some of the same issues over and over. America's own identity, for instance, has always been hostile, albeit subtly at times, to tribal identity. Many note that American's fragile identity is still hostile toward tribalism – "we still practice our religions in fear" as one speaker in the book *The Sacred* put it.[21] Tribal nations are still considered "domestic, dependent nations." Native people in initiatives today must anticipate the reactions of our neighbors and their governments as we proceed with needed development of sovereignty. But that may be a problem of seeing only through the eyes of our generation. The development of tribal government, tribal-initiated economic systems, tribal health systems, tribal education systems, tribal colleges may remain in question, but the obvious dramatic shift in authority to tribal nations has been remarkable in our times.

"Students" my age can recall discussions in classes like Robert K. Thomas' Dynamics of Indian Society in the 1980's American Indian Studies Program at the University of Arizona where tribalism was contrasted with mass society, for example, and see the roots of the intellectual processes that have since challenged the propaganda about "advanced" societies displacing "inferior" tribal communities. We can recall Tom Holm's and Vine Deloria's approaches to the two-part Development of Federal Indian Policy, where we gained an intergenerational view of not only the federal policies, but the responses and initiatives of Native people over time. Our seminar in advanced Indian studies, which brought Tom Holm, Vine Deloria and Bob Thomas together in the classroom with students, forced all of us to bring our own sometimes rapidly developing ideas into the open. A group of us

[21] Joe Littlecrow, Northern Cheyenne, from *Wassaja*, October, 1973. Quoted in Peggy V. Beck, Anna Lee Walters, Nia Francisco, *The Sacred: Ways of Knowledge, Sources of Life*. Tsaile: NCC Press, 1996, p. 162.

created a mock radio play that urged people to take our cultural values seriously in a class on Native American Oral Traditions taught by N. Scott Momaday. Our culminating Master's theses were guided by the need to develop among us the tools for moving forward in many fields to empower Native people beyond what seemed a narrow, perhaps temporary opening in America's Indian policies. It was clear to us that this graduate program was intended to instill the needed confidence and competence among a cadre of students who could help create the space for indigenous development on Native terms.

For many of us lucky enough to fall into its grasp as students, the University of Arizona program in the 1980's was empowering, helping us to overcome our own uncertainties and cynicism about the value of tribal culture and to overcome our inexperience and insecurity about engaging in the intellectual discourse on Native self-determination. We were "deployed" by our own circumstances as we graduated, often with letters of recommendation from the faculty, a cadre of graduates hoping to spread the confidence in Native ingenuity we had gained across the networks our careers would create. In our scholarship, we had been encouraged to look beyond the biases of "the literature" and look for sources in our work among the communities we worked with, beyond the doors of the institutions we worked in. It was heady stuff!

We're older now. Though I am beginning to wonder whether I still can find a way to be useful for Native self-determination, I find encouragement in Onondaga faith keeper Oren Lyon's comments about our intergenerational experience. He was asked by Bill Moyers in a 1991 hour-long interview [22] why he continued to struggle for tribal survival and prosperity into the future when it seemed clear that the struggle was futile in the face of modern society. He replied that so long as the young people took up the struggle and sought their traditional roots, the struggle wouldn't end. He also hinted that those who become leaders should recall his own uncertainty in another documentary when he said, "..we don't know if we are of the quality of the leaders of the past; perhaps we are not."[23] He went on to imply that we all have to take up our responsibilities, with a note of urgency, in the on-going efforts to keep our peoples strong, whatever the future holds. I had the pleasure of meeting Oren years later in 2010 at the Vine Deloria, Jr. Memorial Symposium so ably organized by Steven Pavlik at Northwest Indian College, Lummi Nation in Washington State (He also spoke there the following year, but regrettably, I could not be attend!). Though the years had weathered him since those film documentaries, he was still meeting his responsibilities. Among his continuing ambitious initiatives, he was/is even involved in a challenge to the Doctrine of Discovery, as a key person among others aiming to take that battle to the Vatican to get the doctrine denounced, since that is where its historical roots lie. His continued vitality should inspire us all.

Now, the processes of tribal and individual development in "Indian country" have evolved beyond the earlier scope of the even those huge challenges that early 1980's AIS program in Arizona was designed to meet. Many of us are joining in decolonization efforts at the indigenous, international, global level. Most of us are at least educating ourselves in that global confrontation with today's "culture of conquest" which is now based mainly upon economic, corporate colonialism, the logical heritage of colonialism's earlier roots. I don't have to ask if we are ready to take on such a huge intellectual challenge, one that clearly has implications for all people. At the same time, we must not lose our focus on purely local dynamics that are the pressing concerns of our own communities. We'll need to keep our eyes open, watching both local and global events! Some of us have found ourselves separated from our community relations, largely by the forces we've allowed to take us away, but there is still time, there are still the coming generations. Will those generations still seek their traditional indigenous roots? For people like me, the question is: Will our generation, and those of the future, be of the quality of earlier generations who helped me and my generation find our roots?

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Native American Subjective Happiness: An Overview

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[22] Bill Moyers interview. *Oren Lyons the Faithkeeper*. (1991). The video production of the interview is available on-line at http://billmoyers.com/content/oren-lyons-the-faithkeeper/ . Moyers and Company, Public Affairs Television, Inc. 2014. Accessed 3/30/14. I encourage readers to view that interview in the context of intergenerational indigenous self-determination!

[23] *Winds of Change: A Matter of Promises*(1990). Videorecording. PBS Videos, Alexandria, VA.

The scholarly exploration of what makes people happy has been ongoing for thousands of years, particularly in Western cultures. A lot is known about happiness among Euro-Americans, and only more recently have researchers begun to examine this construct among other cultures. Native Americans are a particularly underrepresented culture in the psychological and happiness research, and very little is known about what makes Native Americans happy. While many studies have been conducted on happiness and subjective well-being (SWB) of Euro-Americans, few studies have examined Native Americans.

One of the common variables that researchers use to study cultural differences is collectivism/individualism. Collectivism refers to cultures in which people are interdependent and interconnected with each other and are other-focused. Individualism refers to cultures in which people are more independent and self-focused. When discussing individual levels of collectivism/individualism, self-construal is often used. Interdependent self-construal corresponds to collectivism while independent self-construal corresponds to individualism. Native American has commonly been thought to be a more collectivistic culture.

Native American Culture & Happiness

To begin to understand Native American happiness, it is necessary to view the historical context that continues to affect and often plague Native American people today. Native American (NA) is just one term used to refer to the indigenous peoples who have inhabited the United States since prior to the arrival of Europeans in 1492. The literature also uses American Indian, Native, Indian, and Indigenous. While these terms all have their own historical and sociopolitical significance in referring to indigenous peoples, they tend to obscure "terrific cultural and linguistic diversity" (Gone, 2004, p. 11) and individuals of indigenous descent tend to prefer to be called by their tribal names (Gone & Trimble, 2012). For uniformity and space considerations, NA will be used throughout this article unless directly citing a source that uses another term.

After the arrival of Europeans to the American continent in the late 15th century, the population of NAs sharply declined dramatically due to plagues, diseases, and genocide (see Thorton, 1987, for a complete history of changes in the NA population). The religious based Doctrine of Discovery was developed by Europeans in the 15th century to rationalize genocide, enslavement, conquest and the taking away of land and rights from the NAs without their consent; this doctrine is seen to continue to negatively affect NAs to this day (see Miller, 2005 for further discussion of the Doctrine). Manifest Destiny was later used to rationalize Western expansionism which resulted in massacres of NAs in addition to the taking away of their land through often deceptive ways and forcing them onto reservations (see Horsman, 1981, for more details of how Manifest Destiny affected NAs). Later, in an attempt to "kill the Indian in him but save the man," (Adams, 1995, p. 52) the federal government adopted policies that encouraged civilization of NAs instead of conquering them. These policies involved removing NA children from their homes, putting them in boarding schools, and forcibly teaching religion, American values, and English while simultaneously punishing cultural and linguistic expression resulting in further cultural genocide. Other policies outlawed traditional ceremonies and many practices were exterminated. Prior to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 (see Manz, 2012, for much more on this Act) NAs were not legally allowed to practice their ceremonies therefore many of them were done in secret or lost altogether.

NAs have a long historical context that is laden with institutional racism, forced assimilation and removal from homelands (Garrette and Pichette, 2000). Colonialism and the associated cultural genocide that accompanied it continues to have negative impacts on modern NAs' physical, psychological, and spiritual health through a process called intergenerational trauma (see Duran, Duran, & Brave Heart, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008). Despite this long history of oppression, it is a myth that NA is a dying race. In fact, although it took about 400 years since the arrival of Columbus for the depopulation of Native Americans to be reversed, the NA population has been steadily growing since about 1900 (Thorton, 1987). A small but significant part of the US population, 5.2 million

people, self-identify as Native American, and there has been considerable growth in this population in all regions of the US from 2000 to 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Of these 5.2 million, 2.9 claimed NA and no other race. Approximately 1.9 million belong to one of the 566 federally recognized tribes according to the number of individuals the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) purports to serve (U.S. Bur. Indian Aff. (BIA), 2013). The validity of self-identification has been questioned and there is significant amount of controversy over what exactly (i.e., cultural experiences, blood quantum levels, ancestors on the rolls) makes someone NA (see Gone, 2006 and Gone & Trimble, 2012). Present day NAs represent a very diverse group who reflect an ancestry with a wide range of "social, political, and economic diversity" (Gone, 2004, p. 11). There are currently 566 federally recognized tribes ("tribal entity that is recognized as having a government-to-government relationship with the United States, with the responsibilities, powers, limitations, and obligations attached to that designation") (retrieved from http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/index.html May 23, 2013). In addition to vast cultural diversity, there is a great amount of linguistic diversity among NAs. Prior to European contact, there was a rough estimate of about 300 NA languages spoken in the US. There are currently about 210 languages that are being used to some extent today (Krauss, 2009).

Psychological research has primarily examined the negative aspects of well-being for NAs including high levels of poverty, substance abuse, violence, trauma, unemployment and suicide and lower education attainment (Gone & Trimble, 2012; Johnson & Tomren, 1999) that warrants "urgent attention and attenuation" (Gone & Trimble, 2012, p. 132). On the other hand, NAs have been seen to be very resilient to poor conditions and colonialism, with social support emerging as the most salient factor (Belcourt-Dittloff, 2007; King, 2011; Willeto, 2012). While one must live in adequate livable conditions in order to be happy, one can be happy despite hardship and may even thrive due to the challenge (Veenhoven, 2005).

To begin to understand NA well-being and happiness, it is necessary to understand the role of how funding, particularly the lack of funding, affects their mental health services. NAs did not receive mental health care from the federal government prior to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (LaFromboise, 1988). Currently, the amount spent per capita on NAs for health services is only 40% of what is spent on non-NAs and "funding for behavioral health care through Indian Health Service (IHS) is less than $30 per year spent per person served by the system, including hospitalization" (Goodkind et al., 2010, p. 387). IHS, a branch of the US Department of Health and Human Services, founded in 1955, is the entity that provides NA with the most mental health services. IHS is "responsible for providing federal health services to American Indians and Alaska Natives" from federally recognized tribes with the goal of raising their well-being "to the highest possible level" (retrieved from www.ihs.gov, November 15, 2013). Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution established a government-to-government relationship between the federal government and tribes which allows for the IHS to exist and be funded federally. The federal funding IHS receives equates to about 52% of what is needed for "adequate personal health services" (Gone, 2004, p. 10) and only 7% of those dollars is allocated to both behavioral health and substance abuse services combined. Additionally there is a huge lack of NA Psychologists as either practitioners or role models (LaFromboise, 1988).

Well-being and happiness may be perceived differently among NA. The NA view of mental health tends to be much more holistic and incorporates more spiritual and community aspects than the mainstream culture (see LaFromboise, Trimble, & Mohatt, 1998 for more on NA mental health). Religiosity and spirituality are important for many people's happiness (Lopez et al., 2002), particularly Native Americans (Garrett & Myers, 1996).

Discrimination can affect minority individuals' happiness (Liang, Nathwani, Ahmad, & Prince, 2010; Yoon, Hacker, Hewitt, Abrams, & Cleary, 2012). NAs reported higher stigmatization which was related to lower SWB as compared to Euro-Americans (Harvey, 2001). First Nations Canadian elderly were found to have lower SWB than Euro-Canadian elderly. This was seen to be due to health and social factors and not due to fact that they were NA (Blandford & Chappell, 1990).

Willeto (2012) predicts happiness among *Diné* (Navajo) NAs to vary depending on assimilation level. Happiness likely looks similar to mainstream American happiness for those fully assimilated and those who are bicultural or multicultural are likely to mix traditional conceptions of happiness with more mainstream ones. More traditional members' happiness will look different and will be related to the traditional philosophy of "*walking in happiness* or *walking in beauty"* (sic) (p. 379). This principle of living in harmony, peace, balance and order with "oneself, one's loved ones, one's community, the natural world, and the universe throughout one's life span" can bring "profound happiness" (p. 379). Others have stressed the importance of balancing family, clan, tribe and community life for well-being among NAs. Balance of thought, emotions, and behavior is also relevant (Garrett & Myers, 1996). Walking in happiness, therefore, is related to one's lifestyle and behaviors of daily living. Traditional *Diné* ceremonies celebrate happiness or help physically, mentally or spiritually sick people restore "health, harmony, and happiness" (Willeto, 2012, p. 383). These ceremonies may be overseen by traditional healers whose job is to restore harmony and happiness to the people. An example of a ceremony that allows the people to celebrate and express their happiness is called Baby's First Laugh Ceremony. Attendees of the ceremony will pray for the baby to experience lifetime happiness. *Diné* happiness (*Hozho*) comes from balance and harmony between body, mind, and spirit. Unbalance and disharmony cause unhappiness.

Non-Western cultures tend to be collectivistic; happiness in these cultures is often linked to social relationships (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). It has been suggested by researchers that NAs tend to more likely be collectivistic/have an interdependent self-construal than Euro-Americans and that this influences their well-being (Bobb, 1999; Hossain, Skurky, Joe & Hunt, 2011; Long, Downs, Gilette, Kills in Sight, & Konen, 2006). NAs are generally described as coming from a Non-Western society despite living within the more individualistic United States and are more likely to perceive themselves with an interdependent self-construal (Heine, 2008). Middle class people are more independent than working class people who are usually more interdependent (Na et al., 2010), and NAs tend to more often come from working class/lower socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds (Johnson & Tomren, 1999). In a study of Newe NAs, those living in city settings were still likely to be collectivistic although they tended to be less collectivistic than those living in country settings as older participants were more collectivistic than younger ones (Bobb, 1999). *Diné* from more traditional families were more collectivistic than those from bicultural families. Family and cultural values shaped these participants' sense of self as interconnected (Hossaim, Skurky, Joe, & Hunt, 2011).

Collectivism/Interdependence is important for the well-being of Inuit Canadian First Peoples (Kral & Idlout, 2012). For them, interdependence consists of three tiers: nuclear family, extended kinship, and collaborative partnerships. In interviews asking about the meaning of happiness, the most important theme in relation to happiness was family for Inuit respondents. Family was mentioned four times more frequently than the next most important theme (Kral, Idlout, Minore, Dyck, & Kirmayer, 2011). The next important theme included communication and talking both with family members and friends. The third most important theme was related to values and practice of traditional knowledge with "cultural knowledge and identity" being "central to their wellbeing" (p. 393). All three themes were found to be interrelated.

Interdependence and relatedness are also pertinent to the happiness for Aboriginal Australians (Heil, 2012). For them, happiness is not about the individual's own pleasure. Rather, they consider the whole community's well-being. In an ethnographic study of these people, Heil demonstrates that happiness for them is "contingent upon whom they are with and the activities they participate in" (p. 204). Being with others, particularly kin and extended kin, takes precedence over other activities.

In sum, NAs have suffered a long history of cultural genocide and discrimination. They represent a population that has been neglected in the psychological literature in general, and in the happiness literature in particular. When they have been studied, the focus has been primarily negative and often the results were not used to help the people but rather to further exploit them. Rarely have researchers looked at what might be going well for NAs and what might contribute to their happiness. The extant research available shows a possible connection between collectivist values and social relationships and happiness for NAs.

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EXPANDING THE CIRCLE: DEVELOPING AN AMERICAN INDIAN POLITICAL THEORY FOR LIVING WELL IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Stephen M. Sachs

The public affairs of the world are greatly out of balance, at this writing in the fall of 2013. In the United States, and many places across the globe, people are deeply divided, with massive peaceful demonstrations in numerous nations, violence at varying levels in others. Relations among people and with the Earth are often

seriously out of harmony. From an Indigenous point of view, there is too much emphasis on, and struggle for, power as control, and not enough on empowerment. The causes are many. Some have to do with overly narrow views of economics and development, while others have to do with upbringing, teaching and learning, how we come to view the world and guide our actions in it. These topics are considered elsewhere. All of these are interrelated with the political, which is the focus of this paper.

Applying the Principle of Diversity or Place

American Indians, and Indigenous societies generally, while still organized as bands and tribes, before they began to expand into states, while not perfect, did relatively well in generally providing good lives for almost all their citizens (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch, 1). At the center of virtually all Indigenous political and social relations has been a respect for all people, all beings, with the Earth seen as a living being. All people, and indeed all beings, are considered relatives, and ought to be treated as such. Thus, one's community is to be thought of as a family, in which everyone has a responsibility toward everyone else (Sachs, 2011). As the Comanche say, individuals and societies need to live and function according to four basic values, the "Four Rs": Relationship, Responsibility, Reciprocity, and Redistribution. It follows from the nature of relationship that community members have responsibilities for one another. This responsibility requires reciprocity in relationships to maintain, and at times recreate, the harmony and balance of the community. Thus, reciprocity involves a redistribution to achieve and maintain a dynamic balance. This is not just a redistribution of concrete things, but of all that is valued, including of actions.

To keep the community in harmony and balance, everyone's welfare needs to be provided for. Since the autonomy of each individual, and their ability to contribute to the community are highly valued, so far as possible, assistance ought to be given to others in ways that are empowering, rather than in ways that cause dependence. Indeed, empowerment is critical to maintaining a well balanced community of harmonious relationships based on a continuing reciprocity consisting of interdependence, which is undermined by an excess of dependence.

All of the basic principles of Indigenous relationship have been part of an all pervading spirituality and general world view, without dogma, that each society has held. But the respect has not been limited to members of the same society, or holders of the same world view. Diversity has been honored, because in a complex world no person or group can have a full understanding of the world, or even major issues. Everyone benefited from an exchange of views, and dialoguing on the issues. Everyone concerned had something of value to contribute to the broader understanding.

We need to return to this kind of valuing of diversity, difference in place. To a degree, movement in that direction has been occurring in the West and elsewhere. Behind the more reported, often angry, exclusiveisms, as has been seen, particularly in the United States, in the advancing struggle for gaining equality, the concept of equality has largely moved from assimilation, with everyone becoming a member of the dominant group, or essentially the same through a melting pot process, to multicultural diversity, with people becoming accepted for who they are in their own personal or group culture, in a tossed salad process. This has been seen in the ongoing struggles for racial, women's, gender, religious and ethnic equality (For example: Naylor, 1997). It is also at the heart of the rise of multiculturalism in numerous nations. As Natalia Simanovsky, noted, "In Canada, multiculturalism is deemed by the majority of society to be a successful government policy precisely because it promotes, among other things, national unity. For the most part, multiculturalism in Canada fosters social cohesion by placing all cultures on an equal footing. It creates common values, such as tolerance, that can be shared by the many different members of society, despite the fact that many citizens originate from a variety places with disparate religious backgrounds. In other words, multiculturalism can be defined as an approach that aims to assist with the integration of immigrants and minorities, remove barriers to their participation in Canadian life and make them feel more welcome in Canadian society, leading to a stronger sense of belonging and national pride" (Simanovsky, 2012).

But while in the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere, there have been uneven and inconsistent gains in this direction, and the world, almost all nations will only function well today, if all move much further from feeling the necessity of unity through sameness and conformity, to unity through diversity, which can produce great synergy, as shown in the discussion of work teams below.

The principle of diversity, with respect for all members of the community (and beyond), encompasses everyone having an equal say in all decisions that effect them. This is essential for people to actually be full and equal members of the community, and also to feel that they are honored members of the community – a necessity for their own wellbeing, as well as for encouraging their continued participation and support for the community and the way it functions.

Applying Traditional Principles of Inclusive Participatory Democracy in the Twenty-first Century

Thus some form of inclusive participatory democracy is necessary to achieve the best society. This requires a full and equal vote by all competent and of age citizens, in all relevant decisions – something that is still being struggled for in the United States. But voting is the tip of the iceberg of participation, only being meaningful if it is supported by a much larger base.

For everyone to have to have an equal say in huge post-industrial societies the means of expression have to be equal and equally accessible to all, while the media needs to be equally expressive of all points of view and opinions, as well as representatively reporting accurately the full range of relevant information. There are a variety of vehicles that can be used in a post-industrial society to attain the open access and broad representation of views necessary for a participatory society. One route is to require, in a fully private, or mixed private-public media system, broad and diverse ownership of electronic and print media, supported by equal access requirements, such the "fairness doctrine", developed by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC), in 1949, requiring broadcasters to cover public issues and provide each side with equal coverage, or opportunity to respond (Fischer, 1990, p. 550). As issues often have multiple aspects and sides, the full range of views ought to have the opportunity to be heard – though as time, or space, for such discussion might be limited, it would be legitimate for less time to be given to views well outside the mainstream. Such equal time regulations might apply to print, or other media, as well (as was argued for, but rejected by a majority of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo*, Fischer, 1990, p. 573). The same openness can be achieved in a fully public media system, if diversity of control and opinion are built into it, and the system is truly common, and not dominated by, or operated with advantage for any governmental or private interests, or combination of interests. Similarly, an open and neutral internet, without censorship or favoritism of one opinion or group over another is essential in the information age, as is the right and ability of people to freely form social, economic and political interest groups, with broad freedom of expression and petition in practice. In addition, information relevant to public affairs needs to be broadly and equally readily available and accessible, with secrecy limited to an appropriate minimum, if citizens are to have the knowledge necessary to make good decisions.

Moreover, election campaigns for public office, or for citizen voting on issues, ought to be carried out with equal time provisions for all candidates and issues on the ballot, as they are in many European countries (van Biezen, 2003; and "Campaign Finance: Comparative Summary", 2009), and has been proposed for U.S. Presidential election (e.g. the Fair Elections Act in the Maine House of Representatives proposed by Diane Russell in fall 2013 (http://dianerussell.nationbuilder.com/fair_elections_act), and the proposal of U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders, Sanders, 2013). Under this arrangement, during the period leading up to the voting (often six weeks), a series of debate formats (though each candidate or position can decide if they wish to debate or present) are provided with equal time for each candidate or position during prime time on radio and television, and no candidate or position can run radio or television advertising during the run up to the election period. Usually, the "debates" take place more frequently as the time of voting approaches. The system only functions fairly if

sufficient television and radio time is provided, so that the public has opportunity to sufficiently get to know the candidates and positions on issues, and lesser known candidates do not have a disadvantage in the election.

In addition, it may be useful to apply a device used in one U.S. presidential debate, to have a trustworthy neutral non-partisan organization chose a representative sample of undecided voters (or of voters generally) to ask questions of the candidates in the debate ("1992 Presidential Debate with George HW Bush, Bill Clinton & Ross Perot," 2008).

Also necessary is making the opportunities to vote easily accessible by providing convenient poling locations for all, at appropriate and sufficient times, perhaps including lengthy periods of early voting and voting by mail.[1] In addition sufficient safeguards need to be in place to insure the voting and the counting of votes is fair and honest, with sufficient reviews available to correct errors, cheating and other malfeasance.

Increasing citizen Participation and Input with Electronic Democracy

The development of the internet with web sites, social media, E-mails, Skype, video-conferencing, etc., provides new possibilities for communicating, bridging geographical and social distances, participating and building community that were not previously available. Some, such as Barber, 1984 (pp. 273-81, 307) and Becker and Slaton (2000) suggest that electronic technology can be used to strengthen participatory democracy by such means as televising town meetings, establishing a national civic communications cooperative, and providing an extensive and up to date on line library to equalize access to information and promote full civic education of all citizens, electronic journalism (Friedland, 1996) and publishing, enabling citizens to petition government and non-governmental entities, and undertaking scientific polling. Some municipalities in the United States regularly televise city council and other important meetings. For example, the City of Stockton, CA operates Channel 97 in Stockton as a Government Access Cable Television channel devoted to Stockton City Government, including live broadcast of Stockton City Council Meetings on Tuesday at 5:30 pm, rebroadcast daily at 11:30 a.m. and 7 and a City Informational Bulletin that gives information about City services, upcoming meetings and special City events when no other programs are scheduled (Chanel 97, 2013).

Barber is among those who propose developing electronic balloting so that citizens could quickly and often be involved in making a large number of decisions that previously had to be made by representatives, with voters logging on to computers at home or in easily accessible public places. Some limited use of electronic voting may eventually become possible, but, at least for the moment there is the technical problem of being able to insure secure and unhackable or otherwise corruptible electronic voting, which as of fall 2013 appears to be beyond the capability of technology for at least the near future. More important is the difficulty of busy citizens keeping up sufficiently with the details of numerous complex issues frequently and regularly to be involved in making competent legislative or administrative decisions.

More promising is the use of electronic means to assist enhancement of public dialog, for example by regularly establishing focus groups of representative citizens to research, in a holistic participatory manner, assisted by experts, and with access to relevant information, considering the full range of approaches to, and views on, sets of important issues. The deliberations as a whole, and summary discussions and recommendations, could be readily available to anyone on the internet, and could be followed up with televised sessions in live time, and available for replay on the internet, telephone and/or Skype (or equivalent) public forums in which anyone could participate in the concerned jurisdiction (from village or city ward to the nation). Some experiments have been done with this approach (Becker and Slaton, 2000), while Fishkin's (1991) proposes the implementation of deliberative opinion polls among a statistically representative sample of citizens that are not too large to preclude meaningful discussion, attempting to model what the general public would think if, hypothetically, it could be immersed in deliberative processes. (Friedland, 1996).

These approaches, however, while quite useful, in many instances abstract from everyday life experience when they are used beyond actual local or internet communities that regularly interact on pragmatic issues (Friedland, 1996). Perhaps the most promising teledemocratic vehicles are those that help to build community and trust. This is extremely important, because from an Indigenous point of view, shared by many contemporary commentators, many current societies suffer from an atomization and alienation that has seriously diminished the quality of human relations, and hence the quality of life, within society. Much of the web of good relations that were the hallmark of the family like functioning of well working Indigenous communities, today has become fractured and skewed. Thus it has become necessary to rebuild community, reestablish trustful, reciprocal, relationships among citizens and social groups.

One development moving in this direction is a shift by government and non-profit organizations dealing with welfare issues and programs, beginning in the 1980's, to take social capital and community assets-based approaches to target communities. "'Social capital' describes the durable networks that form social resources through which individuals and groups strive for mutual recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 19). As such, social capital is the necessary infrastructure of civic and community life that generates 'norms of reciprocity and civic engagement' (Putnam, 1994: 167). Assets-based development (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993; McKnight, 1995) stresses locally generated knowledge that permits communities to mobilize their assets, broadly conceived, to address problems. An increasing number of local projects, as well as funding programs in foundations and federal agencies, have begun to incorporate these insights. By treating communities as social capital networks, rather than strictly as discourse communities, we can begin to ground the connective elements of new information technologies in social life and social structure" (Friedland, 1996).

For the increasing rise of social networks, the internet, and especially social media, as well as E-mail and other electronic communications have been extremely empowering, and an important factor in enabling participatory democracy through democratizing organizations of all kinds, as is discussed below. It is significant that across much of the Middle East, the Arab Spring, which began in Tunesia in 2011, was largely organized and participatively coordinated through social media and networking (Schillinger, 2011; and Dewey, 2012).

The emergence of internet networks by advocacy groups for the purposes of sharing information and ideas and engaging in mutual problem solving could already be seen in California, in the mid-1980s in the Institute for Global Communications (IGC), serving individuals and groups engaged in advocacy for social justice, human rights and the environment, and in HandsNet, which expanded from a set of California-based community organizations working locally in the areas of hunger and nutrition, homelessness and housing and community economic development to serve as a national communication vehicle (Friedland, 1996). "Both have organized new models that generate information out of the needs of their members. Both draw their information, at least in part, directly from their members and represent: few forms of what I call 'distributed responsibility', which makes widely decentralized nodes of the network primary information gatherers. Finally, they address specific organizing problems (in very different ways) and have been driven by this practical problem focus" (Friedland, 1996). Thus such networks can build community by linking and empowering members, whom they serve around common problem solving needs and efforts, and representing their members in political arenas, with the speed, volume of information capacity, and breadth of coverage to keep their lobbying and petition functions quite representative.

The number and range of issues and actions that representatives of local groups, and people at the grassroots level become involved in are much more than the constituents can themselves decide upon, in each case, and even monitor in detail. But they can monitor representative samples, establish monitoring personnel and systems, and require that new policies, and major questions that arise in the course of operation, be deliberated inclusively and participatively, via any number of means, depending on the circumstances, from face to face meetings, e-mail exchanges and voting, to teleconferences. As Mansbridge (1980) shows from working with such groups, as trust is established and maintained in the network, it is not necessary for everyone involved to participate in every instrumental decision, or review every action, once basic policy is established by participatory process (until it is either brought into question, or the need to make new policy or action guidelines arises), as

representative agency has been established, and is continued by being subject to question and review. This is quite similar in principle, but using contemporary means, to how the Wendot and other Indian federations conducted business participatively and inclusively beyond the local community (Sachs. 2013a, Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 1).

It is important to note that such networks can function for their own and their members independent information guidance and decision making; for planning and advocacy, often to government, but also to nongovernmental organizations (whether business or non-profits); and as direct inputs to government, as occurred in the State of Vermont, beginning in the 1980s (Friedland, 1996), when the city of Burlington, under the leadership of socialist mayor Bernie Sanders, made economic development a major focus of his administration, establishing Neighborhood Planning Assemblies, while a local government access channel, Town Meeting Television, started with deliberative and access concerns, then moving quickly toward an emphasis on planning for sustainable development. In 1992 Vermont launched a statewide telecommunications planning process. Then, in 1994, with the assistance of a grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which had come to place increasing emphasis in its community development grants on assets-based strategies, the City of Burlington, "established a public access telecomputing center as a model of how to move disenfranchised communities from a focus on housing development issues to ones of sustainable community economic development" (Friedland, 1996). This is somewhat similar to the non-electronic (but computer assisted) democratic process that the Comanche Nation of Oklahoma established in the 1990s to build community consensus on proposals to the tribes government council, the Comanche Business committee, discussed below.

Beyond Electronic Democracy

Electronic communications for building community and inclusive participatory democracy are extremely important in the Twenty-First Century. But like all vehicles they have costs and limitations as well as advantages. Interactions by electronic means lose important substantive aspects that are essential parts of face to face relationships. Moreover, staring at a computer and television screens for too many hours for virtual experience, not only denies direct experience, but creates physical problems for people, especially young people, for whom it is important to limit the time they spend in electronic activity, while the very young ought not to be exposed to computer and television screens at all (Kids Health from Nemours, 2013, http://kidshealth.org/parent/positive/family/tv_affects_child.html; Ravichandran, Padma and Brandel France de Bravo, MPH (2012), "Young Children and Screen Time (Television, DVDs, Computer)." National Research Center for Women and Families, http://center4research.org/child-teen-health/early-childhood-development/young-children-and-screen-time-television-dvds-computer/).

We need to engage in direct activity and interactions, to be socialized to fully meaningful life as whole people living within society, to build and maintain healthy, rewarding relationships with one another, and with our environment, including nature. As indigenous people say, it is a question of balance. This author works with the internet and e-mail to produce issues of two online journals, and worked to develop several books and many papers, including this one, word processing on a computer and exchanging chapter files for comment and editing by E-mail with people at a distance, some of whom he had not yet met in person. But he also spends time in personal and community interactions in the concrete world, engages in enjoyable physical activity in dance and hiking, which provides much beauty in the course of renewing his relationship to nature, while taking time for inner reflection and meditation. All of the time, activity and interchange spent off-line, is critical for maintaining the dynamic balance and perspective to function well on line.

Moreover, to achieve social harmony, people have to achieve inner harmony. Treating each other (and being treated) respectfully is a major help with that. But we also have to do our own inner work. At a minimum, we need to reflect regularly to clear the psychological complexes, impacts of trauma, guilt, etc., and clear our consciences by asking for and acting to seek forgiveness for inevitable transgressions, while giving thanks for what we have received. Ultimately, we need to take responsibility for doing this, but we also have to have the humility

to ask for appropriate help, when needed. In addition, as Native people recognize, there is a spiritual (not necessarily religious) side of life that needs the opportunity to unfold. This can be just recognizing human spirit, in ourselves and others, or it can be something more. We each find it differently, but we need to give it space to be whole people and be able to relate well with others. Some find it in meditation or spiritual practice, others in music, in dance, in nature, in the space between steps while walking, or just in quiet moments. To be whole people, and empower ourselves to be good citizens, we have to give ourselves the inner space to be who we really are.

Direct Ways of Building Community

Community building for individual, group, organization and political empowerment can, and must, take place in non-electronic ways, as important as the tools of electronic communication, linking and interaction are. An interesting example has been the development of Time Dollars (a form of co-production) by Edgar Cahn (Cahn 2000; and Time Dollar Institute, 2012) (which also can, and sometimes does, function using electronic vehicles). Time Dollars build and maintains relationships among people through a non-money (or by creating a special non-currency money) system of creating reciprocity, returning people to the kinds relationships that were the hallmark of well functioning Indigenous societies.. The Time dollar system is very simple, and operates effectively through time banks functioning with a very simple computer accounting program (Time Banks, 2012, http://timebanks.org/). The principle is that for one hour of work, that the organization or community in question wishes to designate as eligible, a person doing that work receives credit for one time dollar that can be spent for any good or service identified by the organization or community. Thus people are empowered by earning services or goods, rather than being given them, and reciprocal relationships are established. As a result, people deal better with each other, and some people who have been engaged in criminal activity do not do so with people they are now related to by time dollar networks, because they need each other.

This has many other applications, but has been extremely useful in low income areas. For example, Sarah spends time as a companion four hours in a week for elderly and disabled Margie. In return, the neighborhood organization time bank provides her with one time dollar with a collaborating attorney for legal work, that she could not otherwise afford, and three hours of plastering and painting work by unemployed George, who in turn is able to buy with time dollars a used computer from the neighborhood organization time dollar store, that he needs to start his own business.

Time dollars have as many applications as the creativity of people can come up with. They have been used to help young people, who would otherwise drop out, stay in school and do well. For example Tom has had trouble doing the work in his sixth grade math class, but he knows enough to tutor fourth graders in math so he can earn enough time dollars to buy sporting goods (or a computer) that he wants. Seeing that he can help the younger students in math gives him confidence, and an interest in succeeding in his own studies, in which his performance greatly improves. The Time Dollar Institute (renamed Time Banks USA) reported (Time Dollar Institute, 2012), "In January 2006, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* reported that about 25,000 people in the United States and 60,000 internationally participate in Time Banks, strengthening the bonds among participants and increasing their effective purchasing power by the equivalent of millions of dollars. There are more than one hundred Time Bank programs in the United States, including two operated by Making Connections sites. Twenty-six other countries also have Time Banks. In November 2007, the International Time Banking Conference drew 238 leaders from thirty-one states and twelve countries. Other ideas developed by Cahn to allow clients of formal service systems to play a more active role in service provision are being adopted by organizations ranging from the National Legal Aid and Defender Association to England's National Health Service."

Appropriate Decision Making Structures and Processes

Traditionally, American Indian and other Indigenous societies benefitted greatly by deciding by consensus, talking issues through, taking everyone's concerns and interests into account, until everyone agreed, or acquiesced (having had their say and seeing no point in continuing to push a position that lacked support). Deciding in this

way often is more time consuming than making decisions by majority vote, but it has several advantages. First, with deciding by consensus there is an emphasis on creating holistic decisions, as best as possible including and balancing everyone's concerns. That often leads to better decisions than are achieved in a majority vote process, where one side may simply overpower the other, or compromises that are attained to achieve a majority may be more about giving bits and pieces that do not fit well together to various parties, than creating a well balanced set of actions. In addition, consensus decision making, when it functions properly, through its inclusiveness, has a stronger tendency to create actual unity, and a sense of identity with the group, encouraging continued participation, than does a majority vote system of deciding, which may more easily promote divisiveness and faction.

Traditional Native societies operated in a context that was of smaller scale than the broader, more widely interconnected world, of the Twenty-First Century. Deciding by consensus often works very well in relatively small groups and communities, but how are its principles to be applied in today's larger scale societies. Traditional Indian federations give some clues as to how modern mass societies can use their communications technology to become far more participatory. The Wendot, Hodenosaunee, and Muscogee, for example, after first discussing issues, sent representatives to tribal, and in turn to federation councils, with decisions at higher levels having to be ratified at lower levels, so that discussion often went back and forth between levels, and representatives to higher levels were thus actually more representative of their constituents than is generally the case in current legislatures (Harris, Sachs and Morris. 2011, Ch. 1, Section 1).

In a limited way, that device can be, and indeed has been, applied in different settings in recent years. For instance, It should be noted that upon moving to a participatory form of government and economy, despite a number of flaws that made the system as a whole less democratic in practice than theory, beginning around 1950 until the step by step demise of its liberal period starting in the mid-1970s, Yugoslavia operated its government and all but the smallest businesses using participatory principles.[2] This included requiring legislators at every level to discuss annual budgets and major proposals with voters at meetings across their districts between the time of proposal and final voting, while economic enterprises functioned as cooperatives under worker self-management. In the larger cooperatives ("self-managed enterprises") issues relating to the entire workplace had to be decided by the central workers council, and by employees in each of the businesses units, often with back and forth dialogue between the center and the parts, until a decision was finalized, and numerous organizations in the United States, and elsewhere, operating on a participatory basis, have functioned very successfully in this manner. The successes, despite the limitations, of the Yugoslav social and workers' self-management system for a number of years shows the possibility of such arrangements functioning on a considerably larger scale, and in a much more diverse and complex socio-economic-political system, than that of traditional American Indian nations, if they are applied appropriately for the situation in question (Sachs, 1977, 1981; Riddell, 1970; and Sachs and Sachs, 1974, pp. 45-46.).

The Example of Participatory Budgeting

A more recent set of developments with participatory budgeting at the local level in an expanding number of locations extends beyond the Yugoslav model of having legislators consult with citizens on proposed budgets, to directly involve people in the budgeting process (Srewart,. Miller and Hildreth, 2014, pp. 193-218). The current move toward participatory budgeting at the local level began in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989 and has since spread in various forms to over 1200 municipalities world wide, including more recently to New York City, Vallejo, CA, and Chicago, IL, though the inclusion of local citizens in setting budgets in the United States extends back to continuing participatory decision making on all local issues by New England Town Meetings (an Indigenous influenced development, Sachs, 2013a), and by participants in local Community Action Programs (CAP) in the War on Poverty under the Equal Opportunity Program of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Just what participatory budgeting means has varied widely in the post 1989 cases. In some Canadian instances, it has taken place at the organization level, with concerned people involved in setting school and housing budgets, and hence the actual priorities of the organizations. In Chicago's 49th Ward, residents took part in meetings to determine spending choices for capital improvements, with the result that the included projects expanded from the ward's

former, and the rest of the city's continuing, usually funded" high priorities", such as fixing potholes in streets, to also include such usually not funded "lower priority" projects, as dog parks, community gardens, decorative bike racks, and murals.

In Porto Alegro, a city of more than one million people, with wide spread poverty and income disparity, with a third of the population living in isolated slums with little access to city utility and social services, all of the city's residents were invited to take part in meetings to establish the municipal budgeting priorities. In the first years less than 1000 people participated, but after a decade the number had grown to some 1400, as people saw the resulting change in city priorities. The results included an increase in sewer and water connections from 75% of households in 1988 to 98% in 1997, while the changed budgeting brought extensive increases in the number of schools, public housing projects and health services. The outcomes of participatory budgeting vary according to the range of issues to be publically decided, and according to the breadth and quality of the participatory process. The results indicate that participatory budgeting, appropriately applied, can be an effective means of public participation that tends to diversify and equalize power, as it empowers people in the course of encouraging their participation, while having an equalizing effect on the distribution of public goods in the course of building and strengthening human relations in the community, to enhance the communities commonness (and *communitas*). In the fully participatory society, participatory budgeting can be used as part of broader participation at every level, using processes appropriate to the given situation.

The ILIS Process: A Contemporary Indigenous Example

A contemporary Native American case demonstrates that governance can be made more representative and effective, and the political system more participatory, by making pubic input into government participatory, with interaction between consensus decision making bodies at different levels. From 1990-1992, the Comanche Nation of Oklahoma applied the Indigenous Leadership Interactive System (ILIS) to overcome serious problems with the culturally inappropriate form of government that had been imposed on many Indian nations by the U.S. government (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 4, Section 1). The Comanches traditionally lived in small bands governed in a participatory manner with leaders acting as facilitators, who as respected wise elders, also provided guidance to public opinion and discussion. In 1990, the tribal business council, elected at large from the four Oklahoma Comanche communities was set up to make decisions for the community. Tribal members felt alienated at not being directly involved in tribal affairs, in which they felt left out, and, in fact, often were not even represented. This resulted in low turnout in elections and at annual general tribal meetings, difficulty in the council passing any measures, no matter how appropriate and well framed they might be, for lack of consensus, and a great deal of infighting in the community – especially on political issues. People, no longer able to participate directly in community affairs, felt unable to fulfill the basic tribal value of contributing to the wellbeing of the community.

To improve this situation, ILIS, an inclusive participatory strategic planning process, designed according to traditional Indigenous North American values, using contemporary consensus decision making techniques and technology, and applied appropriately for the situation and culture of the Comanche Nation, was established to provide public input to the Business Committee, with meetings at the tribal level and in the four Comanche Communities. The tribal level meetings were composed of representatives of every relevant group in the Comanche nation, while the four communities held general meetings of their Comanche citizens. Discussion of issues concerning the tribe as whole went back and forth between the tribal and community meetings, until consensus was established, while individual communities made their own local decisions. The result was that, so long as the ILIS process was used, measures upon which Comanche consensus had been built were easily passed by the Business Committee, while proposals for which no consensus had been established, continued not to pass, and the local committees developed and carried out a number of projects. Meanwhile, the atmosphere and relations across the Comanche Nation improved, participation increased at annual tribal general meetings and in elections, and for the first time in a decade, a tribal chair was reelected.

Increasing Use of Participatory Process in the United States

Over the last decades, the United States and the west have been experiencing a considerable growth in the application of consensus and other participatory decision making processes in many types of organizations (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 1, Section 2; Ch. 2, section 2), partly indirectly as a result of American Indian influence (Sachs, 2013), but largely through independent development arising from the needs and changing culture of the contemporary era. Thus, a number of organizations have been working to have input into public decision making operate participatively. MoveOn.org, focusing on "Democracy and Action", regularly poles its members about what its positions and priorities should be, empowers its members to initiate their own petitions at local, state and national levels, that other members can choose to sign or not, and, to keep power diffuse internally, only accepting small monetary donations from individuals (moveon.org). Similarly, Occupy Wall Street, as a protest and political action movement, has also worked to function as democratically as possible, particularly within local groups (Boothe, 2012), while organizations like the National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (http://ncdd.org/), the Network for Peace Through Dialogue (http://ncdd.org/), and Search for Common Ground (www.sfcg.org) attempt to expand thoughtful participatory citizen discussion of important issues, helping people to come together in resolving issues, and overcoming differences through dialoguing processes.

In 2013 there are only a small number of highly participatory political groups in the United States, and in numerous other countries. But with the rise of protest and action movements world wide, including Occupy, Arab Spring (regardless of its ultimate success in bringing change)[3], and mass movements in Brazil (Sachs, 2013) and numerous other countries, the number, generally has been increasing, regardless of ups and downs over time. Ultimately, for a society to reach its participatory potential, virtually all groups need to function inclusively democratically.

The Movement for Organizational Democracy

A movement for organizational democracy has been underway world wide, that has the potential for playing a major role in democratizing societies around the world, and in its most developed form is a full contemporary application of traditional Indigenous inclusive democratic principles. Indigenous institutions are largely very flat, equalitarian people based structures, with basically equal status of participants, based on trust and commitment, with largely equalitarian rewards in concrete terms, but with a limited hierarchy of rewards in terms of honor, according to one's achievements in contributing to the wellbeing of the community or group. The trust did not automatically arise, but had to be built, maintained, and renewed, partly in the court of public opinion, but also through ceremony, such as mutual gifting, or holding a Pipe ceremony or other spiritual ritual (Sachs, 1994; Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 4 Section 1). In some situations, Native societies did function with limited hierarchy, such as in battle where the war leader had a limited authority to command largely autonomous warriors (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 1), because it was critical to act quickly in a coordinated manner, and there was not time for lengthy discussion. The U.S. army has mirrored this aspect of Indigenous practice in continuing to operate using its traditional chain of command during operations, and training for operations, but in using participatory teams for planning and evaluation (University of Foreign Military And Cultural studies, 2012; Zsambok, Caroline E. 1995).

By contrast, with some notable exceptions, European, and later European American, organizations after the Middle Ages, functioned largely hierarchically, on the basis of control, with differential status and reward based largely on position in the hierarchy, though also on the basis of loyalty and service to the hierarchy and the standards it passed down the organization (Kropotkin, 2010; Simmons and Mares, 1983; Bernstein, 1980, especially, Ch. 5; and Sachs, 1997). Hierarchical organizations do have a great deal of power, and, when operating properly, the ability to make quick, unified decisions to coordinate action, as was discussed by Alexander Hamilton in *Federalist* 81, on the need for a unitary, hierarchical executive branch for the U.S. government to administer policy and command the armed forces. But there are also shortcomings of hierarchical organizations, which, first in business, step by step led to movements to modify hierarchical structures, and eventually into a currently ongoing movement to transform them into participatory organizations.

In the mid-Nineteenth Century, businesses in the West were generally rather small, hierarchically organized and managed by their owners. Production took place in what were essentially workshops. In that circumstance, the separation of the employee from the market (as the employee was motivated largely by pleasing the employer to keep her or his employment, and to receive either a wage or piece work payment for work done, with little relation to market forces of supply and demand) was fairly small and not essential, and the dysfunctional aspects of hierarchy were minimal.[4] By the early twentieth century, the leading capitalist enterprises had become quite large and technologically more complex, with production taking place in factories. Generally, these "corporate" firms were hierarchically managed by non-owners. At this stage two major problems began to have obvious effects. First, hierarchical organizations suffer from inefficiencies that are compounded by the fact that employees who are paid fixed wages or salaries have no direct connection to the market and thus are only very slightly and indirectly motivated by it (Bernstein, 1980, especially, Ch. 5; Blinder, Editor, 1990; Lawler III, Mohrman and Ledford, Jr., 1992; and. Nalbantian, 1987).

Second, the increasing development of production presented new questions of how work could best be organized and undertaken. This gave rise to the scientific management movement and business consulting in this period. In general, consultants such as Frederick Taylor (Taylor, 1916 – 1992, pp. 69-80; and Taylor 1947) developed important reforms (many of which are still useful if they are properly applied in their proper, and limited context) which tended to reinforce the main principles of the dominant form of organization: a system of hierarchical control in a structure of many levels based upon differential status and reward and utilizing top down decision making (Sachs, 1991). As there were basic problems with this model that accelerated as organizations grew in size and technology became more complex, as early as the 1920s some experiments began with forms that were based upon different principles, that were grafted on to the hierarchical model (Sachs, 1991). This included some generally limited use of participation and introduction of some economic incentives, primarily individual piecework bonuses for production workers, commissions for sales personnel and stock options for some managers. By the 1930s, with the development of the human relations movement,[5] it began to be recognized that there was a human side of management that needed to be taken into account, and that at a minimum superiors needed to make subordinates feel valued, while some thought that subordinates might have useful suggestions and information to pass up the organization (by the late '40s this blended with the emergent cybernetics approach to organization, stressing the need for feedback as part of improved organization communications[6]).

By the 1960s, organizations in the mainstream of business began to modify the hierarchical model, grafting onto it such arrangements as quality circles and other group suggestion processes (Tausky, 1978, Ch. 2; Ouchi, 1981; Simmons and Mares (1983); and Sachs, 1984), quality of worklife programs that included at least some joint labor-management decision making, autonomous work teams on the shop floor and in the office (Emery and Torsrud, 1969; and Dowling, 1973, pp. 51-67), and, in some places in Europe, limited Co-determination with some employees or their union representatives on the top management board - equivalent of the board of directors - "Co-Determination in the Federal Republic of Germany," 1973; and Schaur, 1973).

Outside of the mainstream, some examples of a different model of organization began to appear, based upon employee participation, that were forerunners of a new model for organizing and rewarding work. Often they produced some spectacular successes, though as precursors, they often suffered from defects in structure and/or culture, or were pressured by the differently functioning environment, to take on such imperfections. The most notable of these are the cooperatives at Mondragon, in the Basque country of Spain,[7] and the self-managed enterprises that became the backbone of the Yugoslav economy after 1950 (Obradovic and Dunn, 1978; and Adizes, 1971). The former grew from a single workshop employing 5 people in 1956 to a federation of well over 100 primary producer cooperatives by the 1980s employing considerably over 20,000 people. The primary worker cooperatives were supported by secondary cooperatives including an investment bank, educational cooperatives and a research and development unit. As a whole they were far more productive than conventional businesses in Spain and were quite successful in the international market. Yugoslavia, using self-managed enterprises that were essentially cooperatives operating on the basis of one employee one vote, enjoyed the second highest rate of growth of GNP per capita in the world from 1954 to almost 1970.[8] When in the early 1970's some problems were

perceived with the structure of self-managed firms, they were decentralized so that in effect each firm became a federation (Sachs, 1977).

By the late 1980s it began to be seen in the mainstream that participation made for greater effectiveness in virtually every aspect of an organization's behavior, precisely because it was a more human basis for an organization (Simmons and Mares, 1983; and McGregor, 1967, 1989, pp. 66-73). If participation was the proper basis for running an organization, then it should no longer be grafted on to the old model. Rather, a new organization model centered on participation needed to be utilized. The emerging participatory organizational model is very flat, with either few layers, or in its more developed form, no hierarchy at all (Sachs, 1991). It is the team organization composed of a collaborative circle of teams all on the same level. It is based upon commitment, equality of status and reward, joint decision making (with inclusion of whomever is directly affected by a decision) and democratic communication directly among all with a need to communicate. It is a decentralized, networking organization that is really a federation, rather than a monolithic structure (Sachs, 1991; and Pinchot and Pinchot, 1993, particularly Parts I and II, and Ch. 11, 13 and 16). In order to support participation, the system of reward was being changed so that it connects the employee directly to the market and the performance of the firm. This was being done for both the short and long term, with such gainsharing devices as group productivity bonuses, profit sharing and worker ownership or its equivalent (in the U.S. often through ESOPS: employee stock ownership plans) (Bernstein, especially, Ch. 5; Blinder, 1990; and Lawler III, Mohrman and Ledford, Jr.,1993).

Perhaps the best known example of a firm that embodies most of the new model is W.L. Gore, an almost totally employee owned high tech fiber company that in a few years went from start up to a fortune 500 multinational corporation employing over 5000 employees world wide (Raynor, 1985). Everyone at Gore has the same status. All are called associates. Gore is an organization composed of autonomous, interrelated teams. To work at Gore one negotiates a job with a team. Each team makes its decisions by consensus. Whenever an issue involves more than the members of a team, whomever is concerned (i.e. affected) participates in the decision. As team organizations develop, they tend to lose their organizational egos, making decisions on their merits and not just because one of the parties is a member of the larger organization. For example, as team organizations develop, they tend to loose their organizational egos, making decisions on their merits and not just because one of the parties is a member of the larger organization. For example, when a team at the Indianapolis Ford plant concerned with obtaining high quality steel was told by the Ford foundry that they could not supply steel to the specifications required (until expensive improvements could be made at the foundry), the team at the Indianapolis Ford plant fired the Ford Foundry as a supplier.[9] Indeed, there are now numerous examples of firms that have sufficiently devolved into federations, whose units act very autonomously, almost as separate firms, that are semi-independent profit centers, buying and selling where they choose either/or both inside and outside the organization (Pinchot and Pinchot, 1993, Ch. 4 and Part II). Similarly, in Japan, in the 1980s and 1990s, independent enterprises came together as federations (*Kaizen*s, which at this stage operated with a combination of top down direction and collaborative participation, while externally acting as aggressive competitors, Smith, 1995), while collaborative joint ventures among firms world wide have been becoming increasingly more common.

The Spread of Democratization to All Kinds of Organizations in All Sectors

The organizational transformation has not been limited to business, but has emerged in organizations of all kinds, encompassing non-profit enterprise (including those described briefly above), and within government. For example, as early as 1981, Wake County, NC ran a pilot program of 39 quality circles in its agencies. After 15 months, employee moral was up, services to the public had improved with management accepting most suggestions from employee circles, and the county had saved $151,000 in the first year in improved efficiency ("Pilot Program Saves County $151,000," 1982). Osborne and Gaebler (1993), Ch. 6, 9. provides numerous examples of the full range of employee participation processes from quality circles to team process in government agencies at every level across the United States, including examples of services becoming more responsive to the people they serve by treating them as customers and communicating with them about their needs and how, and how well they are served.

In an age of large nations, providing a variety of services to many people, while regulating many areas of life, making the bureaucracy participatory and representative for the people it serves and regulates is a critical matter, as those who make and apply policy may be geographically and socially distant from those they serve and regulate. One field in which much has been accomplished to bridge the distance between government and people, after many years is in Indian affairs (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 3), which also has parallels in other fields.

People Input into Government: The American Indian Affairs and Related Example

Relations between American Indians in tribes recognized by the U.S. federal government (the processes for determining which tribes are recognized, and who are members of those tribes raise important issues outside the scope of this discussion) are a special case, that has general relevance for the relations of all people to government, but some of whose aspects, are particular to their special status, which makes them not just another interest group. Indian nations are domestic sovereigns, within the United States, whose sovereignty, at least in theory, the U.S. government has recognized, but often violated in practice, so that efforts are continuing to realize that sovereignty in improved government-to-government relations, in which Indian nations are accepted as partners in American federalism (Harris, Sachs, and Morris, 1991, Ch. 3). What is relevant to all citizens is the communications model that has been put into place in an attempt to insure that U.S. government Indian policy, and its implementation in practice, are appropriate, and consistent with the needs and wishes of the recipients, within the limits of that policy, and that Indian tribes and people have a proper voice in the making and adjusting of that policy. The communications channels established function no better than the people involved work with them, and which external politics allows. But they often are effective, and are suggestive of what might be undertaken in other contexts.

Beginning at the tribal level, there has been effort to decentralize programs downwards, so that tribal governments who are able and willing can either run their own federal programs, according to the relevant guidelines, or contract out the running of the programs. Decentralization is an important general principle. While in the post industrial age, many basic policies need to be set at national, regional, or state levels, consistent with the Indigenous principle of place, each location is different, and local people often know the particulars of their circumstances better than anyone from outside. Moreover, the greatest opportunities for participation are at the local level, where people are in community together, and when their relations are fractured, or less than optimal for people to feel part of the community, helping them feel better about themselves, increasing opportunities to participate inclusively locally is a strong measure for building community, and increasing the quality of relations among neighbors, and, more broadly, the quality of life. At the same time, it is essential that there be clear guidelines, sufficient review from higher levels, and channels for local people to complain if they are not being properly served, or their rights violated, as this is sometimes a problem amidst the vagaries of local politics, which may involve prejudicial relationships. Assisting decentralization of federal programs to tribal, state and local governments in the United States, has been a change in perception, beginning in the 1960s, from viewing federalism as a competitive, legal structure of separation of authority, to a cooperative system (with competitive elements) with the federal government more often carrying out policy by empowering the states and localities through grants in aid, with varying degrees of discretion by the recipient, than by exercising control (Grodzins, 1966; Elizar, 1973).

A relevant precedent for participation in running federal programs at the local level is that at the beginning of the "war on poverty," the local communities receiving a community action program under the Equal Opportunity Act were empowered to elect their local program's governing board (Greenstone and Peterson, 1973; Bowen, 2008). (Later, after numerous mayors complained, perceiving that the practice was undermining some of their power base, community action board membership was changed so that the target community, the mayor, and involved nonprofit organizations each selected one third of the board). Electing boards of directors, in local programs is an excellent vehicle for participation. When that is not appropriate, advisory committees can be

elected, but while this provides an important voice, it is no more effective than the willingness of officials to listen to it. However, when an advisory committee is not heeded, it may be in a position to raise the community, and its friends and allies, in protest, which may bring about change.

Also, where an agency functions locally, it is beneficial to decentralize around the jurisdiction (if it is sizable), and to establish interactive relations within the community, or various communities. Done properly, this will improve community relations and the effectiveness of operations, as well as provide valuable opportunities for participation and empowerment of community members. A good example, is community policing (Wilson and Kelling, 1989; Greene and. Mastrofski, 1988; Brown, 1989; Goldstein, 1987, pp. 6-30; Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990; Moore, 1992; and Weisheit and Falcone, 1994).

In medium and large urban and suburban areas, standard policing is usually largely centralized, in a hierarchical system, with the main decision makers at the center distant from, and not personally knowledgeable about, most of the areas, and the day to day police activities in those areas, they are responsible for. Police officers usually live outside the precincts in which they are stationed and patrol, and precinct stations are usually centralized in the precinct. This alone, usually means that most of the officers do not know the neighborhood, its people and circumstances very well, nor do the people living and working in the precinct know, and have much of a relationship with, the officers who serve them. This becomes a serious problem in high crime, minority neighborhoods, with few, if any of the officers, members of the minority in question, much less residents of the neighborhood. Often this leads the citizens of the area and the police to be alienated from one another, with relations marked by mistrust, and sometimes fear on both sides. This situation is worsened when police incentives are to respond as quickly to calls as possible, and spend as little time as possible on each call, in order to be available for future calls. This means that police often know little of a situation they are called to, or happen to arrive at, often suspect, hassle, and arrest the wrong people, increasing the alienation and further lowering the quality of police service, and doing little to reduce crime or ameliorate the problems that cause it.

Outside forces can have some advantages if properly applied in certain situations. As outsiders, they are not involved in the interplay of interests in the community, and if properly directed can act impartially and with relatively little fear of personal reprisals from those against whom they act or whose interests they may threaten. There are cases early in the Twentieth century in American Cities (when police patrolled neighborhoods on foot, and knew their beats fairly well) where local police have been ineffective in quelling riots, because of their relationship with the rioters, where a not much larger force of national guardsman from outside the city were able to swiftly restore order. But the very distance that members of an outside force have from the community undermines their effectiveness in the long run, and in worst cases can make the police more of a problem than an aid to a community. Those in the community (e.g. gangs and war lords) who benefit from weakening the policing force can easily exploit the situation to turn people in the community actively against the police. The harder the police try to act proactively through massive raids and hit and run operations, the more they are likely to turn the community against them as innocent community members are likely to be insulted, hassled, injured and even killed with little real effect in reducing crime or maintaining order.

A particularly bad example of this occurred in Detroit, in the 1960s, when a special force of officers was put together to try to act proactively against crime in the inner city. At first the new strike force ("S.T.R.E.S.S") was welcomed by the people in the neighborhoods, as they suffered from a great deal of crime (Georgakas and Surkin, 1975, Ch 8). Very quickly, however, the citizenry began to fear the S.T.R.E.S.S. officers more than the criminals. The officers, almost all white from outside the mostly African American neighborhoods they patrolled – apparently caught up in racial profiling and stereotyping - continually over reacted to calls, hassling people, who had nothing to do with the complaint, and collectively shooting more people than the rest of the Detroit police force combined. Eventually, the unit was disbanded after it mistakenly got into a shootout with fellow officers who were on a stake out.

By contrast, officers who are integrated into the community and work with it, with many of them stationed

around the community (and have both sufficient professional training and independent oversight of their actions to keep them honest and impartial) are likely to be knowledgeable of the community and its people, well informed of community developments and concerns and supported by the community. This type of "community service" or "neighborhood patrol" policing tends to be effective both proactively, in ameliorating situations that tend to cause or promote crime, and after the fact in catching perpetrators and retrieving stolen property. The key is that the patrolling officers meet and collaborate with concerned community groups, leaders and people in developing plans and taking action.

A good example is the experience of turning a low income housing project plagued by crime in Indianapolis, IN into a relatively secure area (Sachs, 1994a). The transformation was accomplished by having the police meet with housing project management (which agreed to initiate and work with a tenants association, run by the tenants), the tenants association, and neighborhood organizations in the surrounding area. In addition, the mostly white police officers teamed up with local black ministers to go door to door to survey the largely black tenants on their concerns. Plans were mutually developed with the various participants agreeing to take responsibility for various actions. Management hired a new security service and agreed to evict tenants quickly who were arrested for selling drugs (a major part of the crime problem). With the approval of the tenants, the police blocked off some vehicle accesses to the project to make it easier to monitor activity (important because much of the crime was caused by outside drug sellers and buyers coming into the project which had been a convenient place to do business). The police also obtained agreement of the prosecutors office to take swift action against those charged, and from federal authorities to act quickly against those arrested for gun possession. Tenants took responsibility for informing the authorities of criminal activity and situations which might lead to crime. Within a few months, the housing project had become so crime free that the major concern of the tenants was that the police would consider the area so secure they would stop working with the tenants and crime would return to the project.

At its best, community policing becomes a team effort among police or peace keeping forces, local citizen groups, social institutions and services, and individual citizens (Coleman, Holton, Jr., Olson, Robinson and Stewart, 1999). For example, if there is a drug problem around a school, it may be advantageous to take a team problem solving approach to the drug problem by bringing together representatives of, and having ongoing meetings and other communication among, school personnel, parents, students, police, relevant public and private social services and neighborhood residents and organizations. Where violence and/or crime in an area are found to be caused by intergroup hostility or conflict (which is a problem in both domestic and international peacekeeping situations) a variety of conflict resolution and peace building techniques can be employed (Shapiro, 1999). These can be carried out either by the police or peace keepers (if adequately trained both in the techniques and how to apply them in a culturally appropriate ways for the people involved) in collaboration with others or by special facilitators or service organizations. Thus peacebuilding may be carried out effectively by having peace keepers collaborate directly with facilitating and peacebuilding groups and the community involved.

Policing is most successful when it functions, not as a totally independent force, seeing its role in isolation from other community functions, but as an integrated participant in community team work that empowers community people in all of their peaceful purposes. Police operating in this manner not only help keep the peace (which is a prerequisite to successful community development), but play an important role in helping people take charge of their lives and develop their communities humanely, while encouraging further participation by the citizens involved. Furthermore, the problem solving oriented interagency collaboration with community member involvement in these cases is a good general model for overcoming the overly narrow foci that agencies tend to have when operating isolated from each other in hierarchical systems, causing conflicting policies, duplication of effort, unmet needs and often inadequate and inappropriate service. Moreover, attempts to set up interdepartmental coordinating committees in hierarchically structured and functioning organizations often suffer from organization ego generated turf struggles, and turf protecting influenced compromises that are not the best solutions to problems. When problem solving focused consensus building team process is employed, the results are usually much better holistic courses of action. This is even more the case when each of the participating groups or

organizations functions on an inclusive participatory basis, so that the coordinating teams develop synergy from bringing their diverse perspectives, approaches, experiences and talents to bear to create a well working unified solution to problems (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, Ch. 9).

Communication between the People and the Agency: American Indian and Related Experience

To insure appropriate and effective services and/or regulation, community dialogue with administrators is also needed beyond the local level. American Indians, beginning with the Nixon administration, gained a communications channel within each of the federal agencies that dealt with them in a major way with the establishment of an Indian Desk, to act as a liaison with Native nations and organizations (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 3, Section 1). At first, many of those who held the position had significant other duties in the agency, which in some cases prevented them from doing much as a contact person. Even when these people were quite active, the position often was assigned only to the person, so when they left, no one replaced them. Only when the position was institutionalized, given enough time and resources, did it become continually effective. Moreover, just having a liaison is insufficient. Especially where there are cultural differences between the community members and the bureaucrats, and unique circumstances in the concerned community, the liaisons need to know enough about the people they are a contact point for to be effective, as do others in the agency who deal with the population in question. Thus some agencies, such as some parts of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), have trained their relevant personnel in "Indian 101", and hired qualified Indians to work in the agency.

Coordination of operations among a number of programs working with the same population or geographical area is a strong need in many cases, to avoid contradictions, duplications, and other problems. Thus, in the spring of 1975, the extremely complex Department of Health Education and Welfare established the HEW (later HHS) Intra-Departmental Council on Indian Affairs, supplementing it in 1979 with the American Indian Advisory Group, chartered to function for two years. Similarly, in January 1979, the Department of Agriculture established an agency wide Native American Taskforce. The purpose was to improve the effectiveness of the Department's programs as they apply to Indians. The Task Force was chaired by the Assistant Secretary for Rural Development, and included the Assistant Secretaries for Conservation, Research and Education, Food and Consumer Services and International Affairs and Commodity Programs. The Taskforce reported to the Secretary quarterly, beginning in March 1978. Policy Issues that the Chairman believed to be beyond the role of the taskforce would be referred to the Secretary for consideration by the Program and Budget Review Board. All agencies of the Department were authorized and directed to cooperate with the Task Force and to detail personnel on a temporary basis, as might be requested by the Chairman.

In principle, coordinating bodies of this kind can be extremely helpful if they are permanently institutionalized. However, for them to be effective, the leading members (or a sufficient number of the members) of the coordinating body must have an understanding of the concerns and cultures of the people in question, their current situations, and the relation of the relevant programs to the developing situations of the concerned communities.

In the case of the Department of Agriculture Taskforce, the high position of the members provided them with appropriate organizational authority to be effective, but since each of the members had a number of concerns, of which Native American affairs were but a small part, there was no assurance that the understanding and orientation of the Task Force members would be appropriate (and would not merely strengthen the perpetuation of misguided paternalistic policy and implementation). While this might have been corrected by appropriate staffing, the possibility of that occurring, and continuing, depended upon who the Secretary, Chair or other key members happened to be. Experience with Indian Desks shows, as organizational common sense would hypothesize, that this crucial matter needed to be institutionalized in the official make up and formal charge to the coordinating body. While such formal arrangements do not assure the appropriate operation of any entity, they can greatly

increase the likeliness that it will operate as intended, and provide a touchstone for review and correction of its functioning.

Since Indian affairs were the purview of numerous federal department and agencies, it was appropriate to establish coordination at the top of the executive branch, both to insure consistent policy without contradictions or duplications across federal programs, and to provide Indigenous Americans with input and dialogue at the center of executive policy. After an appropriate, but short lived start with the National Council of Indian Opportunity under the Johnson Administration, this was first institutionalized during the Clinton Administration, with two vehicles.[10] First, an annual meeting was launched in which all federally recognized tribes were invited to the White House for discussion of Indian affairs, with key people from the various departments regularly involved in Indian affairs participating. It has proved to be a useful vehicle for enhancing government-to-government relations, and for enhancing holistic consideration of Indian affairs, as well as for discussing specific major problems. To make this discussion truly inclusive, it would be useful to include representatives of "urban Indians," since more than 60% of Native Americans now live off reservation, mostly in cities (while most federal agencies and programs are primarily focused upon reservations). It should be noted that the first of these annual meetings, followed by the National Indian Listening Conference, jointly sponsored by the Departments of Interior and Justice with participation from Housing and Urban Development, with the heads of all three departments in attendance, led directly to a series of reforms both within departments (e.g. the creation of the Office of Tribal Justice in the Justice Department) and at the top of the administration that have institutionalized Indian relations.

The most important of these initiatives was the establishment of the second national coordinating vehicle, The Working Group on American Indian and Alaska Natives as part of the Domestic Policy Council. The Council (as of January 1997) was composed of 20 high ranking members of executive departments (such as the Under Secretary of Agriculture for Rural Development, the Chief of Staff of the Department of Commerce, and the Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs of the Department of Energy) and other agencies (such as the Office of Management and Budget), plus designated staff in each agency, and was chaired by the Secretary of the Interior.

There was, however, one major problem with the organization of the Working Group as it was constituted at the end of the Clinton Administration. Its being headed by the Secretary of the Interior presented the Secretary with a conflict of interest between his responsibilities to his department and the requirements for coordinating Indian policy as a whole. He had pressures from a number of constituencies in his department, along with concerns for maintaining his power and authority to function effectively as department head. Moreover, the Secretary of the Interior as an equal with other department heads, had to work cautiously and diplomatically with other departments. As a result of this dual difficulty, energy was drawn away from the Secretary's insuring that the BIA and other Interior agencies dealt adequately with current major issues, while communicating well with the tribes. This meant that the Working Group was unable to move swiftly or effectively to solve major problems that crossed departmental and agency jurisdictional boundaries in such crucial fields as gaming and the handling of toxic wastes.

Moreover, little was done to improve the extremely varied quality of tribal communications infrastructure, so that all tribal governments and their members could receive up to date information from, and provide timely input to, all federal agencies (as could be achieved by developing adequate internet linkages). What needed to be done was to move the coordination (and chairing) of the Indian Working Group entirely into the White House as part of the Intergovernmental Working Group with equal status for tribal governments with state and other governmental entities. There it would be able to operate from above the level of the departments with a clear institutional interest in, and the full authority to, effectively coordinate Indian policy and its implementation in dialogue with the tribes. The council was moved to the Domestic Council of the Whitehouse during the Obama administration, but the Secretary of the Interior continued to be its chair ("Executive Order - Establishing the White House Council on Native American Affairs," 2013).

As it was, despite its limitations, under the Clinton administration the Working Group was the initiator, after appropriate consultation, of a number of reforms and took enumerable steps to see that government-to-government relations were operating on a regular and proper basis throughout the executive branch. These steps included the establishment of permanent Indian desks or offices in all agencies that regularly dealt with, or had an impact upon, Native Americans, and the drafting of several presidential memoranda for the heads of agencies and departments, first, "directing them to engage in continuing government-to-government relations with federally recognized tribal governments," and then requesting the departments and agencies to report what government-to-government procedures they had instituted, as a step in "insuring that the President's directive is properly implemented (May 23, 1997, White House Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies from Erskine Bowles, Chief of Staff to the President and Bruce Reed, Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy concerning Executive Memorandum on Government-to-Government relations.)."

There are some Indian examples at the state level of policy voice into government, and coordination of policy, that may have a general application to many, if not all, major interests (e.g. consumers of public health services, farmers, small businesses, etc.) (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 3, Section 2). In the state of Washington, for instance, the concerned tribes formed the American Indian Health Commission for Washington State to provide policy advice and collective communication with the state on health matters. The Commission communicates regularly with a variety of state and local health agencies, while each Washington tribe appoints its own representative to the Indian Policy Advisory Committee in the Washington Department of Social and Health Services. The department also has appointed a liaison person for Native American/Alaska Native issues who is actively involved with the Commission, playing an instrumental role in avoiding and solving problems.

In Washington, Indian policy as a whole is coordinated from the top of the executive branch, by the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs (GOIA). The Office recognizes that tribes have different needs, priorities, and objectives that are broader than economic development in purpose. It acknowledges that two-way communication and training are essential to its many efforts. GOIA has enhanced government-to-government relation between state agencies and tribes through promoting dialogue, increasing the number of qualified Native Americans employed in state government, and providing education to agency staff on Indian issues and communication. The resulting collaboration has brought about advances in policy in economic development, natural resources management, and social and cultural issues. Those concerned about health care (or some other policy area) for the population in general (or for specific groups, such as low income people) could organize in a similar manner, and the state, or a set of its agencies could organize similar channels of communication.

Other Special Cases and the Need for Affirmative Action

While some aspects of the American Indian input into government example is a special case, it should be noted that there are other special cases that may need vehicles that normally are not open to all in the same way. In many nations for example, there are Indigenous nations who have, and in many cases still are, undergoing depredations from, or with the acquiescence of, government that need to be brought to an equal position with other citizens. While the general principle needs to be to treat people on an equal basis, where for whatever reason people are not equal, placing the social order out of balance, than some type of affirmative action may be needed as a temporary measure, until balance is restored to the social-economic-political system. Thus, after the freeing of slaves in the United States, the federal government established the Freedmen's Bureau ("The Freedmen's Bureau, 1865-1872", http://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/freedmens-bureau/) while to attempt to overcome the disadvantages faced by poverty, the Equal Opportunity Act was passed to undertake "a war on poverty" during the Johnson administration, and various affirmative action program programs were put into place to attempt to overcome the continuing disadvantages that many people faced from past, and in some cases, continuing, discrimination. Similarly, In India, when the caste system was officially ended, but its deleterious effects for some citizens continued, a system of affirmative action was established for members of what had been the untouchable caste (MacKenzie and Weisbrot, 2008; Davies, 1996); Cloward and Piven, "The Weight of the Poor: A Strategy to End Poverty," 1966; and Chandola, 1992-93).

Any special program to correct inequities is only legitimate so long as those inequities have not been redressed, and only to the extent that it moves to redress them. Otherwise new inequities are created (or old ones continued). The Indigenous principle is that a major social goal is to create and maintain harmony in the community (and between communities, and with the environment). And when harmony and balance – or as the Dine would say, "beauty" have been lost, efforts need to be made to restore them (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1974; and Downes, 1972, particularly chapters 2, 3 and 8).

The Legitimate Role and Function of Interest Groups

Normally, sufficient channels need to be created for all citizens to have input into decisions that affect them *on an equal basis*. In a mass society, it is impossible for every individual to participate directly. Thus there is a legitimate role for interest groups to represent people, to aggregate separate voices so that they can be heard, providing that the power of the groups is directly proportional to the number of people they represent, times the strength of their interest, and the groups themselves are representative of their members – ideally operating according to principles of participatory democracy. To be sure that all interests (and each person has numerous interests), and that all people and interests are fairly represented in a balanced way, it is desirable to have as many groups as possible. As Rousseau (1950, Bk. II, Ch. 3), has said, the closer the number of interest groups comes to the number of people, the more perfectly representative the system is likely to be. Thus the interest group system, as well as the offices of government, needs to fit the Indigenous principle of a broad diversity of power, which needs has to be as balanced as possible with the actual interests of people.

In a properly balanced system, interest groups can play an important role in transmitting the will of the people to the legislative and executive bodies – the latter necessarily needing to be given leeway in filling in the details of legislation, in a complex world – often through rule making authority within broad guidelines set by the legislature – as well as serving as major proposers of legislation on the basis of the expertise that arises from their specialization, and input from citizens. This function can be carried out through all of the usual methods of lobbying and petitioning (which can be practiced more easily, and rapidly, in the age of the internet, so long as it remains neutral and equally and freely accessible) and e-mails, and the lobbying process is kept completely transparent, and guided by an enforceable set of ethics to prevent, so far as possible, any sort of bribery (which can be any kind of favor, not only monetary payment, or the giving of gifts, and ought to include regulations requiring a sufficient time to pass after a person in legislative or executive decision making position leaves office, before s/he can work as a lobbyist, or be employed by an organization a legislator or official directly makes decisions concerning, such as deciding to whom a government contract should be awarded). However, it is also advisable to establish additional arrangements for all the significantly concerned groups to take part in a consensus decision making process to develop a proposal for a decision by a government body.

The EPA in the late 1980s, for example, initiated a process for developing regulation by bringing all the interested parties (primarily representatives of environmental groups, business and the agency) together to participate in consensus decision making. Any of the parties could withdraw from the process at any time. But if they accepted the final agreement, they could not challenge it in court. As in traditional tribal governance, the process of dialog takes time, but usually results in better decisions than competitive processes because of the attempt to accommodate all of the concerns and interests of those affected to create a viable policy. By contrast, decisions in competitive processes tend to be the result of the ability of the individual contenders to force the inclusion of as much of their position as possible in the final outcome, with compromises being determined more in terms of including the diverse agendas of strong pressure groups than in achieving a well working policy as a whole.

The setting of new standards for the contents of gasoline in 1991 used this new inclusive process (Smith, 1991). Often, when the process fails to produce a consensus it is still useful, because agreement is invariably reached on many of the issues, leaving only a narrow range of questions, which have already been well framed by the discussion of the concerned parties, for decision by the agency. Several states, including Indiana, California

and Florida have taken such an inclusive approach to promoting energy conservation and pollution reduction in the generation of electric power (*Citizens Power*, 1992; and Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, pp. 299-395).

In the past, there had been no incentives for power companies to operate efficiently or to encourage customers to conserve energy. Using an inclusive process, power companies, environmental groups and consumer group representatives have sat down together along with state officials to develop regulations that meet the primary concerns of all the parties (Clark, 1975, Ch. 3; and Osborne and Gaebler, Ch 10). This resulted in measures that save consumers money and reduce energy use (thereby reducing pollution) through allowing power producers to benefit financially from encouraging consumers to be energy efficient.

This involves recreating one of the strengths of traditional Indigenous societies, finding means or incentives (which can be moral, political and social as well as economic) to encourage people to act in the general interest, by making it in their personnel interest to do so. But this can only be effective to the extent that the structure and functioning of the incentives in practice actually encourages the socially desirable behavior (or in an organization, organizationally desirable behavior). Sometimes common apprehension of not finding a solution to a major problem can be an effective inducement to take part in a consensus building process, if all the concerned parties understand that their views and interests will be respected and included in the outcome. For example, Search for Common Ground assisted some communities in the United States in defusing the very divisive issue of abortion, by bringing together the full range of concerned people in each community in problem solving dialogues (Search for Common Ground, http://search.freefind.com/find.html?id=77561039&pageid=r&mode=ALL&n=0&_charset_=&bcd=%C3%B7&query=Abortion).

For such inclusive processes to function properly, particularly in government, there are a number of requirements. First, the process must be truly inclusive, involving all the interested parties on an equal basis. Otherwise, it is only a vehicle of hierarchical, special interest driven, competitive government. For example, during the Presidency of the first George Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council ("EPA, Quale, Committee Head for Showdown," 1991) involved only big business leaders and government personnel in blocking new federal regulation that business did not want, regardless of its impact on the rest of the country. Equally bad was the older practice of having the Business Advisory Council, composed of the leadership of big business, meet regularly with the top officials in the Department of Commerce and various cabinet members in exclusive sessions, paid for by the Department, at the Homestead in Hotsprings, VA and other expensive resorts (Fritschler, 1969, p. 46). The George W. Bush administration is widely known for including only a narrow range of interests and actors – including oil companies - in its decisions, and of exacerbating divisiveness in U.S. politics.

Second, the power of the parties in the process needs to be reasonably equal, to the extent of their interest, in order for the outcome to be equitable. If, for example, in the early 1990s EPA gasoline content decision making process, the oil industry could have gotten most of what it wanted by going directly to Congress, than it could have perverted the consensus process in its favor by threatening to pull out of the discussions if it did not receive most of what it wanted at the expense of everyone else.

Third, there need to be reasons, or incentives, for those interested to participate and the consciousness of the parties must be such that they are open to participating. For example, if the petroleum companies had had sufficient power to get the regulations they wanted in a satisfactory time through EPA, and didn’t care about the wellbeing of the other parties, the companies would not have bothered to join in the consensus process. However, even if they were generally significantly more powerful politically than the other parties, the oil companies would have joined in the consensus decision process, with only a small advantage, if the delay and/or uncertainty of not participating had been sufficient.

Where parties are in an ongoing relationship, as were members of traditional Indian communities, they may well find it in their long-term advantage to join in a collaborative problem solving process by consensus,

rather than bargaining competitively. Thus employers and labor unions, having from experience gained sufficient trust in jointly managing team process for mutual benefit (for example, that resulting greater productivity leads to increased profits and wages), sometimes find it advantageous to work out labor contracts by mutual problem solving. This may be useful, not only for obtaining a better deal for both parties, but for maintaining the trust necessary to continue to carry out effective team process in the workplace.[11]

The point is, that well working consensus decision making involves the creation of a close relationship with the other parties in which each party gains its own ends by helping the other parties attain their goals. It also involves people really listening to each other, and dialoguing with each other (to produce a flow of meaning), rather than deafly shouting at each other, which constitutes too much of contemporary discourse over issues, solves nothing, but has a tendency to escalate the shouting, even to breaking into violence. Experience taught Native peoples the value of inclusive decision making and reharmonizing processes to keep the peace, and nonviolent conflict resolution and training has been successfully applied in the United States, particularly with young people, to reduce violence. (Center for Nonviolent Communications, 2013, http://www.cnvc.org/). Experience with nonviolent conflict resolution, and with instituting team process in workplaces, demonstrates that what is necessary to get people to appreciate and use mutually respectful means of communication and decision in contemporary society is cultural and educational. Most people prefer such modes of interrelating once they come to understand them and learn the skills involved in using them.

Currently, government in the United States and much of the world faces a series of related crises both in internal operations and external relations. Some of these difficulties relate to the way in which we conceptualize and operate governmental processes. By failing to recognize the extent to which governance is, in principle, a collaborative and empowering enterprise, we have greatly increased the costs of its operation, limited its effectiveness and distanced it from the people. Thus, reforms that equitably increase citizen and employee participation in the operation of governmental bodies, build team work among governmental agencies and in other ways debureaucratize government operations are useful developments[12] consistent with traditional principles of band and tribal governance. To accomplish this it is necessary to develop a collaborative culture, even as American Indians, and Indigenous people around the world, did millennia ago, and an important aspect of this is making all organizations participatory, especially workplaces, for several reasons, including that a major element in learning to be participatory is to participate in consensus decision making.

Developing a Collaborative Culture

What is important for the general development of more collaborative culture is that the emergent participatory organization is based on the idea of joint decision making on the basis of mutual respect: of problem solving in order to meet everyone's need on a mutual basis. In a complex age, teams need to be composed of different people with different ways of perceiving and thinking and different talents, and often different expertise. Thus, team members quickly learn to listen to each other and support one another. Diversity is a virtue. The strength of the team is the uniqueness of the individuals that compose it, and the team can only succeed through inclusiveness: through taking everyone's concerns into account. Conflict becomes an opportunity for mutual advancement. Moreover, in the current age of increasingly rapid change, to be an effective team member, one needs to be continually open to new ideas and insights: work, and indeed life, become a process of continuing education. Furthermore, the complexities of decision making in the workplace increasingly mirror the complexities of decision making in the world in general, including in major areas of public policy such as balancing the requirements of the environment, the economy, etc. Therefore, team process in the workplace encourages holistic thinking, considering all aspects of a problem or situation in making the best practicable balanced decision which is increasingly the approach necessary in making good public policy decisions.

It is obvious, and confirmed by research, that if a person is immersed every day at work in such a culture, that this will tend to make them more thoughtful, concerned collaborative neighbors and citizens at every level from the neighborhood to the planet.[13] Studies show that people who are more involved in decision making at work

tend to be more involved in the community. Moreover, people whose work requires them to carefully study issues and to approach difficulties through problem solving after listening to all points of view and considering all sides of the problem will approach public problems in a more knowledgeable and intelligent manner, will tend to elect people who will proceed in the same way in government (and in political campaigns), and will encourage the media to speak to them on a higher level.

In addition, if workplaces require people who are group problem solvers, than there will be pressure on education to provide just such employees. Indeed, there have been a number of pressures on education to move in that direction for some years, and that is precisely the thrust of the current "child needs centered" educational reform movement (which compatibly with the principle of mutual respect of team process for treating intrinsically equal people individually according to their uniqueness, works to focus education on meeting the learning and related support needs of each student in order that they can attain the collective goal of receiving appropriate education, although much of the driving force of that movement has other, though quite compatible, sources, Sachs 1987; and Sachs 1991). Moreover, at least in Europe, the organizational revolution is bringing with it the rise of collaboration between the public and private sectors in education which is increasingly part of the new educational reform movement in the U.S., though it is not yet well developed in America (Smith, 1995, Chs. 5 and 7).

In Germany for example, the large number of young people who do not go on to college are engaged in vocational education programs in collaboration with businesses, insuring that school education provides the relevant skills for participation in work and the job market, and providing apprenticeships with businesses that provide opportunities to explore possible future carriers, while giving the participants concrete practical experience that is helpful in giving citizens an understanding of practical problems. To the extent that the businesses involved have become participatory, that will tend to increase the participatory education of students. Furthermore, to the extent, and *only to the extent*, that such education is sufficiently, and sufficiently equally, provided for all young people (currently a major failing in the United States with its "savage inequalities" of educational opportunities, Kozal, 1991 – and more recently the situation has only gotten worse), and is paired with appropriate public policy to create and maintain adequate job opportunities for everyone, the relevance and meaningfulness of the participatory education experience (Sachs, 1992) should be a significant force for overcoming youth alienation at school and in general.

The change in consciousness that such changes in education and workplace social process and culture would create, if adequately developed, would tend to have a significant impact on moving the balance of opposed forces favoring and opposing positive socio-economic-political transformation that the United States has been experiencing for some time in a positive direction in almost all areas, and positive movement in each area will generally tend to increase the likelihood of positive movement in the others (although the correlations are complex, and not totally or equally reciprocal). For example, the kind of mutual respect, in team process and related education, for each person (organization, group, culture, etc.) and approaching problems holistically with concern for mutual gain in the process, should set an appropriate basis for dealing positively and effectively with the problems of diversity that are extremely divisive in contemporary America and internationally. This should tend to be the case both because the consciousness involved focuses attention on long run self-interest, that must include the needs of others, and because the new workplace system tends to move toward more equal compensation at work (while encouraging an outlook that favors public policies that move toward moderation of extreme differences of income, when possible, at the lower end through providing opportunities for becoming more equal rather than through direct transfers[14]).

Similarly, the kind of long term inclusive (and long term self-interest), holistic, thinking of the new workplace and related education tends to move people toward finding ways to use technology that are helpful, or neutral toward human beings and the environment precisely because such thinking orients one toward considering the full range of factors and long term consequences of actions, which is increasingly essential given the short run thinking that continues to create vast environmental problems (Sachs, 2008). Conversely, appreciating the need to think in this way from dealing with environmental issues, tends to encourage thinking in this way generally, and

reinforces this aspect of the new workplace/education culture. This kind of thinking, which also includes considering problems from the points of view of everyone involved, requires seeking out the full range of views and relevant information, which is made easier by the new information technology if it remains open and neutral, which in turn has a democratizing tendency when used in this way. Conversely, while the gestalt of the new culture approves of *appropriate* monitoring of human activities in order to gain useful and *empowering* information for making mutually respectful decisions, the entire approach mediates against using the technology (or older means) for increasing hierarchical control, except in specific cases when doing so is appropriate, and perhaps empowering (e.g. using monitoring technology to allow persons with destructive tendencies to work or go to school rather than to be confined in jail or mental institutions).

Moving to Reinvent Government

Finally, the rise of the participatory workplace has begun to produce a new approach to government and public policy making and administration that goes beyond traditional left-right, conservative-liberal, and other, dichotomies toward producing more dialectical, innovative problem solving (pragmatic rather than dogmatic) and harmonious (by being inclusive) approaches to the whole field of governance (although, as of fall 2014, a strong counter trend of polarized often more ideological politics stemming from growing income inequality is quite visible). There are currently many versions and expressions of this rising approach (or set of approaches). One of the best known is set out by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler in *Reinventing Government*, 1993,[15] which is a very significant work because it documents the rise of a new approach on the American political scene. Where traditional American conservatives (i.e. traditional liberals such as Milton Friedman and Ronald Reagan) and New Deal Liberals (e.g. Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson) are caught in an either/or argument on many issues, the "new politics" attempts to integrate the concerns of both positions.

For example, conservatives argue that government needs to be small, doing little regulation and providing few services, because doing more involves government becoming bogged down in an undemocratically unresponsive, inefficient, costly bureaucracy. Conversely, liberals argue that government must provide many services and engage in considerable regulation because there is a public need that can only be met by government. The new politics agrees with both, saying that there are many public needs that government is required to make representative decisions about, but that since the conservatives are right about the ills of bureaucracy, government needs to act in debureaucratizing, maintaining representative ways to guide public policy, but not necessarily carry out all policies itself. Thus where conservatives would remove government from involvement, or contract that involvement out as a matter of principle, and liberals would insist that government undertake the function in question and carry it out itself, under the new politics, government would have a responsibility to make policy about the matters in question, but decide case by case whether to carry it out itself.

To have the time and energy to make and change such policy efficiently, at low cost, responsively, and appropriately, government would often engage in "steering rather than rowing" (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993, Ch. 1): setting the policy and reviewing its being carried out, but selectively deciding where it was better to carry out the policy directly, contract out administration, and/or create mechanisms and incentives to achieve the policy goals with minimal need for direct administration (e.g. rather than providing job training directly or by contract, providing vouchers to eligible people usable at accredited training programs, to cut bureaucracy, increase individual choice, and keep training relevant and efficient through choice driven competition, which could involve either or both private and/or public providers).

The most interesting aspect of *Reinventing Government* is that the work is not just a theoretical tract, but a first attempt at mapping new approaches and methods which in the 1990s were actually being applied in the U.S. Thus it presents a partial documentation of the consciousness related with team process (but also having other sources) beginning to appear significantly in public affairs.[16] Though a more inclusive and holistic consciousness was only beginning to emerge, usually only in part, and with resistance by some people, there are numerous signs that its emergence was (and beneath the surface of the extreme political struggles of the Obama administration

years), may be a growing trend. For example, A 1996 survey research showed the emergence of "transformational values" in 25% of the U.S. adult population: a new subculture, who wish to rebuild neighborhoods, reduce family and street violence (usually by prevention rather than by getting tough), clean up and protect the environment (accepting the costs of doing so) - often feeling nature as sacred - and favoring a decentralization of power based, generally, upon more participatory decision making. In addition, surveys of people extensively engaged in computer networking tend to show the rise of participatory and empowerment oriented attitudes (Ray, 1996).

A similar trend was noted in the rise of "the new historicism" school of literary criticism among scholars of literature, which Veeser, 1989, describes in part, “As the first successful counterattack in decades against this profoundly anti-intellectual ethos, New Historicism has given scholars new opportunities to cross the boundaries separating history, anthropology, art, politics, literature, and economics. It has struck down the doctrine of noninterference that forbade humanists to intrude on questions of politics, power, indeed on all matters that deeply affect people's practical lives--matters best left, prevailing wisdom went, to experts who could be trusted to preserve order and stability in 'our' global and intellectual domains."[17] It remains to be seen if, in the current world and national political struggles, these developments, and other cultural changes mentioned in the introduction to part II of this book, will manifest in a more inclusive participatory society, essentially applying Indigenous governance principles appropriately for the current period, with an eye to future developments. But there is no question that these developments are examples of what is needed to move significantly in that direction.

It should be noted that the development of the new consciousness has been, and almost certainly will continue to be, a dialectical rather than a linear and/or zero sum process. Many forces are involved coming from different directions. While the organizational revolution, supported by the information revolution, have been the most important of the positive forces for larger change, similar thinking and processes have also been developing essentially independently, from other sources, to react synergistically with the main organizational thrust, such as a growing use of collaborative decision making in professional organizations beginning before the coining of the term "team process" and the increasing use of conflict transforming (Lederach, 2003; and Lederach, 2003a) or similar participatory dispute resolution processes in many settings that have a variety of roots spanning the peace movement, traditional and new age spiritual paths and professional mediation and arbitration, to name only a few.

The Positive in the Negative

It is important to note that the so called "negative" forces and developments have also been playing a role in the development of the new consciousness and processes related to it. For example, the rise of increasingly serious and wide spread environmental problems has spurred environmental consciousness. Increasing polarization in communities has fostered the broader application of inclusive, participatory dispute resolution processes. And worsening crime rates and violence in the 1980s encouraged the application of community policing. Indeed, the driving force behind the organizational revolution, which author Stephen Sachs analysis indicates as the most important single development and force for positive transformation, is itself largely the product of increasingly prevalent dysfunction with the traditional organization paradigm combined with the pressure of increased world wide competition in the market, and pressure to conserve limited resources in the public and nonprofit sectors, and to find better ways to get things done.

The question, then, is, is this new form of organization really emerging, or is it just a current trend? After all, if we are in the midst of an organizational revolution, we aren't very far along as yet, and in any case revolutions often do not end up where one would think they are going. Moreover, there are counter trends in contemporary organizations, such as downsizing, use of new information technology to increase top down control, and growing differences in income between top executives and beginning employees in large American firms, as well as increasing concentration of wealth in a few hands.

There are a number of reasons to think that the general model is in fact emerging, even though some of the details may not end up as we would now perceive them, and doubtlessly there will be new developments. First,

participatory organizations are far more effective than hierarchical organizations. Indeed, the tightness of the world economy in the 1980s and 1990s was driving the revolution, world wide (though faster in some locations than others). However, the trend toward the internationalization of business (including the increasing portability of capital), and further concentration of capital in fewer hands (Korten, 1995; and McChesney and Nichols, 2013), has been a counter trend, first lessening the pressure of competition, and thus lessening the pressure to make organizations more effective by increasing their democratization. Secondly, democratization in all sectors, is viewed by many in top hierarchical positions as a limitation upon, if not a threat to, their power and position (e.g. the attempts by a number of billionaires, including the Koch Brothers to repress voting, greatly weaken unions, and, in part by buying key media, influence public opinion by spreading propaganda, and limiting the availability of information and views that run counter to their perceived interests, Mayer, 2010; and Carroll, 2013). Should these forces succeed, the result could well be a world dominated by hierarchically managed international cartels. Fortunately, this trend is also feeding a counter movement, that includes the rise of movements and groups such as Occupy and Moveon.Org, in the United States, and broad protest movements around the world.

The change in reward systems, including the spreading of ownership of capital (as well as the decentralizing of decision making and hence power in the organization) *if fully enough developed* would mitigate much of that danger. To prevent undo monopolization, and to allow the development of diversity of ownership of capital and power, will require enlightened public policy. The increasing growth of multinationals now makes that impossible to be achieved by single nations. Thus it is imperative that appropriate transnational methods for doing this be developed. However, the spreading of "free trade" agreements such as NAFTA, has primarily benefited multinational cartels, and has yet to get many people to move from senses of national interest, to join in a new sense of global interest (Korten, 1995).

But what of the counter trend to the rise of real participation in the workplace through downsizing, increased scrutiny and control of employees, etc. to deal with inefficiency in hierarchical organizations in the face of tight market competition? The answer seems to be fairly clear from both theoretical analysis and practical experience that such tactics (and they are tactics not true strategies) may be beneficial in short run situations, but they are counter productive in the long run. There are two problems with downsizing. The first is that downsizing is usually not just a method for making firms more efficient by trimming labor. It is usually taken to reduce costs, which it does, but generally involves reducing output (production or service) and hence reduces both income and market share (Smith, 1995, Ch. 2 and 9). A company in financial difficulty from failing to make timely progress in solving operational problems may have no choice except to cut back on its operations, but if it does nothing more, it only makes a momentary gain while reducing its competitive position and market power which weakens the firm's ability to do well in the market in the future. Moreover, large scale reduction of the workforce almost always leaves remaining employees feeling expendable and wondering if they are soon to be fired. Hence employee morale and commitment go down, lowering productivity and quality of effort, which is a direct disadvantage for any organization. Moreover, in an age where quality of product and employee attentiveness to operations are increasingly critical factors, the negative effect of lowered morale and commitment become increasingly damaging over time.

The same is true of increasing the use of top down control techniques, that also have the disadvantage that someone has to be paid to do the monitoring. One of the advantages of switching to team process, where employees have a real stake in the outcome of their work, is that supervising costs can be reduced very substantially as teams move to self-monitoring out of commitment, using all the information that they can obtain to find ways to improve their performance. In the team process organization the increased information about performance provided by the new information process becomes a vehicle for empowerment and new energy, where in a hierarchical control setting, the gains that can be made from using the increased information are limited by the direct financial and indirect human costs of obtaining and applying that information. Moreover, experience shows that committed people with sufficient education regularly make better decisions about how to use that information to improve their own work than outside managers or experts who are not directly involved in the work process, precisely because those involved in a process are in a position to know it better than any one else (Lesieur,

1958).

The coming into being of the information age is clearly an important factor in favor of an organizational form that is based upon problem solving and networking (Drucker, 1989; Drucker, 1993). The industrial age made it possible to make huge numbers of the same thing, though not with the quality of individual craft work. The computer now makes it possible to mass produce different things, with the variation programmed into production and instantly adjustable, with many of the products more finely made than was traditionally possible with individual craft work. This means that we are increasingly entering an age where all business, including manufacturing, is service oriented. This is the reason for the rise of the customer orientation, first in business, and increasingly in government and non-profit organizations (e.g. the broad popularity of TQM: total quality management). The required customer orientation fits perfectly with the outlook of participatory organizations, and the customization to each particular need requires the decentralization and possibility of direct customer contacts of a participatory networking organization.

But there is one potential complex of problems to be overcome here. First, the high tech, problem solving, participatory organization requires highly educated employees. Second, it is becoming possible to undertake increasing volumes of all kinds of work with less and less labor input. Therefore, it is possible that if the current uneven quality of schools in the United States continues to produce only a limited number of qualified potential information workers, and if public policy continues to encourage firms to hire fewer employees working many hours, rather than many employees working fewer hours (e.g. Having firms, rather than the general public or individuals, pay for health care and other benefits per individual, and not per work period or per dollar in direct compensation, encourages paying overtime rather than hiring new employees) it is possible that the U.S. could become a widely divided two class society of high income information workers and unemployed (or seriously underemployed and low paid) people. It appears, therefore, that the participatory organization is likely to emerge in some form that is beneficial to its members. But the extent to which the new developments will be beneficial to national societies and to the planet depends upon foresight and sensitivity in public policy from the neighborhood to the world.

It is now clear that as the world moves into the information age, it is experiencing the rise of a participatory form of organization. This rise has taken place over several stages for a considerable time. We cannot be sure what the final result will be, but there is a clear trend which, if it continues in its current direction, may not only make organizations more efficient and working life more humane, but has the potential to contribute significantly to the creation of a more peaceable culture, and hence to a more peaceable world, founded upon a participatory society and culture.

Building the Foundation: Participatory Culture

Ultimately, ownership-control arrangements and regulations, and organizational structures are not enough to insure participatory organizations or fully representative and open public discussion in the wider society. A culture of respect for all people and the positive value of all participating, hearing all views, and appreciation of the synergy that arises from inclusive dialogue, are a critical foundation for a participatory community or society.

Thus, there is also an educational aspect of inclusive participation (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 4, Section 1). This involves first, learning the value of diversity, combined with a focus on solving problems, based on fact finding and analysis, rather than ideology, and taking part in a common process to find the best policies or actions, and avoiding blaming people, which is divisive, in the course of choosing courses of action. Second, is developing a set of skills. This begins by developing the ability to problem solve analytically, rather than jumping directly from a problem to a solution: learning to effectively illuminate problems, identify and understand options, and make or create the best choices among the alternatives, or by combining elements of them. Since this is a collective problem solving process, next come a set of communicating and interacting skills. The first of these is learning to listen empathetically, so as to appreciate and honor each person's perspective (regardless of whether

one agrees with their views), and listening clearly, so as to hear accurately what they are really saying (rather than what one may assume they are going to say - as often happens when people debate: therefore the aim is to dialogue and not to debate: to share concerns, not to argue for positions). Next, is speaking supportively, always honoring the other persons, acknowledging their concerns (whether or not one agrees with their opinions). If someone's behavior or performance is a problem, one needs to speak to suggest improvement (usually after praising the person's [group's] positive behavior, rather than criticizing). The idea is to focus on the positive to the extent possible, so that the feeling of mutuality of the group or community is maintained and strengthened, in the common effort of creating the best practicable decisions.

To promote and maintain the quality of the process, it is important to enhance the participants' ability to act and speak to encourage everyone to participate and to support the process of participation: It is usually best, especially for leaders, to begin by presenting problems, to ask everyone how they see them, rather than presenting solutions, so that everyone is included in deciding. Everyone can help facilitate the process by drawing others into it, especially those who have said little or nothing, and helping find other ways to see the question at hand when the discussion gets bogged down, or participants fall into arguing instead of dialoguing. The idea is to come together to identify and solve problems or develop a plan toward some goal. Thus the group must begin by hearing how everyone sees the problem or goal, collectively defining it, so that there is a proper basis for proceeding to consider alternative ways for finding (or creating) solutions or plans, and having heard everyone's thoughts on what to do, to collectively choose or create the best way, including everyone's concerns and ideas in the process. The main job of group leaders is to act as facilitators, to help the process move ahead in a good and inclusive way (as traditional tribal leaders usually did), rather than attempting to move the group toward specific decisions. Some of these skills are more essential in small group decision making, than in mass processes, but all of them are important in every arena of public discussion.

In the information age, education for participatory democracy also needs to include learning how to find information, particularly on the internet, and especially to know how to evaluate what are and are not good and accurate sources of information, ideas and approaches to issues and problems. The most important learnings are how to learn, how to perceive, think analytically – understanding the need to see issues and problems from the full range of relevant perspectives, and how to find the information that one needs. But it is also necessary to learn at least basic civics: how political, economic and social systems function; have some knowledge of geography: human, political, economic, environmental, etc., as well as attain the skills and information needed for every day living and working. For a participatory society, it also helps to learn that life is a never ending process of education.

Insuring the Dispersion of Power

A crucial aspect of traditional Indigenous societies, and a necessity for any well working democracy is the wide dispersion of power, in all its forms, so that in practice people can have an approximately equal voice and influence, with essentially equal access to sources of information, and whatever services, including education, are necessary to provide for basically equal participation, not only in decision making, but in society, so that all have an equal opportunity in life, including in developing carriers, in the economy, etc. On the political side, as we have been discussing, in the postmodern age this requires not only political, but ultimately virtually all institutions, to operate on the basis of inclusive participatory democracy, with political authority widely dispersed – including no undue power or concentration of power in any office or agency – and with all political and governmental functions carried out with transparency (except in limited cases where secrecy or protection of privacy is legitimate) and subject to review and appropriate corrective action for any improprieties that may occur.

As to the structure of government, there are a variety of forms that meet the basic American Indian principles of participatory democracy and practical effectiveness in the current era. The need for dispersion of political power within (as well as external to) government has already been mentioned, which in a nation of any size needs to involve a federalism in which the central government sets the basic guidelines of policy in order to

insure coordination of policy and protection of basic rights, and within those guidelines the states or provinces doing the same within their jurisdiction, while so far as is practicable, policy ought to be carried out at the local level to meet local conditions and which is potentially more democratic because the geographical distance between the people and the government is closest, with the voting power of people the greatest as their are fewer of them in local jurisdictions, and the ratio of people to their elected officials is the smallest.

There are some caveats to this. We are in an age where the most important decisions need to be made at the national and international level, because local and regional economies and environments are more closely interlinked than ever before, really constituting national and international economies and environments, while with the development of electronic communications, citizens may know more about what is happening, and what their representatives and administrative officials at the higher levels are doing, particularly at the national level, than at the lower, and especially the local level. Also, in the smaller arenas of the states and localities, there are often a smaller number of interests and points of view, that at times can lead to more skewed policies, and a higher likelihood of people being discriminated against and having their rights violated than is likely to occur with higher level decision making. Thus, in the current era, decentralization needs to be balanced with sufficient higher level decision making and vehicles for review of the lower levels, compared with a century ago, and even more so since the time of contact. Indeed, one of the reasons for writing the U.S. Constitution and abandoning the Articles of Confederation, which closely followed the examples of the Hodenosaunee, Wendot, and Muscogee federations in having strong legislatures, requiring a consensus agreement to make decisions, a weak executive, and almost all domestic authority in the states, was even then the need to have national decision making power in many fields, including commerce.

Concerning the structure of the national government (and also the lower level governments) a number of different forms and variations on them fit the basic principles of participatory democracy and dispersion of power, with the need to be effective. Some argue that a parliamentary form of government is more democratic than a Presidential model with a separation of powers and checks and balances, as the parliamentary form usually encourages multiple parties, and, hence more views in the legislature that need to be taken into account to develop decisions, while governments can be changed more quickly at need, or change in public view. However either type system can work quite democratically and effectively if elections are frequent and fair enough, the system of communication amongst the people and between the people and the government are open and equally available, and if power in all forms is sufficiently equal and balanced. Moreover, in a two party system that is not overly polarized, the aggregating of the variety of citizens' views can take place in the public discussion and election process, with candidates attempting to encompass the views of sufficient people to win the election. (As in a participatory society the political parties need to function quite democratically, the same would tend to be the case in primary elections, providing a large number of people vote, which is likely the case in highly participatory societies, but often a problem in less participatory "democracies", such as the United States, where voter turn out is usually low in primaries, and non-presidential elections - and indeed not very high even in Presidential elections).

There are also other considerations, depending upon the circumstances. For example, France moved from a standard parliamentary system to a strong presidential system, in the 1950s, because of widely fractured public opinion represented by numerous parties having difficulty agreeing on policy decisions and able only to form fragile governments that fell frequently, unable to keep governing coalitions together (Atkin, 2004). The Articles of Confederation, in addition to the above reason, were replaced by the Constitution also because of the need for a stronger executive and a need to have a legislature that did not require unanimous approval of all bills, as it was too difficult to build a complete consensus (as well as the need to have the national government be able to finance itself by raising its own taxes). But a presidential system can also have an overly strong president, or executive agencies may have too much power. There are critics of the U.S. government in the period of the war on terror who charge that too much power has accrued to the President, while there is considerable concern that the National Security Agency (NSA) and other security services have undue surveillance power that seriously undermines democracy.

Whatever the form of government, it needs to operate in a balanced way internally to reflect democracy. Leaders in traditional Indigenous societies are facilitators, who, because they have been selected for their virtues, including wisdom, may be influential in guiding discussion, but are not themselves the decision makers in what should be a collective process. The same ought to be the case in contemporary government. The United States Congress, for example, to meet these principles would need reforms. As of the end of 2013, the leadership has too much power to control the legislative process. For example, in the House of Representatives, the Speaker and the Rules committee can control what comes to the floor for a discussion and vote, indicating what parts of a bill can and cannot be amended, and how long discussion can take place. While efficiency is necessary to realize democracy, and it may be appropriate for an elected small body or single person to initially set the agenda, their decisions ought to be overruleable by simple majority vote. Among other issues in the Senate, the ability of any senator to put a hold on a bill or a presidential nomination, preventing the measure from coming to the floor, and the filibuster - though reduced in its application in 2013 - requiring a 60% majority of the entire Senate to stop discussion and allow a vote, are too extreme. It is wise to have devices to protect minorities, and to briefly slow discussion so that measures are not rushed through without sufficient consideration, but a majority of the entire body (not just of those who are present and voting) ought to be sufficient to overcome any hold, filibuster or similar blocking or delaying procedure.

Over all, so long as whatever form of government is used is democratically chosen and removable in a fair and equal participatory process, and power within government and the society as a whole is balanced, the extent to which there is a participatory culture with a democratic civil society and open communications system with equal access is more important than governmental form. That means that terms of office need to be appropriately short, but need to be long enough, and perhaps staggered, to provide needed continuity. Also, the Indian origin practice of recall elections, along with citizen initiative (a petition by enough citizens places a legislative measure on the ballot, as exemplified by California's propositions), and legislature initiated referendums on pieces of legislation are good practices for well balanced participatory political systems. (Note that these, and other "democratic" practices often do not work well where there is an imbalance of power, especially concerning money).

Insuring a Dispersion of Economic Power

Extremely important to the proper functioning of a participatory (or any) society is a dispersion, and approximate equality, of economic power, as philosophers as diverse as Aristotle and Marx have pointed out. Aristotle set forth in *The Politics*, Book IX, Ch. 2, one needs to emphasize the middle. A stable and well working society, in the best case would have a middle class with more members than the poor, and more wealth than the rich. Liberal democratic theorists have usually indicated the importance of a sizable and strong middle class for a well working democracy, while Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels went one step further saying that the ultimate society needed to become a classless society (Tucker, pp. 133-135, 505, 535, 593, and 665). A well working participatory society needs to have a balanced economy, without any person, group or class of people having so much more wealth than others, or so much control of economic institutions, that they are able to have an unfair lobbying, political advertising, control of or advantage in the media, or other economic leverage, that would give them more say than everyone else. Similarly, it is important that there not be a large group, or class, of people who are so much poorer than everyone else, that they cannot participate on an essentially equal basis. Moreover, It is important that there not be such great differences in wealth, essentially in class, that it causes a such a wide difference in interest and outlook that if creates distinct and largely incompatible factions within society, so that it is difficult or impossible to find the common interest (Rousseau, 1950, Bk. II, Ch. 11).

Maintaining a balanced, egalitarian, economy is precisely the American Indian tradition, in which all citizens were considered family, who needed to be included in the reciprocity of tribal relations, as is shown in Chapter 1. Even the somewhat more hierarchical, but still quite participatory, Northwest Coast tribes largely used their excess wealth for potlatches, huge giveaways that redistributed much of the excess (and destroyed some of it) (Goldman, 1937, 180-209). Thus even they were consistent with the usual Indian nation practice of harmonizing

community economy. As the Comanche state it, the principle was to remember our relationships, which involves responsibility, bringing about reciprocity, which results in redistribution.

Approaches to Maintaining a Balanced Economy

The best way to achieve and maintain a balanced equalitarian economy varies with the circumstances and conditions of society. In the post-industrial age we need to use different means than those that were effective in smaller, traditional Indigenous societies. A number of approaches have been proposed. Some favor centralized planning based on need, to take money and greed out of the distribution process. To date, however, centralized planning, as used by the Soviet Union, much of Eastern Europe, and North Korea, proved to be very inefficient, breaking down into an oligarchic form of state capitalism, with monopolistic state owned companies attempting to manipulate and lobby the system for their own benefit (Rusmich and Sachs, 2003, Part I). Communist China has modified central planning, including a considerable amount of private enterprise operating under a somewhat regulated market, but while this arrangement has led to considerable economic development, the Chinese government itself is concerned that this has been accompanied by great inequalities in wealth and living standards (Li and Piachaud, 2004), while huge development projects have caused direct harm to large numbers of people in the short run, and to the environment, with further human harm in the longer term (Jacobs, 2013; Johnson, 2013; Wong, 2011; and Wong, 2011a). One might speculate that perhaps with improved computing, and including significant feedback, centralized economic planning might become feasible. However, this would be a modification of a top down hierarchical approach, and like the implementation of the cybernetics approach to organization in the 1940s, which added feedback as part of improving hierarchical organization communications, would likely only somewhat improve a defective hierarchical approach, where what was needed was a switch to inclusive participatory decision making. In the case of planning, what would be needed would be a switch to decentralized planning, with the role of the center as facilitator and coordinator.

The opposite approach to attempting to achieve a balanced economy has been that of capitalist libertarians, who seek to remove the political advantage of wealth from the economy, by minimizing government regulation and provision of services, and "leaving everything to the market," which is seen as producing and maintaining an equilibrium when not interfered with. This seems appealing, especially if one begins with strong antitrust legislation to initially limit participation in the economy to small businesses. But there are several fundamental problems to this approach that make it unworkable, at least in industrial and post-industrial society (Rusmich and Sachs, 2003, Part II). First is the fact that markets are created by governments, and operate according to the rules and procedures that governments do (or do not) establish. The economic outcome, including which firms succeed and fail is greatly influenced by what the rules are.

Second, while smaller firms may tend to be more efficient than larger ones, events continually occur (some planned, others serendipitous) that increase the market power of some firms, and reduce that of others, giving firms with more market power more advantage over others than the natural advantage of being below a certain optimal size provides. A firm with more capital can advertise more to sell more than poorer competitors, or can keep prices lower longer to win a price war – driving competitors out of business – or can buy in larger volume, attaining lower prices, etc. Thus in a minimally regulated market, there is a natural tendency for some firms to gain market power, leading to their gaining additional market power, leading to a concentration of capital, unbalancing the market, and ultimately moving it towards monopoly and oligopoly, which create major differences in wealth and power, undermining democracy. Moreover, the capitalist libertarian approach, by emphasizing the profits and loses of individual firms, very greatly fails to take into account the very important areas of externalities (costs and benefits to society and people that do not show up on a firm's balance sheet). An example of an externalized cost is harmful pollution, that injures people and the community, without payment by the polluter, unless, contrary to the libertarian approach, the pollution is taxed or regulated. Similarly, public goods, such as education and other services, are not adequately provided for in the Libertarian approach, as private firms and charitable acts will not adequately supply them sufficiently, and on an equitable basis. This is often necessary to provide the equal

opportunity necessary for people to participate in the economy on an equal basis: a requirement to keep the economy in balance and to maintain equal inclusive political participation.

In the Twenty-First Century, a market of relatively small businesses is usually necessary for a participatory economy, but government action of various kinds is necessary to keep the market in balance – preventing oligopoly and monopoly from arising – while providing necessary public goods and regulating to minimize the costs of externalities (Rusmich and Sachs, 2003, Part II). A market of relatively small business can achieve the economy of scale of large enterprises, by forming networks or cooperatives to purchase in bulk, as IGA (Independent Grocers Association) supermarkets do. The stores are individually owned, but agree to buy certain products from the association, while stores in the same marketing area coordinate sales and advertising (IGA, 2013). Similarly, small firms can band together to collectively provide research, as the Mondragon Cooperatives, discussed above, do through the federation's research division. Alternatively, firms could subscribe to research organizations for the right to use their products or patents, and/or research could be undertaken or funded by public organizations (government or nonprofit), as the U.S. government has long done in the United States (e.g., National Science Foundation, www.nsf.gov; Research.gov; "U.S. Government Sponsored Collaborations," 2013, Siemans, http://www.usa.siemens.com/en/about_us/research/home/government.htm).

The Role of Taxes in Balancing the Economy

An important instrument for maintaining a balance of relations in contemporary society in terms of keeping wealth relatively equal is the taxing system. The main two vehicles that are usually appropriate for doing that are a sufficiently graduated income tax and an inheritance tax that becomes high enough beyond a situationally proper level to prevent fortunes large enough to begin to significantly unequalize wealth from being built across generations. Normally, it is preferable to use these graduated taxes, set according to people's ability to pay, rather than to use regressive sales and excise taxes, though sales and excise taxes can be used as incentives against socially undesirable behavior – such as high sales taxes on tobacco to discourage its use, and taxes on carbon dioxide emissions to encourage more efficient use of fossil fuels, and switching to renewable energy, to counter global warming. Also, reasonable sales and excise taxes, often as user fees, can be used to have people pay their share of public goods they use, such as fees for playing on a public golf course. However such taxes or fees ought not to be so high that they tend to discriminate economically against lower income people.

Income taxes can be used for regulatory purposes, particularly in granting deductions or tax credits for certain desirable purposes, such as a tax credit for installing solar electricity on a building, to counter global warming or assist people in isolated areas, away from power lines, to have electricity. However, the use of income taxes for regulatory purposes ought not to go so far as to make the tax code overly complex, nor should it be allowed to provide unwarranted advantages to particular interests, and certainly not to the point of creating large differences in wealth, or otherwise unbalancing the economy. If in a particular case the tax code cannot be used for regulatory purposes without creating significant injustices or imbalances, than it should not be used for regulatory purposes.

Appropriate Regulation and Services

Just what regulations and public goods (including investments in human capital, community infrastructure and institutions, as well as services) are needed or desirable depends on the particular circumstances, but there are a few general guidelines. To the extent that it is practical, it is advisable to regulate via incentives, rather than by commands (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, Ch. 10), and, that so far as practical, the emphasis on services and human capital investments ought to be empowering people, and only providing income – or its equivalent (such as food, or food vouchers) either as a temporary supportive part of empowerment (e.g. while people are receiving education or skill training), or where empowering people to earn income is not feasible or appropriate, as with people who are sufficiently disabled or ill, or have earned their pensions (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, Ch. 2). To provide equal opportunity with empowerment, and to keep the economy and human relations in balance, education and health

care need to be easily accessible (including being inexpensive), of sufficient and essentially equal quality for all, with sufficient social insurance equally available in ways that are empowering and do not create dependence, to support people hit by the accidents of life, such as illness, injury, loss of employment from a change in technology, shift in the market, etc.

In the increasingly technologically advancing age, as automation reduces the amount of labor required to operate the economy, the number of hours of work each week need to be reduced so that, supported by adequate and readily accessible education and job related training, full employment can be kept, with incentives for businesses to hire more employees rather than require overtime (e.g. instead of taxing, or requiring provision or payments, by firms for the healthcare or health insurance, and unemployment insurance of each employee, these programs should be paid for out of general taxes). Similarly, so that people who are partially disabled, are older, or otherwise need a shorter or less physically or otherwise strenuous work week, can continue to be and feel contributors to society, appropriate part time work could be made available. As the regular workweek becomes shorter, that would create opportunities for additional enterprises (private or public as would be appropriate) and increased employment in education and recreation that would enhance the quality of life.

Furthermore, in a participatory society people can feel a part of society, in which people support each other, on an individual and institutional basis, and feel that they are contributors to it, both through contributing their voice to decision making, and through taking actions with a social benefit. Therefore, it would often be beneficial to have all citizens able to do so (and adjustments could be made to find ways for as many people as possible to be able to participate in some way) by taking part in a period or periods of public service, which could include military service, to the extent that was necessary.

For a Twenty-First Century economy to function well, there is a legitimate need to raise capital for business and government. Selling stock and issuing bonds are often legitimate ways for businesses to do that (while governments may tax and borrow money, often through bonds). Similarly, charging reasonable interest rates related to the cost of money and level of risk is normally proper, except where higher or lower rates would be more appropriate public policy (such as providing low interest loans for investment in designated low income areas, for example see: “California Enterprise Zones,” 2013). However one problem that is widespread in contemporary economies that needs to be prevented by regulation, which might include taxation, is avoiding parasitic speculation that very often skews markets, artificially impacting prices – sometimes considerably – creating wealth disparities, and at times involving huge and very expensive scandals (such as the mortgage crisis that set off the 2007 Great Recession, and speculation on commodity prices, including oil, Aluminum and food, Grossman, 2013; Kocieniewski, 2013; Sanders, 2012; Econ Matters, 2011; Maystre, 2011; and “UNCTAD: High Frequency Trading and Speculation Leads to Higher Prices,” 2012). A graduated income tax quite high at the top may dampen speculation, as well as help keep executive salaries relatively low, by making it more advantageous to leave money in a business, and having less money available to speculate with. Another proposal is to have a small tax on every stock, security or commodity trade to discourage pure speculation (“Financial Speculation Tax,” (2013). Northland Democratic Club, http://www.northlanddem.org/Financial_Speculation_Tax.php; “Financial Transfer Tax,” 2013).

Returning to Harmony: Dealing with Torts and Crimes

Native societies worked strongly to create and maintain harmony and balance, and used a variety of means to return to harmony when relations within a person or between people or groups were out of balance (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 4, Section 2, and Ch. 1, section 2). When dealing with acts that western society today considers crimes and torts (civil injuries), the emphasis was on restoring harmony between the parties. This might involve punishment or compensation for harm as part of the harmonizing process. So far as possible, when someone had committed an offence, the emphasis was upon reintegrating the wrongdoer back into society as a good citizen. Only in extreme cases, where reintegration seemed unattainable and the offender was considered sufficiently dangerous, was a perpetrator exiled or killed.

By contrast, in the United States and numerous western societies the emphasis in crimes long has been first in retribution, applying appropriate punishment, and most often only secondarily, if at all, providing restitution to victims, and rehabilitation for offenders. This has usually left victims of crimes, and sometimes their communities, unrestored from the harms of crimes, while there often have been high recidivism rates among those convicted of crimes, who have often been greatly limited in their ability to obtain desirable employment. As with the history of organizations in the west, discussed above, there have long been some modifications occasionally introduced into the corrections model in North America to deal with shortcomings in the corrections model, such as providing psychological services to convicts, and half way houses to provide employment and ease convicts reintegration to society. More recently, an alternative approach, restorative justice, has been applied in the United States, beginning in the 1970s, in different forms and to different extents, that derives directly from American Indian experience (Zehr, 2002, on Indigenous origins, pp. 4, 11-12, and 43; and Ross, 1996).

Empowering and Healing

Restorative justice, when fully applied, is an attempt to restore solid relationships among all those who have suffered loss from a criminal act, the victim, other members (individuals and/or groups) of the community, and if possible, the offender (Zehr, 2002). For the victim, involvement in the process is very often quite empowering and healing. Victims have the opportunity to know what is being done about the harm done to them, and perhaps be able to discover why the harmful act was committed, while being heard through telling their story. As with participatory decision making, simply having a voice in many instances is extremely important to the speaker. Often the victim is able to receive restitution from the perpetrator, either concretely, or symbolically. Where concrete restitution is not possible, the restorative justice process can be augmented by victims compensation from the government or community, as exemplified by the California Victim Compensation Program (CalVCP: http://www.vcgcb.ca.gov/victims/), that helps pay bills and expenses resulting from certain violent crimes. Victims of crime who have been injured or have been threatened with injury, in many instances, are eligible for assistance. It may also be possible for the victim to receive an apology from the perpetrator.

For communities, restorative justice provides an opportunity to be involved in matters of concern to them, which is not possible in standard western judicial proceedings, where the full responsibility is with the state (government at whatever level) (Zehr, 2002, pp. 17-18). Crime affects communities, making them stakeholders, as secondary victims, when it occurs in their midst. Having a role in a criminal proceeding allows the community and its members to form forums to address issues of crime, support victims in their midst, while building a sense of mutual accountability and strengthening the bonds of community. It encourages community members to take on their obligations for the welfare of their members, encompassing victims and offenders, in the course of fostering conditions that promote healthy communities, much the way citizen participation in community policing, discussed above, can be empowering in building healthy communities and reducing crime.

Restorative justice has been found to be extremely important for a high proportion of offenders, in several dimensions (Zehr, 2002, pp, 16-17, 47-57). While it is not always proper for offenders to be directly involved with victims in a restorative justice process, they can still be involved indirectly, when that is the better course of action. The participation of offenders, in what ever form, is important as it pressures offenders who admit their guilt to face up to what they have done, and to see the impact of their behavior. Depending upon the circumstances, this also often provides an opportunity for offenders to move toward making things right, at least with an apology (which usually is not accepted unless it appears genuine, with understanding of the harm inflicted, which offender' participation confronts them with), and in many instances with restitution. In cases of minor offenses involving property damage, or minor injuries, this may involve the perpetrator repairing the damage, or earning the money to pay for the repair or compensation. All of these aspects of offender participation tend to enhance rehabilitation, and recidivism rates are generally lower for offenders who have gone through a restorative justice process than an adversarial criminal justice process (Melton, 2005, pp. 119 and 165 note 8). This is partly the case because one aspect of restorative justice is to consider and take steps to assist the offender in attaining rehabilitation, and where

appropriate, reintegration with the community. This may involve such actions as the offender participating in substance abuse programs, undertaking counseling or psychological treatment, undertaking anger management, nonviolence training, or other appropriate education, and supervised probation or half way house living (either alone or following incarceration, where that is appropriate).

Principles of Restorative Justice

In situations where the offender is also a victim (though their offense is not an appropriate response to their victimhood, which the restorative process needs to effectively lead s/he to understand), steps also need to be taken to correct that injustice, as the ultimate aim of restorative justice is to return all the parties, and at times the community, to balanced, harmonious relations. To do this requires examining each case holistically, to understand the full set of relations involved, and to work to bring them into harmony so far as possible. This is more complex than the normal workings of western criminal justice systems that focus narrowly on the offenders act in isolation, though mitigating (or aggravating) circumstances may be taken into account in sentencing. A key to working well with offenders - as with everyone else - is to speak and act with respect: to support, not criticize people, but to criticize inappropriate and harmful behavior and work to correct wrong thinking (while honoring a person's views and experience, so far as practicable in a mutually respectful dialog), to try to assist people in moving to be more fully who they really are.

Thus, the underlying principles of restorative justice flow as follows (Zehr, 2002, particularly Ch. 2; Pranis, Stuart and Wedge, 2003, Ch. 1 and 2). Crimes and equivalent harms are a violation of people and of interpersonal relationships. Since we are all related, interconnected, the violation creates an obligation on all parties, including the offender, to put things right - restore proper relationships - so far as possible (and where relationships were previously imperfect, to improve them, which may be illuminated by a harm).

Restorative justice processes may take any number of a wide variety of forms and be applied for different purposes (Zehr, 2002, particularly Ch3). In Twentieth Century North America, much of their use has been as alternative sentencing programs, following a standard judicial process to determine guilt (Zehr 2002, Ch. 3). This has had some special applications in the development of drug courts, that can focus on rehabilitation in alternative sentencing (Farole, Jr., Puffett, Rempel, and Byrne, 2005), in family courts, in dealing with domestic sex crimes (Johnston, 2013) and in Juvenile courts and restorative programs, where young people are widely considered generally more open to social and psychological reeducation (Hantzopoulos, 2013; Hanly Duncan and Dickie, 2013; and Pavelka, 2013). In addition, restorative justice is sometimes also used more broadly as the process for handling crimes, as remains the case in some Indigenous nations, as exemplified by Navajo peace making courts (Bluehouse and Zion, 1996; and Zion and Zion, 1996).

Moreover, following the Indigenous model, restorative justice can be utilized in dealing with all harms and injuries, civil as well criminal, and is so used outside the legal system in some institutions, including workplaces and schools ("Uses Outside of Criminal Justice," http://www.restorativejustice.org/press-room/06outside?searchterm=restorative+justice+in+workpl, 2013; Restorative Justice in the Workplace," 2011). One example is the application of the Native Hawaiian problem solving process, *ho'oponopono*, a form of restorative justice, by a variety of social services, beginning in Hawaii in the 1970s (Shook, 2002). Although varying slightly in form, *ho'oponopono* follows the same basic principles of the Indigenous and restorative processes previously discussed. It is "a method for restoring harmony that was traditionally used within the extended family. According to Pukui, it literally means 'setting to right...to restore and maintain good relationships among family, and family and the super natural powers' (Shook, 2002, p. 10)." While first used to solve a case involving traditional Hawaiians, the practice quickly spread in Hawaii to include non-Hawaiian clients and practitioners in a variety of social service activities involving resolving conflicts and restoring relationships. *Ho'oponopono* was applied, for example, to resolve, family and business disputes, and was applied as an alternative mental health strategy to solve clients psychological and psychiatric problems (Shook, 2002, 96-97). Since the 1980's, *ho'oponopono* has been applied internationally, with many variations, as a method of conflict

resolution in many settings (Sumrall, accessed January 4, 2014; Brinson & Fisher, 1999; ADR Resources: accessed January 4, 2014). (while a version of *ho'oponopono* has become internationally popular as a meditation method for individuals to attain inner harmony, ancient Huna.com, 2011, http://www.ancienthuna.com/ho-oponopono.htm; and http://www.bing.com/search?q=ho'oponopono&form=APMCS1, accessed December 28, 2013).

Thus, restorative justice practices are related to the whole expanding field of conflict resolution and conflict transformation, which encompasses a large number of participatory processes for solving interpersonal and inter group (or institution) problems, as well as a number of inclusive participatory strategic planning methods. Good examples of large and small scale participatory processes for transforming conflict into collaboration, and to prevent open conflict through inclusive dialogue are the work of the previously mentioned organizations, the National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (http://ncdd.org/), the Network for Peace Through Dialogue (http://ncdd.org/), and Search for Common Ground (www.sfcg.org), while an excellent example of a participatory strategic planning process employed to restore community harmony and empower effective community actions is the Indigenous Leadership Interactive System (ILIS), discussed above.[18] The rise and expansion of these participatory processes, particularly since World War II, is an indication of the increasing relevance of traditional Indigenous principles, values, and ways of being for the wider world of the Twenty-First Century.

In the fully participatory society, applying Indigenous values, restorative justice would be the general approach used to find justice in both the criminal and civil law, and it would be used informally, in various forms, as appropriate, in many institutions and organizations for dealing with inappropriate behavior. It is important to note that restorative justice uses punishment and compensation, when and as appropriate, as criminal and civil courts in the west have been doing for centuries. The difference is that restorative justice is broader, focusing on people and the full set of relations involved in each case or situation.

The Principle of Place:
Applying Principles and Programs Appropriately For Each Situation

It is important to be aware that, like any social institution or device, restorative justice has to be instituted according to the culture and needs of the specific situation to which it is being applied, and adjusted appropriately as the circumstances change. Miller (2001, pp. 156-162), for example, reports that the attempt to apply the Maori family group counseling model, favored by the Canadian government for sentencing diversion programs for First Nations, to the Sto:lo nation in British Columbia, functioned rather poorly, with much community resistance, because it did not fit the traditions and situation of the community, leading to a revised approach, beginning with discussions with people in the Sto:lo community. Indeed, participation by the people involved is usually critical to developing a well working program. Miller (2001, pp. 194-199) reported that one of the major reasons for the failure of the South Island Justice Project, a diversionary project among Salish communities in British Columbia, was failure to consult with the people of the communities, who agreed with the principles of the project, but found the top down approach of developing and implementing it caused it not to meet the needs of the community.

The importance of involving everyone involved in applying a principle, process, or program extends across the full range of human activity. Among the fields discussed in this chapter, for instance, organizational democracy demonstrates this again and again. Lesieur, (1958), for example, describes the change that occurred in a book manufacturing plant when the Scanlan Plan (a team participation process on the shop floor, offering teams that saved the firm money a share of the savings) was instituted. Just prior to its initiation, the plant engineers had come down to the book binding department and made a study, on the basis of which they designed and installed, over a long holiday weekend, an assembly line to replace the tables on wheels that workers rolled from station, moving books through the various stages of the binding process. On their return, the book binding employees were angry at the change, for two reasons. First they knew from experience that it would not work well (which it did not), and second, they were annoyed at being imposed on them. With the initiation of the Scanlan Plan at that time, one of the engineers came down to discuss the problem of improving the production process with the book binders. He first had to gain sufficient trust among the binders for them to be willing to engage in a meaningful discussion. He

achieved this by pointing out some problems in what the engineers had designed, and admitting that the engineering study on which the assembly line was based was undertaken at an unrepresentative time. He then had to find appropriate communication methods. On finding that the binders could not readily work with blueprints, the engineer brought the binders an adjustable model of the assembly line. Then the book binders dialogued with the engineer to develop a flexible production system to fit changing conditions in the shop, that fit the employees work needs, and that was up to the technical standards of engineering. Thus production efficiency and employee morale and commitment increased.

Similarly, author Stephen Sachs found in interviewing Indianapolis police officers about the initial launching of the community policing process, discussed above, that the officers were unhappy with its being forced on them from headquarters. Again, the complaint was two fold. The officers did not appreciate a major change in their work being forced on them. But they also quickly observed that there were problems in the implementation, that were immediately obvious to them, but not to the top brass who did not work the streets. Among the problems was that the incentives for police officers were not change with the shift from a rapid response patrol model to a community relations approach. Officers, now ordered to spend time observing the neighborhoods they worked in and talking to residents about crime and safety related issues, were still being evaluated on the of how little time they spent on any task, and how quickly they moved on to the next call. It was only when the top officers in charge of the program talked with those carrying it out that the contradictions were removed, and the new program began to function well with a corresponding rise in how the police people involved felt about it.

This brings us back to the two part principle of place, which is fundamental to everything discussed in this paper. First, each location in place and time is different, so that appropriate general principles have to be applied in accordance with the specific needs of each situation. Second, each person needs to be respected and has a different way of seeing, or perspective, that needs to be included to make good decisions - decisions that people will own and support, so that the community will include everyone, and all will feel included, leading in turn to all citizens supporting, and being concerned about the community as a whole and each other, which is essential for the harmony and wellbeing of one and all.

End Notes

1. A summary of early, absentee and mail voting in the United States is available from the National Council of State Legislatures at: http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/elections/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx, downloaded September 27, 2013.

There is also the question of the voting system. The United States has, with a few local exceptions, has always used a system of voting for individual candidates, with the candidate with the most votes winning the election (and is some state and local elections, a runoff between the top two candidates, if there are more than two, and no one achieves a majority in the initial election). The system tends to support having only two parties, which while promoting stability, does not necessarily lead to representative outcomes. Where there are more than two candidates, having the person with the most votes win may not bring about a representative result, and this is sometimes the case even with a run off between the top two candidates. What may be more representative - though it takes some education to get people to understand it - is a preferential ballot in which each voter votes (or may vote) for all the candidates in order of preference, telling the voter, in effect, if your first choice is eliminated for too few votes, what is your second, third, fourth, etc, choice. If someone gains a majority on the first round, they win. But if not, the candidate with the lowest votes is eliminated, and those who voted for that person as first choice have their second preference vote used. If now a candidate has a majority, then they are the winner. If not, the candidate now with the lowest votes (among those still in the race) is eliminated, and their next choice not already eliminated is counted, and so on for as many rounds as it takes until someone achieves a majority.

For example, there are four candidates who on the first round win the following percentage of the vote: A (a conservative) 29%, B (a liberal) 27%, C (a liberal) 25%, D (a socialist) 19%. D is eliminated, and his second round votes are counted with the following result: A 31%, B 33%, C 36%. No majority yet, so A is eliminated, and the next still in the race votes for A are counted resulting in B 55% and C 45%, so B is elected, and over all is probably the most representative candidate.

2. As author Stephen Sachs observed in a year of fieldwork in 1973-74, the Yugoslav system of social and workers' self-management operated moderately democratically in practice at the local level, but the political system became increasingly less democratic as one moved upward from the local to the national level, because as one moved further and further beyond the local level the leadership of the oligarchic (but not totalitarian) League of Communists increasingly was also the leadership of other major organizations. The main problem at the local and enterprise level, which also frustrated democracy at higher levels, was cultural, as most of the cultures of Yugoslavia did not have democratic traditions, and general education taught participatory democracy only in theory, with no opportunity to experience it in school, while managers, technical experts and those with higher education were taught to make decisions, rather than act as facilitators. The Yugoslav experience demonstrates the requirement of participatory democratic structures to develop and function on the basis of participatory culture and education, if they are in fact to function participatively, as is discussed below. Rousseau, who learned much from American Indians, makes this point in *The Social Contract*, including in Chapter XII.

3. Mass movements, such as Arab spring, in both the short and long run, may or may not be effective in bringing democratizing equalitarian change. The issue here is not what makes for a successful movement, or whether a particular movement is successful, but whether such movements have a democratizing tendency, which the Arab Spring movements have had, regardless of whether the democratic movements, for example, in Syria have been lost in the collapse of the country into a terrible civil war, or become greatly reduced in Egypt, amid political developments including the army reasserting power. Moreover, while such movements have their ebbs and flows, from a long term perspective, the beginning score of years of the Twenty-First Century, appears to be a period of increase in such movements.

4. The dysfunctional aspects of hierarchy in organizations are discussed in Argyris, 1957, "The Individual and the Organization, A Problem of Mutual Adjustment." For more detailed analysis of some of the aspects of the psychological and other problems encouraged by hierarchy see Coch and French, 1953, "Overcoming Resistance to Change;" Blauner, 1964, *Alienation and Freedom*; Walker, 1950, "The problem with the Repetitive Job; Morse, 1953, *Satisfaction in the White Collar Job*; and Melman, 1958, *Decision making and Productivity*.

5. For example, see. Roethisberger, 1941 "The Hawthorne Experiments."
6. For an example of the cybernetics or communication approach to organizations see, Galbraith, 1973, "Information Processing Model", in Galbraith, *Designing Complex Organizations*, Ch. 2, reprinted in Shafritz and Ott, 1992, pp. 308-315.

7. Discussed in Thomas and Logan, (1982) Campbell, et al, 1977; Mollner, 1984; Gutierrez-Johnson and Whyte, 1977, pp. 18-30; Gutierrez-Johnson, Compensation, Equity and Industrial Democracy in the Mondragon Cooperatives," *Economic Analysis and Workers' Self-Management*, 12, pp. 267-289; Oakeshott, 1975, pp. 290-296; and Medanie, 1983.

8. Vanek, Jaroslav (1971), Ch. 4. Additional information is available from the World Bank Country Economic Report by Schrenk, Ardalan and Tatawy, *Yugoslavia*.

9. Unpublished research in the 1980s by Stephen Sachs.
10. Such coordination was first attempted very late in Lyndon Johnson's Administration, with the launching of the National Council on Indian Opportunity (NCIO). The model used had several advantages. NCIO consisted of the Secretaries of the 7 U.S. government departments that dealt significantly with Indians (Interior, Agriculture,

Agriculture, Commerce, Health Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity), six presidentially appointed Indian leaders, and was headed by the Vice President of the United States, who stood above the cabinet members. This avoided the problem in the later Clinton administration model of having the Secretary of Interior the chair, who had conflicts of interest on Indian Issues in his own department, and as an equal with the other department heads with whom he had to deal with diplomatically, was limited in his effectiveness. The problem with designating the Vice President as chair, is that it would depend who the Vice President would happen to be, so that it would be better to have the President appoint a chair, who might be the Vice President or a top White House Staff member, as appropriate in the particular case. NCIO achieved some important accomplishments. It was short lived (1968-1974), however, underfunded and understaffed, and, because of the politics of the time, the council rarely met, though its staff was quite active (Britten, 2014). After, and to a considerable extent during, the Nixon Administration, until the Clinton Administration, federal Indian Policy was coordinated on an ad hoc basis (Harris, Sachs and Morris, 2011, Ch. 3, Section 1).

11. There are numerous examples of effective employee involvement programs collapsing because of bad feelings arising over collective bargaining. A classic example is that of ARMCO steel plant in Ashland, KY. The collaborative effort of the plant's team process was a major factor in its achieving the lowest cost in the world for steel production. But because management failed to appreciate, and take into account, labor's concern on a major issue, the team process arrangement fell apart, reducing the plant's ability to keep production costs low and product quality high. See, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Management Relations and Cooperative Programs (1990), *ARMCO Steel's Quality Plus Program at Ashland Kentucky*, briefly reported in "Keeping Current," 1990, p. 8. On Nonviolent conflict resolution and training, for example go to Search for Common Ground:
http://search.freefind.com/find.html?oq=Abortion&id=77561039&pageid=r&_charset_=&bcd=%C3%B7&scs=1&query=nonviolent+training&Find=Search&mode=ALL; or the Fellowship of Reconciliation Peacemaker Training Institute: http://www.forusa.org/programs/pti/default.html. On parallel development of respectful interpersonal relations and decision making in participatory workplaces, see Bernstein, 1980; and Sachs, 1991; and Sachs 1994.

12. See the discussion of reforming government in Osborne and Gaebler, 1991., which grows out of the movement for workplace democratization, involving institution in a modern context of the traditional tribal and band principles of inclusive consensus decision making.

13. Carole Pateman, in her classic work, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970) first shows that theorists such as John Stuart Mill have long considered every day participation in workplaces an excellent education for citizenship in a democratic polity (Ch. 2, particularly, pp. 28-35). She supports these theoretical predictions with pragmatic evidence, concluding (p. 105):

> Yet we have seen that the evidence supports the arguments of Rousseau, Mill and Cole that we do learn to participate by participating and that feelings of political efficacy [necessary to make people believe that participating is worth while, and thus essential to motivating them to participate] are more likely to be developed in a participatory environment. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that the experience of a participatory authority might also be effective in diminishing tendencies toward non-democratic attitudes in the individual.

Pateman's findings continue to be supported and reinforced by recent research. For example, Richard S. Beth, "How Transformationalists Think About Transformation: Themes and Implications," *Proceedings of the 1995 American Political Science Association Meeting*, p. 63, having indicated that active participation (such as occurs on teams in participatory workplaces) tends to develop "a mindful engagement with experience in the participants that tends to make them reflective upon their relations with others, and self-reflective about their own development and action," Beth goes on to report:

Fourth, mindful engagement with experience in the context of political practice would also foster transformation into less authoritarian or dominative forms of people's sense of, and relation to, leadership. As respondent (el) pointed out, the process of transformation is inherently political in that it involves the transformation of power relations. When leaders proceed in mindful engagement with other participants, it will tend to transform their awareness of, and relation to, those participants toward more facilitative and collaborative styles of leadership...

> Nor is it only leadership that would be transformed by the practice of responsive engagement with members. The development of group members' own sense of empowerment, or understanding of themselves as capable of participation, would also tend to transform their responses to all these kinds of leaders toward more participatory and less authoritarian forms, which in turn would require leaders to engage in less dominative styles of action.

Further empirical support is given by Jane Junn, "Participation in Liberal Democracy: What Citizens Learn from Political Activity," pp. 28-29:

> The objective of this analysis was to demonstrate empirically a particularly important hypothesis of democratic theory, that citizen participation has an educative or transformative effect on individual citizens. The results from the estimation of simultaneous equation models hypothesizing reciprocal causality reveal that citizens who are active in politics and social life are in fact more knowledgeable about politics as a result of their participation.... The findings provide support for the hypothesis that taking part in political and social life makes a difference; citizens learn about politics by being part of it. In this sense, political knowledge is not only important for democracy in its *role for* making good decisions, but instead, knowledge is also the *result of* democracy.

14. The reason for this tendency toward overcoming undesirable inequalities, when it is possible and appropriate to do so, through increasing the means for achieving reduction in difference, rather than by legislating its reduction directly, follows from the empowering action and achievement oriented gestalt of workplace team process, and the similar empowerment oriented approach of the related child needs oriented educational reforms. That is, the cultural orientation in both cases is towards empowerment for achieving ends, to the extent that that is appropriate, rather than providing the desired benefit to passive recipients. This can be seen in slightly different form in the principle of "regulating with, rather than against, the market," when possible, discussed in Osborne and Gaebler, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector*, Ch. 10, favoring approaches that use incentives rather than commands, to the extent practicable, as this tends to move away from a control, toward an empowerment oriented, approach.

15. An examination of the text of Osborne and Gaebler (1993) will show that it stems directly from the kind of thinking engendered by the rise of team process in the workplace, though from that beginning it necessarily (to be consistent with such thinking) extends beyond it in considering matters of public policy, as is seen in comparing the author's 10 principles of governance with the new work place principles. In Osborne and Gaebler's version of the new politics, government needs to proceed, so far as is practicable, as: 1) catalytic government; steering rather than rowing; 2) community-owned government: empowering rather than serving; 3) competitive government: injecting competition into service delivery; 4) mission-driven government: transforming rule driven organizations into purpose oriented units; 5) results-oriented government: funding outcomes, not inputs; 6) customer-driven government; meeting the needs of the customer, not the bureaucracy; 7) enterprising government: earning rather than spending; 8) anticipatory government: preventing rather than curing; 9) decentralized government: moving from hierarchy to participation; 10) market-oriented government: leveraging change through the market.

16. This is well spelled out in Will Marshall and Martin Schram, *Mandate for Change* (New York,: Berkeley Books, 1993), and exemplified by the designation of Vice President Gore to head a "Reinventing Government"

commission to lead reform the federal bureaucracy (See Vice President Al Gore, *Creating A Government that Works Better and Costs Less: The Gore Report on Reinventing Government* (New York: Random House, 1993). Since the 1990s, a strong "conservative" reaction has become a strong force in American politics, running completely counter to this line of thinking, and these types of policies. But this emergent thinking remains in the population, and may well be a harbinger of change in the longer run.

17. See H. Aram Veeser, *The New Historicism* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1989). The relation of this approach to the emerging consciousness is evident in some of the editor's comments:

> Conventional scholars--entrenched, self-absorbed, protective of guild loyalties and turf, specialized in the worst senses--have repaired to their disciplinary enclaves and committed a classic _trahison des clercs_. As the first successful counterattack in decades against this profoundly anti-intellectual ethos, New Historicism has given scholars new opportunities to cross the boundaries separating history, anthropology, art, politics, literature, and economics. It has struck down the doctrine of noninterference that forbade humanists to intrude on questions of politics, power, indeed on all matters that deeply affect people's practical lives--matters best left, prevailing wisdom went, to experts who could be trusted to preserve order and stability in "our" global and intellectual domains." (IX)
>
> A newcomer to New Historicism might feel reassured that, for all its heterogeneity, key assumptions continually reappear and bind together the avowed practitioners and even some of their critics: these assumptions are as follows:
>
> 1. That every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices;
> 2. That every act of unmasking, critique, and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it opposes;
> 3. That literary and non-literary "texts" circulate inseparably;
> 4. That no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature;
> 5. Finally . . . that a critical method and a language adequate to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe.
>
> The New Historicists combat empty formalism by pulling historical considerations to the center stage of literary analysis. . . . New Historicists have evolved a method of describing culture in action. (xii)
>
> The motives are clear. By forsaking what it sees as an outmoded vocabulary of allusion, symbolization, allegory, and mimesis, New Historicism seeks less limiting means to expose the manifold ways culture and society affect each other. . . . New Historicism renegotiates these relationships between texts and other signifying practices, going so far (as Terence Hawkes has observed) as to dissolve "literature" back into the historical complex that academic criticism has traditionally held at arms length. It retains at the same time, those methods and materials that gave old fashioned literary study its immense interpretive authority . . . . By discarding what they view as monologic and myopic historiography, by demonstrating that social and cultural events commingle messily, by rigorously exposing the innumerable tradeoffs, the competing bids and exchanges of culture, New Historicists can make a valid claim to have established new ways of studying history and a new awareness of how history and culture define each other. (xii-xiii)

The emergence of indicators of consciousness change that are appearing across a wide spectrum of fields and activities fits Jean Gebser's finding that the world is moving from "three dimensional" to "four dimensional" consciousness (*The Ever Present Origin* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1953). Interestingly, it also fits the

pattern of more positive outcomes in moving from the "fourth world" to the "fifth world" of the Hopi prophecies as described in Thomas Mails, *The Hopi Survival Kit* (New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, Media Holdings, Inc, 1997).

18. For more information and resources concerning conflict transformation and resolution visit, among others: Peacemakers Trust, the Canadian charitable organization dedicated to research and education on conflict transformation and peacebuilding at: http://www.peacemakers.ca/; the National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (NCDD) at: http://ncdd.org/; The Alliance for Conflict Transformation (ACT) at: http://www.conflicttransformation.org/; and the National Conflict Resolution Center (NCRC) at: http://ncrconline.com/.

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ARTICLES

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

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

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

and

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

IPJ hosts a regularly updated data base of American Indian related Ph.D. from 2006 – the present. In addition, each regular issue of *IPJ* now carries the Indians of the Americas Ph.D. dissertation abstracts of the last half year. The dissertation coverage includes all languages and is international in scope as far as Dissertation Abstracts covers. This includes most European universities, South African universities, and a few in the Far East. They do not cover all the universities in the world, but do a pretty good job covering first world universities. There is no coverage of Latin American universities' dissertations.

Dissertation abstracts Data Base 2006 – the present: http://indigenouspolicy.org/index.php/ipj/thesis. The Data base is updated twice a year with the Winter and Summer issues of *IPJ*.

Useful Web Sites

CELANEN: A Journal of Indigenous Governance was launched, this winter, by the Indigenous Governance Program at the University of Victoria, at: http://web.uvic.ca/igov/research/journal/index.htm. CELANEN (pronounced CHEL-LANG-GEN) is a Saanich word for "our birthright, our ancestry, sovereignty" and sets the tone for this annual publication containing articles, poetry, and commentary. The first issue is dedicated to Art Tsaqwassupp Thompson (Ditidaht), who donated his artwork entitled "new beginnings" for use by the Indigenous Governance Program.

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

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

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

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

Indian Country Today: http://www.indiancountry.com/index.cfm?key=15.
News from Indian Country: http://www.indiancountrynews.com/.
The Navajo Times: http://www.navajotimes.com/.
IndianZ.com: http://www.indianz.com.
Pechanga Net: http://www.pechanga.net/NativeNews.html
Survival International: http://www.survival-international.org/.
Cultural Survival: http://209.200.101.189/publications/win/, or http://www.cs.org/.
Censored (in Indian Country): http://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/.
ArizonaNativeNet is a virtual university outreach and distance learning telecommunications center devoted to the higher educational needs of Native Nations in Arizona, the United States and the world through the utilization of the worldwide web and the knowledge-based and technical resources and expertise of the University of Arizona, providing resources for Native Nations nation-building, at: www.arizonanativenet.com
The Forum for 'friends of Peoples close to Nature' is a movement of groups and individuals, concerned with the survival of Tribal peoples and their culture, in particular hunter-gatherers: http://ipwp.org/how.html.
Tebtebba (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education), with lists of projects and publications, and reports of numerous Indigenous meetings: http://www.tebtebba.org/.
Andre Cramblit (andrekar@ncidc.org**) has begun a new Native news blog continuing his former Native list serve to provide information pertinent to the American Indian community**. The blog contains news of interest to Native Americans, Hawaiian Natives and Alaskan Natives. It is a briefing of items that he comes across that are of broad interest to American Indians. News and action requests are posted as are the occasional humorous entry. The newsletter is designed to inform you, make you think and keep a pipeline of information that is outside the mainstream media. "I try and post to it as often as my schedule permits I scan a wide range of sources on the net to get a different perspective on Native issues and try not to post stuff that is already posted on multiple sources such as websites or other lists". **To subscribe to go to:** http://andrekaruk.posterous.com/**.**
Sacred Places Convention For Indigenous Peoples provides resources for protecting sacred places world wide. Including, news, journals, books and publishing online Weekly News and providing an E-mail list serve, as well as holding conferences. For information go to: http://www.indigenouspeoplesissues.com.
Mark Trahant Blog, *Trahant Reports*, is at: http://www.marktrahant.org/marktrahant.org/Mark_Trahant.html

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cry of the Native Refugee web site, http://cryofthenativerefugee.com, is dedicated to "The True Native American History."

The **RaceProject has a Facebook Page** that is a forum for the dissemination and discussion of contemporary Race and Politics issues. It includes a continuing archive of news stories, editorial opinion, audio, video and pointed exchanges between academics, graduate students and members of the lay-public. Those interested can visit and sign up to the page at: http://www.facebook.com/RaceProject.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Resource sites in the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA): **National Indian Child Welfare Association:** http://www.nicwa.org, offers include publications, a library, information packets, policy information and research. NICWA's Publication Catalog is at: Http://www.nicwa.org/resources/catalog/index.asp' Information Packets are at: http://www.nicwa.org/resources/infopackets/index.asp. Online ICWA Courses are at: http://www.nicwa.org/services/icwa/index.asp. ***The Indian Child Welfare Act: An Examination of State Compliance***, from the Casey Foundation is at: http://www.casey.org/Resources/Publications/NICWAComplianceInArizona.htm. Tribal Court Clearinghouse ICWA Pages, with a brief review of ICWA and links to many valuable resources including Federal agencies and Native organizations. http://www.tribal-institute.org/lists/icwa.htm. Other resource sources are: the

Indian Law Resource Center: www.indianlaw.org, the National Indian Justice Center: www.nijc.indian.com. Other sites can be found through internet search engines such as Google. Some research web sites for ICWA include: http://www.calindian.org/legalcenter_icwa.htm, http://www.narf.org/nill/resources/indianchildwelfare.htm, http://www.tribal-institute.org/lists/icwa.htm, http://www.nicwa.org/library/library.htm, http://www.nationalcasa.org/JudgesPage/Newsletter-4-04.htm, http://www.dlncoalition.org/dln_issues/2003_icwaresolution.htm, http://www.helpstartshere.org/Default.aspx?PageID=401, http://cbexpress.acf.hhs.gov/articles.cfm?section_id=2&issue_id=2001-0, http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?i104:I04296:i104HUGHES.html, http://nccrest.edreform.net/resource/13704, http://www.naicja.org, http://www.tribal-institute.org/.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC) has a blog as part of its Celilo Legacy project, serving as a clearinghouse for public discourse, information, events, activities, and memorials. The blog is accessible by going to www.critfc.org and clicking on the "Celilo Legacy blog" image, or by simply entering: www.critfc.org/celilo.

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

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

Red Nation Web Television: www.rednation.com.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A link on Latin American Indigenous Peoples:
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/0,,contentMDK:20505834~menuPK:258559~pagePK:146736~piPK:226340~theSitePK:258554,00.html

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

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