THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
FALK AUDITORIUM

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN INDIAN GAMING: THE NEXT 30 YEARS

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Introduction:

TED GAYER
Executive Vice President
The Brookings Institution

Welcome:

RANDALL AKEE
David M. Rubenstein Fellow, Economic Studies
The Brookings Institution

Opening Presentation:

JONODEV CHAUDHURI
Chair
National Indian Gaming Commission

Panel 1: The American Indian Gaming Industry Challenges in the Next 30 Years:

KATHERINE SPILDE, Moderator
Chair, Sycuan Institute on Tribal Gaming
Professor, San Diego State University

PATRICE KUNESH
Director, Center for Indian Country Development
Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

THE HONORABLE CODY MARTINEZ
Chairman
Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay Nation

ERNEST L. STEVENS
Chairman
National Indian Gaming Association

JOHN TAHSUDA
Acting Secretary/Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs
U.S. Department of Interior

Panel 2: Research Findings on the Impact of American Indian Gaming:

MIRIAM JORGENSEN, Moderator
Research Director
Native Nations Institute

RANDALL AKEE
David M. Rubenstein Fellow, Economic Studies
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THADDIEUS CONNER
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First Nations Development Institute

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The Taylor Policy Group

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. GAYER: Good morning everyone. I think we're going to get started. Thank you for joining us today. My name is Ted Gayer. I am the executive vice president at Brookings, and I'm delighted to welcome you to our even today on the Future of American Indian Gaming.

This even is organized by my colleague, Randy Akee. Who I had the good sense to recruit to Brookings when I was previously the head of the economic studies program.

I see my other colleague who I had the good sense of recruiting here too, Marcus. So, welcome to Marcus also.

They are both part of our first cohort of Rubenstein Fellows, which takes as one of its primary goals to expand the range of prospective and topics that we explore here at Brookings.

And I remember early in Randy's tenure here at Brookings, we were discussing the idea of an even on American Indian policies. At that time, I was of the view that this important community had been totally neglected in Brookings' work. And it turns out that I was mostly right, but it also turns out that mostly right is technically wrong.

At Brookings, we have an intrepid research librarian, Sarah Chilton, who helps us discover all sorts of new things about our 100-year-old-plus institution.

And she dug up for us, something I did not know. And then I now know that in the late 1920s, Brookings, which was then known as the Institute of Government Research, issued a survey of the economic and social conditions of American Indians. The report was known as the Meriam Report since it was led by Lewis Meriam.

And again, digging up lots of Brookings history, Lewis Meriam is my predecessor, because he was the vice president of this institution.

I'm supposed to have two images on the screen, but apparently, we can only fit one. We need a bigger screen. Apparently, that's not big enough.

But we dug up some images, or Sarah did, I should say, of the Brookings' team as they conducted their field research.

The picture you don't see was from 1926 on the site of the Coolidge Dam in San Carlos, Arizona. And the one that we decided to put up, with Meriam, is actually second from the left. Everyone has their hat of course. It was taken in 1927. The caption that we have for the picture, it was the "Hobbie Lumbar Camp."

And so, I did what anybody would do when coming across a location that they never heard of. I went on Google, and I had a new experience that I don't think I've ever had in Google because Google couldn't tell me where the Hobbie Lumbar Camp is. So, maybe some of you know about that.

But nonetheless, this is a team at work for that first report, on the Meriam Report.

Many of you are probably familiar with the Meriam Report. I've since learned about it. It was seminal research that among other things led to the end of the General Allotment Policy, which had sought to break up the communal Indian land by allocating allotments to individual Indian households.

As pleased as I am to learn about this Brookings' history, I still hold the view that as an institution, we have not given enough attention to American Indian and Native American policies, which is why I'm especially pleased that we're gathered here today, to examine the long-term effects of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 and to look forward to the next 30 years for the gaming industry and its impact on American Indian tribal nations, its citizens, and adjacent jurisdictions.

So, welcome again, and I look forward to an exciting and stimulating set of discussions today. And with that, I will turn it over to my colleague, Randy Akee. Thank you.

MR. AKEE: Thanks, everyone. I thank you, Ted, for welcoming us.

First, I'd like to acknowledge that we're all on the ancestral homelands of

the Piscataway people in this area that we now call Washington, D.C.

I want to welcome all of you to this really exciting and novel event, The Future of Indian Gaming. And as is custom, I'll just give a very short prayer, you know, to start our event.

I just said, you know, thanks to the creator. Thanks, you know, for bringing us all together and give us some, you know, insight and knowledge today and generosity to one another as well. And I'm pretty sure this is probably the first time the Hawaiian language has been spoken at Brookings. I think today, there will be a lot of firsts here.

So, I want to give you sort of just a very brief overview of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. There's much to be said.

One of the interesting things of the act is that you know, the purposes of the revenues are really, you know, sort of public oriented. And that's what differentiates the industry from that of the commercial industry. And many people in this room know that. But for the broader audience, it's a very unique undertaking. It is public oriented, public minded in that sense. So, it differs in tremendous ways.

And just to show you the uniqueness of the industry, when the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act began, was authorized, in 1988, the industry was quite low. It's the dark blue line there. But over the last 30 years, you see that it's really risen. It's, again, the blue line. It's about $32 billion todays. Right, the revenues annually. And so, it eclipses that of several other existing non-American Indian operations, such as lotteries and other types of gaming operations. And it's approaching that of the commercial industry as a whole. So, it's a big player here. But it has a particular focus that differs from the private commercial side. And that's where the wealth of interesting things exists.

There's a history there over these 30 years, and most of the people in this room have fought that fight, and, you know, brought it to where it is today. So, I'm not going to talk about that.

But the reason we're here today is talk about the next 30 years and where

the industry is going. And that's sort of the idea here.

The purpose is to really sort of bring together a diverse group of individuals to elicit their thoughts and insights on where this industry is going in the next few decades.

We'll hear from individuals who represent the gaming industry regulators, the officials, tribal government officials, US federal agencies, academics, and other researchers.

I know this audience also includes lots of people with diverse experience and vantage points of this industry. And we hope to include a bunch of you as well in the question and answer period when we open up the discussions.

And I just want to remind everyone, gently, that when asking a question, a question can consist of a single sentence.

And what we're going to do here today is discuss emerging issues and obstacles that potentially lie in the way of the industry and other potential topics of concern.

Again, there are many prospective represented here today; the industry, the individual tribes, the tribal citizens, but also, the work force, which increasingly are also non-native themselves. So, there's a lot of ways in which this industry's integrated into the community and the fabric of the United States and adjacent counties within the US.

Our keynote speech and the first panel will really discuss various aspects of that. And they'll help us lead into discussing new areas and topics of concern. I see this as the beginning of a broad discussion on American Indian gaming industry and identifying ways in which we can support better research that informs policy making at all levels of government, whether it be a tribal, state, or federal levels.

There are resources in this room and this potential network that may never have encountered one another previously, and that's sort of the benefit of the convening power of Brookings -- bringing diverse voices and prospective together. And so, I'm happy that we're able to do this today. You know, this is a very unique event for Brookings but also for many of us.

We'll have a fantastic keynote talk, then two lively panels, and then following that, I'll invite all of you to have lunch with us in the adjoining room at the end.

And so, now to sort of conclude, I'm just going to give a brief introduction of the two moderators and then the keynote speaker. And so, I'll start in reverse order and end with the bio of the keynote speaker.

So, first, I'd like to introduce, Miriam Jorgenson. Miriam, can you identify yourself? She's the Research Director of the Native Nations Institute at the University of Arizona and its sister program, The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. You thought you had a job, she has two jobs at two universities across the country.

Okay. Her areas of specialty are indigenous governance and economic development with a focus on the ways communities, governance, arrangements, and social characteristics affect economic development.

She's the author or coauthor of several influential books in this area. One, being *The State of Native Nations*, which is just, you know, a hallmark book on this topic. And she's done amazing work in the US, Canada, and Australia with indigenous communities there.

Our second moderator is Professor Katherine Spilde. And Katherine is the professor at San Diego State University. She's also the Director of the Sycuan Institute of Tribal Gaming at San Diego State University and has provided generous support to economic studies, which helps make the work that we do possible here.

And just as a disclaimer, I'd like to reiterate Brookings' commitment to independence and underscore that the views expressed today from everyone, are theirs and theirs alone.

Dr. Spilde is one of the foremost experts in American Indian gaming and the government-owned casinos in the US, with extensive work. And she's done extensive work in American Indian economic development and tribal government casinos.

She was a staff writer for the National Gaming Impact Study that produced a report for the President Clinton in 1999. And she holds the endowed chair of the Sycuan Institute of Tribal Gaming at San Diego State.

Finally, I'd like to introduce the National Indian Gaming Commission Chair, Jonodev Chaudhuri. Jonodev, can you identify yourself?

Sorry, this is Kate Spilde here. I forgot to have her introduce herself or show herself.

Chair Chaudhuri, was nominated by President Barack Obama to become the chair of the NIGC in 2015. He has held an appointment on the commission since 2013; however. Prior to that, he worked for the Department of Interior as a senior counselor for the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs. He's worked on various topics of Indian gaming, economic development, Alaskan affairs, and tribal recognition.

Chairman Chaudhuri, served as a judge on five different tribal courts, including the Chief Justice of the Muscogee Creek Nation's Supreme Court, of which he is a member. He holds a J.D. from Cornel Law School. But most importantly, he holds a B.A. from Dartmouth College, my alma mater.

So, with that, please join me in welcoming Chair Chaudhuri.

CHAIRMAN CHAUDHURI: Professor Akee. Let's all be of one mind today. And creator bless this presentation.

Many, many thanks to Professor Akee, as well as Brookings in general for holding this incredible forum today. We're among many friends who care deeply about the future of the Indian gaming industry, not just because of the commercial benefits that Indian gaming has brought to Indian country, but for the strength in voice and strength in nation building that Indian gaming has brought. Many, many thanks to Brookings and Professor Akee.

Yes, we did know each other back in the day, but let me just say, I knew Randy before he was a big shot at Brookings, and I can say from the bottom of my heart,

he's always been a nerd. He loves this stuff, you know. But a nerd very, very grounded in his traditions and very, very grounded in his commitment to do good things. Not just for the people of Hawaii, but also all native people and all people across these lands. So, the land recognition today was very touching and heartfelt.

I'm going to try and keep my comments short because I want to open up the time if there are any questions here. But I always start with an acknowledgment of my team. We have our Chief of Staff here, Christina Thomas, as well as our Compliance Director, Dustin Thomas. They are not related. And a representative from our office of general counsel here, Steven Iverson.

And the reason I always acknowledge them is I want us to be accessible and approachable as possible because as regulators, we do have an important job in charting trends in Indian gaming, understanding the importance of regulation and compliance, but also having an eye toward the future.

Our team is steeped in the commitment to apply and implement IGRA in a manner that we believe is consistent with the Congressional intent that existed in '88. And that was specifically explicitly to support strong tribal governments, tribal economic development, and tribal self-sufficiency.

We always point out the fact that these are self-determination goals that were injected and referenced explicitly by Congress by choice. IGRA didn't happen by accident. At the time, there were voices on both the pro-tribal sovereignty side as well as frankly, the anti-tribal sovereignty side trying to sway Congress to inject language in one direction or the other that reflected kind of historical policy fluctuations. And let me talk about that a bit.

In '88, when the act was passed, as many of us know, it came on the heels of the California v. Cabazon decision. The watershed Supreme Court decision, in which the Supreme Court upheld the inherent authority of tribal nations to regulate gaming activities on their own lands.

It came from a number of separate litigations matters that bubbled up to the Supreme Court level. The case itself compiled both the Morongo's claims as well as Cabazon's.

And at the same time though, there was litigation going on with the Seminole of Florida. There was litigation going on with a number of tribes in the northeast. And the tribal sovereignty won out.

The Supreme Court distinguished the gaming cases, you know, the gaming arguments from a long body of tobacco case law and held that there were fundamental distinctions between gaming and other types of economic development that supported the inherent regulatory authority of tribal nations. It was a big, big case. And the year after that various folks ran to Congress asking for further legislative clarification over the regulatory landscape of Indian gaming.

Some of those voices wanted gaming to be primarily regulated by states. Now, many of those voices wanted to severely restrict tribal sovereignty to the extent it was conducted by Indian nations at all was primary overseen by state governments.

On the other side, I always try to give thanks to folks from the advocacy community, from the nonprofit community. There were folks who are now involved with the National Indian Gaming Association, but this was before the formation of that, who strongly advocated along with tribal leaders that the principles of self-determination and sovereign control over tribal economic matters needed to be maintained and retained in any Congressional action.

Fortunately, those voices won out. However, IGRA did reflect several compromises and several nods to folks who were coming from the prospective of advocating for state regulation. And those compromises are best reflected in the three classes of gaming that were created and the role of states that IGRA carved out in the compacting process. So, at NIGC, we always point out that we understand that Indian gaming existed long before the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. We understand that IGRA

didn't give anything to tribes. In fact, it restricted tribal authorities. It restricted tribal sovereignty over certain conduct of class III gaming.

At the same time, IGRA made explicit reference to tribes being the primary beneficiaries of their operations and tribes being the primary regulators of their operations. And those ideas are reflected in the very first paragraph of IGRA, both in findings section as well as the Statement of Public Policy.

Both of those sections before you get into any of the stuff that talks about protecting against bad actors or ensuring the integrity of operations, the findings section of IGRA first and foremost states forth that the purpose of the statute is to support tribal self-sufficiency, tribal economic development, and strong tribal government.

So, we see that as our loadstar, our guiding star in the implementation of IGRA. We see everything within IGRA in terms of our regulatory authority, our compliance responsibilities, our enforcement authorities as a means to a greater end. And that end is supporting at the end of the day, self-determination.

Yes, protecting the general public is important, but that is part of protecting the integrity of an industry that is so critical to supporting self-determination.

So, that's how we see IGRA mandating our charge at NIGC. But I think those lessons -- I mean that view is helpful in today's discussion.

We talked about the Meriam Report. The Meriam Report helped provide some tangible data, tangible structure, that helped inform the policy moving forward.

As I mentioned before, IGRA reflected the balancing of voices who are coming from two conceptual starting places. And American Federal Indian policy has always reflected an oscillation between these two forces.

On one hand, you have assimilationists forces, who I think, right or wrong, firmly believe that the best path forward for Indian country is to assimilate into broader American cultural norms. And that mindset has, you know, created policies such as the assimilation policies of the late 1800s. It's led to policies such as the termination policies

and the termination and relocation policies of the 50s and 60s.

On the other side, there are the self-determination policies that flowed from the Meriam Report. Self-determination policies that are reflected in the Indian reorganization acts such as Indian Child Welfare Act, such as Violence Against Women Act.

These self-determination principles all reflect the idea that not only should tribes have authority, jurisdictional authority, over activities within their lands, but tribes themselves are best suited to understanding the needs and solutions for matters within their lands.

So, there are these two oscillating poles of policy that at various times within the federal statutory landscape, Congress has tilted towards one or the other.

We're happy to say as regulators, we have a privileged post to see the product of how those philosophies have played out in the actual application of regulatory law. So, let me talk about that very briefly.

In the 30 years since IGRA was passed, and IGRA's the same statue that created our agency, we've had a front-row seat at really kind of assessing the products of that referendum. We've seen, especially in the class II area, the product of tribal regulation and supporting and empowering tribal decision making when it comes to the passage of regulation as well as the enforcement of compliance violations at the outset by tribal nations.

And we as regulators can say that that framework works. It works. But on top of the clear evidence through our regulatory acts, we need more data to show that in the next 30 years that approach is going to work. But let me talk about the evidence that we do have.

Professor Akee mentioned that we're a $32.4 billon industry. That is absolutely, absolutely the case.

We can't as a federal regulatory agency, we can't necessarily cite privately collected or nonprofit-collected numbers in our reports to Congress. However, we are mindful of the reports that groups such as NIGC have complied that show that the direct and

indirect impacts of Indian gaming on the larger economic landscape exceed $100 billion.

So, our $32.4 billon number that we produce at NIGC reflects the submissions of financial statements from all gaming tribes throughout the country. We're rock solid on those numbers.

But the economic impact numbers that NIGC provides shows the indelible imprint of Indian gaming on the American economic landscape across the board. However, all those numbers show is that Indian gaming is a big deal. And we all know that's a big deal.

But we're proud of the fact that in the day-to-day work we do as regulators, working hand in hand with the primary regulators of Indian gaming, namely tribal regulation, by and large, the boogeymen that were part of the Congressional discussion in the late 80s, have not materialized. And those boogeymen are the folks with he fedoras and the cigars and, you know, folks in back rooms with dark sunglasses. The specter of large-scale organized crime has never been an issue. Why? Because tribal regulators have the most interests in protecting tribal assets and operations and have worked hand in hand with federal regulators to make sure that organized crime's been kept at bay.

So, we have the anecdotal proof that we have a $32.4 billion industry. But we need more data drive policy moving forward.

We had an event a couple months ago where we reflected on the last 30 years of Indian gaming. And we brought up the fact as regulators, we have seen the product of 30 years of supporting tribal decision-making work. And we hope that concepts that lean towards the self-determination end of the spectrum inform policy moving forward.

As we all know, public policy exists in an echo chamber with public perception. The work that we're doing today in discussing how data can be analyzed and collected more efficiently and effectively impacts both.

So, one data point that I always want to mention is despite the big deal number of $32.4 billion, according to our numbers, over 60 percent of operations are small

to modest operations. That's 60 percent of gaming operations receive $25 million or less in gross revenue. That's not net. That's gross. You still have to pay for everything that any business runs.

These are small operations but are important operations for jobs, for local communities, for providing emergency services to native communities and nonnatives alike. That number, that 60 percent number, flies in the face of the rich Indian stereotype that's out there. And the rich casino Indian stereotype can be seen in large-scale publications such as Wampum or there's one John Grisham book that came out recently about Indian tribal casinos.

I would submit that attacking those public perceptions of Indian gaming are just as important as advocating among policy makers, advocating on the Hill, advocating for various federal agencies. But whether you're talking about the arenas of public perception or the arenas of public policy, data matters. Data matters in having rock solid data that helps establish the benefits to not just native communities but surrounding communities that Indian gaming provides is extremely important.

So, the next 30 years of Indian gaming, as we said last October at our event, the future is not yet written. The future could be dictated by advocates for more state control, whether it's in the sports-betting arena or whatever the next policy discussion is down the pike, or it could be driven by folks who understand just as folks who understood the Meriam Report understood, that self-control, self-regulation, and empowerment of tribal nations to truly exercise their sovereignty, can govern a successful path forward, not just for native nations, but for the American public as a whole. We've seen that as regulators. And I thank you all for this important discussion today.

MS. SPILDE: All right, thank you. Well, welcome and thanks to all of you for being here today. I'm just honored and thrilled to be moderating this panel on the impacts of tribal government gaming and looking into the future, the next 30 years, here at this incredible venue at the Brookings Institution.

I know Professor Akee started planning this quite a few months ago. The reason I know that is when he first called me I was visiting my family in Northern Minnesota and it was 75 degrees and sunny there at the time, so we know that was a long time ago. (Laughter)

So seriously, I want to thank Randy and everyone here at Brookings for hosting this important and, we now know, historic event. 1926 was a long time ago, so it's time for an update. And I know we're really excited, all of us, to be here to really go in-depth on this topic.

So I did put together a few slides. I couldn't help myself. As a professor I have a few things to show before we start the discussion. I think they're kind of lead right into the discussion. And after I go through the slides I will go through and introduce each panelist, starting here with Sycuan Chairman Cody Martinez, moving on to Chairman Stevens, then Patrice Kunesh and John Tahsuda. And each of them will share for 5 to 10 minutes on the conference topic, and then we'll open it up for questions. The full bio for each speaker is in the handout, so I'll just give a brief introduction of each person.

So I did want to just get started with the logo behind us, the Sycuan Institute on Tribal Gaming. They're one of the major sponsors of the program today. I'm honored to be the chair of that institute and, of course, to have the chairman of the tribe here and a couple others from the tribe, as well. I see the tribe's chief administrative officer, Adam Day, is here. And I want to kind of hold his hand up because he's also the chairman of the California State University Board of Trustees, so he's here on behalf of that organization as well as the tribe. The Sycuan Institute does a lot of really important work that I'll get into in a moment and I think can help frame our discussion.

So Randy mentioned briefly that 20 years ago, the federal government did an impact study of all gambling policy in the United States and I just wanted to mention and point out that, like this conference, it really singled out the tribal government gaming industry and really encouraged that each gambling industry segment is evaluated independently from

each other. And again, I think that's really important that we're focusing on tribal government gaming today since we do have, as each segment does, our own distinct set of issues, communities of interests, and balance sheets of assets and liabilities. And I know in the afternoon we'll be hearing specifically some of the research that's been produced since then.

In fact, that was one of the -- there's a full chapter of this report, which, of course, was written only 11 years after the passage of IGRA that is dedicated to research recommendations and really putting the impetus on different government entities and the gambling industry itself to produce research about the impacts of each gambling industry segment. So in this case, the quote, "The Commission recommends that state and tribal governments consider authorizing research to collect and analyze data that would assess gambling-related effects on customers and their families resident in their jurisdictions."

So we know that the tribal government gaming community really stepped up. Within only months of that report being produced, NIGA created the NIGA Library and Resource Center, the first national repository for studies of tribal gaming, which, again, there weren't a lot at that time. Many of them were stimulated by the production of the report, by the commission's work itself, and then by NIGA creating this resource center. It's a clearinghouse for data and a real commitment to telling the tribal stories, which, again, are very unique from the other industry segments in the gambling industry.

And again, NIGA was also very generous in funding the first national impact study of tribal gaming through the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. And a number of the people involved in that project are here today, which you'll hear from later.

Only a few years later, the Sycuan Tribe -- again, we're thrilled to have the chairman here -- created the Sycuan Institute on Tribal Gaming. And again, very unique in their commitment to funding research. This is one of the only places to go if you want to do research on tribal gaming to receive funding. And again, some of the research we'll hear

this afternoon or later this morning was funded by the Sycuan Institute. There's a lot of work on public policy and also really always a focus on things that are actionable. What can tribes do with the research? What can casino operators do with the research?

So as I said, I wanted to keep it brief, but I think one of the other ways that we really differ on the tribal gaming side compared to the rest of the gambling industry is that there are sort of two objectives that tribal leaders in particular have to focus on and achieve. One, of course, is making money. You know, we talked about -- we heard from the chairman, $32+ billion in gross gaming revenue, so we know that we're seeing very successful enterprises. Again, on the left is the Sycuan resort, their new expansion, which will be opening next month. And so there's a real commitment and requirement of return on investment. Again, these are businesses. We're training at the Sycuan Institute, training students to work in this industry on the business side.

But then the other side of it is the return on community, investing those revenues in ways that benefit the community. Not just the tribal community, of course, although this photo is an investment in Kumeyaay culture, of course, at the Sycuan Reservation, but also in the local communities. Again, some of the research we've done shows that the investment in philanthropy is one of the most important things for tribal employees to know about, for example.

So, again, there's so much to discuss. I'm going to stop there and lead on to our panel and start with Chairman Martinez. It's my honor to introduce him. As you can see in his bio, he's the chairman of the Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay Nation. And I'm sure he has a lot more to share. So thanks for being here today.

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: Thank you, Kate. It's a pleasure to be here. Good morning, everybody.

So the topic -- again, my name is Cody Martinez. I am the chairman of the Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay Nation. We're located about 30 miles east of San Diego, downtown San Diego, in Southern California. This January, I started my second term as

chairman. I was elected in 2014 at the age of 34 years of age, so I've been heavily involved in our tribal government. My family's always been a long-time family of leadership within the tribe, so definitely proud to lead the tribe.

Sycuan has quite an interesting story. Been at the forefront of Indian gaming. Not a part of the early litigation, the Cabazon and Morongo, but doing the same thing that those tribes were tied up in litigation about. And that's, again, trying to operate a business to bring economic self-determination, self-sufficiency to the tribe.

So Sycuan last year just celebrated 35 years of success in Indian gaming, year after year growth from opening as a high stakes bingo hall in 1983 to, again, having our grand opening celebration for our new expanded resorts, which will offer 2,500 Class 3 machines, approximately 300 Class 2 machines, over 80 table games, 12-story hotel tower, lazy river pools.

So with Sycuan, when I was elected in 2014, we had a lot of uncertainty as a tribe. Coming from San Diego County, one of the counties with the most Indian reservations in the county line, 17 approximately I believe, and out of those 17, 10 casinos -- 10 of those tribes operating, for the most part, large casinos with 2,000 machines or more. So at the time we came into office we had our sister tribe, the Jamul Band of the Kumeyaay Nation, coming in with a large commercial investor, Penn National Gaming. And basically all the economists, all of the bankers were basically asking my Tribal Council what in the heck are you guys going to do? Because they all forecasted for Sycuan to be impacted the most at that time. Some forecast, you know, as low as 10 percent, 30 percent impact on our gross gaming revenues.

So the tribe really had to come up with a strategic plan to embrace that impact and to have a plan to go forward and grow. So myself and my council immediately engaged the governor's office to begin negotiations for a new gaming compact. We knew that a gaming compact was essential to our cornerstone of economic development long term, and we needed to have a lot more certainty to the uncertainty we were facing. And

that was really key to start off with gaming compact.

California, unique, you know, the state negotiating very hard with the tribes. And again, Sycuan was out in front with the lead and we were able to fend off a lot of the state's imposition of mitigation with local governments, you know, trying to chip away at some of the tribe's sovereignty with local government mitigation. Again, labor, quite a strong force in California, and the tribes were having to make concessions and compromises, again, on labor language.

But in the end, we felt like we ended up with a compact that was a model compact. A lot of other tribes followed that model. And again, we're able to take advantage with expansions to hold those number of machines.

San Diego County alone in Southern California I believe in the last 12 to 18 months has seen nearly a billion dollars in investment. And I'm happy to say that Sycuan, with our nearly $240 million project, was a large portion of that.

We are investing in our casino. It continues to remain a large cornerstone of our economy. It is on our shoulders, my contemporaries and even the younger generations, to continue to diversify our economy, which is a lot of work. You know, I wish sometimes the tribe could be a little bit further celebrating 35 years in gaming, but I believe each tribe has their different processes and programs, and the headcounts and the populations are different. I do believe, though, Sycuan is on a good path to diversification and, again, supporting those essential government programs and services, the old thought processes behind IGRA, and the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act to have the tribes be the direct beneficiaries of the gaming establishments, and I think that is very evident on Sycuan.

So we look forward to growing the industry. One of the things in California that makes it interesting is Sycuan's been able to fund a public education campaign and a series of commercials we do annually highlighting tribe as much more than just a casino. Because, again, you ask anybody off the streets of San Diego, Sycuan, you know, they know it as a casino. We heavily market in that San Diego market.

But one of the points of our campaign is to educate them on tribal government gaming, the greater impacts to the state of California, which, again, Sycuan's investment in 2005, having a long-term vision that this data, this research is going to not only benefit just Sycuan's efforts, but the industry's efforts, not just in California, but nationwide. Because what we've had to continue to do is educate legislators, educate the public of the benefits of Indian gaming not just for the tribe because in Sycuan we employee over 95 percent non-Natives. We give a lot of in-kind services to the surrounding community through police protection, fire protection, and not to mention our generous philanthropic and charitable campaigns.

So we continue to educate. We continue to partner with other tribal governments and really protect the industry that we've worked so hard to grow over the last 30 or 35 years. And again, continue to educate those younger voters that are coming up really not having the heartstrings that maybe some of the older voters that supported Prop A, Prop 5 in California, to really give those tribes -- you know, to support gaming on their own lands. A lot of young people today are fighting for some of those basic American dream principles that all of us want for our families. And sometimes they really don't know this history to differentiate why the tribes should continue to be supported in their gaming.

So I think we have educate especially these younger voters and get out ahead of them, so it's something that we continue to do. We are very proud of where Sycuan has been and we see the future of Indian gaming as being robust and strong. And from the regulatory side, we're very happy with what we do with our Gaming Commission, working, again, as a model gaming commission for tribes being the primary regulators of their properties.

So we're very happy and we see the Indian gaming industry in the future as very bright. Thank you. (Applause)

MS. SPILDE: Thank you so much, Chairman Martinez.

Our next speaker will be Chairman Ernie Stevens, Jr., from the National

Indian Gaming Association, NIGA. They're based here in Washington, D.C.; is the largest intertribal association of tribal governments engaged in gaming. We're looking forward to your comments about the impacts of tribal gaming and what do you see for the next 30 years.

CHAIRMAN STEVENS: Thank you, Dr. Kate, and thank you to The Brookings Institution for having us here. We're very excited about that.

And I wanted to remind all you gentlemen it's Valentine's Day, so if you think it's just a fun holiday, don't bring any roses home and see what happens. (Laughter) Mine are on her desk right now, so just wanted to check in with you guys. I always end up on the road and it's a very special day in my household. My wife and I have been together 40 years, so she's a beautiful lady. So don't forget about her today.

I wanted to also, if I could, quickly introduce our team here. Jason Giles is our executive director. He's from the Muscogee Creek Nation. And Rudy Soto is back there and Chelsea's right here, Chelsea Blake. And I apologize if I forget anybody else. But Sheila Morago, too, I wanted to point her out here, she's the executive director for Oklahoma Indian Gaming Association and a former NIGA staff, just like Dr. Kate, as well. So we say a lot of great things about what we do, but we have a whole family that has helped to pave the way.

And on the way over here in the car, we were talking about how my dad and a few other tribal leaders, they had very little team support here in Washington and now we've got teams. And when we don't have them, they'll surge here if we call on them. And we're educated, articulate, but stand strong for Indian sovereignty. So I wanted to just introduce a few of those folks, Dr. Kate.

I think that for me if I could just add these, I wanted to announce to all of you folks that maybe it's a year or so that the Indian gaming industry has overtaken the commercial industry as far as in the world of gaming by about 44 to 43. It might be only about a percent, but we are the biggest in the United States of America. We're very proud of

that.

We have 250 tribes in 29 states operating 482 gaming facilities and we generate $32.4 billion in gambling revenue. And when you include the ancillary aspect of it, it goes up to 37.3 billion. We are the 13th largest private employer in the United States of America and direct about 300,000 jobs, and that more than doubles when you take into account indirect employment.

And, of course, we spend about $340 million on regulation. Our regulators are highly educated, experienced, and dedicated professionals. You know, my friend here, he said you're talking about the boogeyman, you know. (Laughter) I can't even go there because it's a whole other discussion in itself. But it's that kind of discussion that created the National Indian Gaming Association. I can't go back to the Rick Hills, Bill Who, Tim Wapato, and Gay, but my uncle who has passed away now, who was chairman of our tribe for 30 years, he was first vice chairman of NIGA back in the '80s. And again, to put it in a nutshell these myths and legends that were created out of the beginning of our attempts to find economic development and build a future were built in a way that said we have to deal with these issues.

And now, with regulation, 340 million, you know, any of those guys that have come to our place, they may have gotten in the door, but, you know, everybody's on camera by the time they pull in our parking lot. And we've helped not just deal with the boogeymen, but to deal with local crimes and local investigations. And so we are state of the art and we have prevented -- and that wasn't just criminals or it wasn't just -- it was an overall plan to protect our industry from people coming forward to think that Indian country couldn't run a good operation; that Indian country could be subject to crime and things like that. Well, guess what, folks. We borrowed a few from the industry and Las Vegas for sure to help build our world.

But now where our kids are becoming educated, they're graduating, and our kids are now running the operations. That means I'm an old guy; I'm going to be 60 this

summer. But we have the professionals now. Before we borrowed and now we are professionals, and that statistic is coming not boasting, but I don't hesitate to boast about our tribal chairpersons or our managers and different folks that are running our operations. Indian gaming, we are the experts in our industry.

So I just wanted to emphasize that and kind of maybe work off of that boogeyman routine a little bit more. My friend Chairman Chaudhuri gave an excellent presentation this morning and I appreciate it very much.

You know, the next 30 years of gaming, you mentioned John Grisham, you know. We had a talk with John Grisham and he stood down and he even corrected himself to some extent. But if anybody wants to do that -- I mean, Sheila was our media director at NIGA a few years ago. I don't want to say that you're as old as I am, but she's been around a long time. And we took on all these different initiatives, whether it's TV or radio or whatever. We took them on. And these statistics clearly reflect the success of our industry.

So I just wanted to, you know -- and again the myth about the rich Indian, you know. There's so much. I didn't pay my student loans off until I was in my mid-forties. And I've raised five kids. All those kids have college degrees with the support of Indian gaming without one student loan, all my children. And so the rich Indian is the one who can go to the museum and get the real story, the one that can go to their local tribal facilities and learn about their culture and their language, and go to language class and learn how to make their own tribal regalia. That's the wealth. Our culture and our religion is something that is very important to us. So I just wanted to say that much.

And Dr. Kate, as far as the land and the trust, did you want me to talk on that? Okay.

So the land and the trust process, people get a little bit -- I don't know sometimes I call that the boogeyman, you know, because people get all worked up about that. But we just want to reclaim what was once ours. So if we want the whole United States of America back, can you blame us, you know? (Laughter) Okay, I know media's

here. I know my executive director's probably saying where's he going with this one? (Laughter)

But we just want to reclaim land to build a future for the next -- so for the next 30 years, we want to create a better tomorrow. And that includes education and housing, more land.

And believe me, as it relates to Mashpee, I'll say this on the record, we support the fact that we don't -- they should never take their land out of trust. We believe they negotiated the law, which, again, wasn't our law, this Section 22 Part process. That was negotiated appropriately, which other tribes have done, and we support that. And we've been a part of initiatives dealing with this and we don't support opening up the act because the act takes care of that. And people that negotiated that process, they deserve that process. So taking that out of trust, we don't support that.

And from our standpoint, we really believe that it's necessary for us to build a better tomorrow and we can't do that if we don't have land. And there's so many obstacles to doing that. And why can't we -- I mean, we're not saying we want to establish a trust and go to Las Vegas and have a casino there, but why can't we go out to the other parts of the world? I don't want to say "the real world" because we believe we're the real world. But we ought to go out into the world and see the world and establish gaming and utilize our expertise to expand our economic development.

And again, it comes back to our children and our need to build our communities to the battle of some of the challenges that are -- whether they're legal. This whole world has to deal with drug abuse and gang violence and those kinds of things. We've got to band together to take those out of our communities. And these are the things that help us by bringing them home, expanding our world around us.

The land and the trust thing is so, so amazing to us and it's not -- you know, we're paying beyond our fair share. We have service agreements all around this country. And the few that can't come to those agreements, and I know a few, I won't mention them,

they're lost because this is 2019 and we've been doing service agreements and getting along with our local municipalities for a long, long time. And again, with the job statistics, over 700,000 jobs, we're doing great things.

So I think that we really need to understand that it's not a boogeyman, the land and the trust process. It's a normal process that will continue to bring prosperity to not just Indian country. Seven hundred thousand jobs, that's a whole lot of folks that may not be Indian, but they're a part of the Indian gaming family.

So I think we're doing great things out there, Dr. Kate. And I could ramble on forever, but, again, housing, infrastructure, community development, building schools, nursing homes, child care, recreation centers, all these kinds of government functions take land and take more economic development. So, you know, we need the world not to be afraid of Indian people expanding our horizons because we've got a long ways to go. And we have a lot of our -- I'm going to hold, in the next six months, I'm going to hold two more brand new grandbabies, so I'll be up around 17 grandchildren. I want these kids to have something to live for and I want America's children to have something to live for. That's what Indian gaming's all about.

MS. SPILDE: Thank you, Chairman. Wow. (Applause)

Thanks for all the travel that you do. And we actually did try to plan this event to be done early in the day, so people could get home for Valentine's Day. So I hope you catch your flight.

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: I'll be bringing chocolates. (Laughter)

MS. SPILDE: Hopefully you'll make it. And I know you just came back from London, from ICE, and again, representing Indian gaming not just here in the U.S., but even globally. So again, thanks for all the travel that you do. I know it's a hardship to be away from your family. And many people here obviously travel. Most of us are not from here and have come in for this event. And I know you especially are out on the road, so thanks for everything that you do.

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: Thank you, Dr. Kate. I got to see -- we went to the class. We were hosted by Dr. Leah Gardner and she was an intern. When I first -- when Sheila and I were at NIGA and Dr. Kate was there, she was an intern. Now she's a professor there at the University of London. She's a bigshot. Still looks the same, though.

MS. SPILDE: I know.

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: Yeah, so we're very proud of her, too.

MS. SPILDE: Yes. Well, thank you.

Our next panelist is Patrice Kunesh. She is assistant vice president and director of the Center for the Indian Country Development, the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. She's also Standing Rock Lakota descent and she's going to talk about how gaming has supported the prosperity of Native nations and some of the work that they do at their center. So, welcome. Thank you.

MS. KUNESH: All right. Thank you very much. I'm really, really happy to be here. I'm really feeling sort of the momentum and the momentous occasion of being here 100 years post Meriam Report.

So I work with the Center for Indian Country Development. It started about 3-1/2 years ago, and I was hired to sort of breathe life into the Center for Indian Country Development, a brand new thing for the Federal Reserve, to really focus on Indian country. Of course, we have Indian country in all of our 12 districts, so we located it in Minnesota -- or the Minneapolis Fed I should say, but it's on a national platform, to really take a close, deep look at the economics of Indian country. And maybe in a very unique way, apply an economics or an econometrics model to economic and community development.

Miriam Jorgensen is on our leadership council. We've had other -- Dante Desiderio, who really helped inform us about what are the burning issues in Indian country.

Our mission is really to look at and support the wealth and prosperity of Indian country. So often we hear about the disparities and the gaps and the poverty and such and so forth, but we know that there is tremendous wealth. And we talk about that in

terms of healing capital wealth and we talk about it in land wealth. So we're here to support from a data perspective, and I really appreciate Jonodev's comments about data and the importance of mining that data to understand the real lived experience in Indian country.

So I'd like to talk to you a little bit this morning about one aspect of that data, and it's the labor force. I did not know the numbers that Ernie was telling us, that -- did you say the 13th largest employer in the United States with over 700,000 employees? That is awesome. That is truly phenomenal and I wish I had known those numbers, but I am blown away.

But if you take a look at the chart behind me, we can see where these numbers really lie in the context of reservation jobs. So this is sort of a labor perspective of Indian gaming. And you're going to notice two really high bars.

The highest one is the sector for arts, entertainment, and recreation. And that is, of course, Indian gaming and all the amenities that go with Indian gaming: the hotels, the restaurants, and the resort facilities.

I should mention or explain that the red line is the parity line. So we took, across 277 reservations, we took a look at all the different job sectors. And we compared that to 514 nearby counties. So we're looking at reservation jobs and comparing it to nearby counties. So the red line is where the two meet in terms of parity.

So when you see those two big lines, you can say what's happening there? Well, the tallest line, which is arts, entertainment, and recreation, is the gaming and that's about almost 4-1/2 times the jobs that we see in nearby counties.

The next highest bar here is tribal -- or I should say public administration, which represents government, tribal government. So those are the two largest, by far, employers in Indian country. And that's, you know, pretty natural. We have tribes that have gaming are supporting the economy, are creating jobs not only for their communities, but also employing people from nearby counties. And we know that tribes as self-governing nations also are running large governmental institutions providing public services to their

community. So in that public administration we see over 2-1/2 times parity that tribes are employing employees.

So what does this mean? I think there's -- just to take a look at what's below the parity line, we see fewer jobs in the sectors of transportation and warehousing. We see a big dip in terms of the manufacturing sector, utility sector, and, of course, agriculture, fishing, and forestry. So those are some of the areas where we're not at parity with local counties.

So what I take away from this is that Indian gaming has definitely boosted reservation jobs. I mean, it's been a tremendous boon for jobs, employment opportunities. And, of course, with those jobs come benefits and those benefits are truly necessary, the health benefits, the retirement benefits. Those are what create wealth and wellbeing, and we're so very proud of that.

But we also see that these jobs are skewed. Obviously, that there's a high concentration in just a few of these sectors. And I should also mention, which you don't see on this graph, that it's very uneven. You know, this is just sort of a national amalgamation of the data, but the job sectors really vary by reservation and by region.

So what we know is that there are a lot fewer establishments per person. A lot fewer establishments per person even though we have these really high job sectors. But we have larger employers. And, of course, the tribe is the largest employer, both on the gaming side and the public administration side. And then, quite frankly, that concerns me. That concerns me that we have this huge concentration of jobs in Indian country from tribal government.

So although we have jobs per person on par or better with local communities due to these large businesses, reservations do not have a diverse workforce. We just do not see a private economy. We don't see an economy outside tribal government.

And so assuming that gaming is maintained at its current level and assuming that we can weather the impacts of government shutdown or competition, I think

that this really foretells a concern and a need to look at diversification for the future. And when I think of diversification, I think there are many, many opportunities where we can invest the gaming revenue and support broadening up the sectors for employment.

So I think we need to look at getting these jobs more closer to parity with the nearby counties. I think we need to really encourage private sector businesses to lead the way. And tribes, I think, are at the forefront of encouraging this private economy.

I think as we've heard Chairman Stevens say, you know, we need to build a workforce within. And we're seeing a tremendous amount of good job opportunities already being created through the IT and human services, financing and accounting. So as we see this workforce skills being developed, we also need to apply it across all spectrum of workforce development within reservations.

I think tribes really must govern to facilitate and encourage external investment. And I think they also need to target tribal resources to key economic investments. And those investments certainly are infrastructure, as we've heard, your broadband is essential. It's an essential pillar of economic development and Indian country is woefully behind in making sure that broadband is accessible throughout all our Native communities.

I think we also need to look at the institutions, the government institutions that support the reservation. And those include the tribal court systems and the tribal laws. So tribal government officials taking a look at diversification should be looking at things such as do we have a fully staffed tribal court system with tribal laws that provide support and incentives for lending? And that includes recourse and remedies available through tribal courts.

It also means that we have institutions such as the model Tribal Secure Transaction Act. We need a collateralized lending system. We need to have opportunities for a commercial code. It could be fully realized and developed so that private entrepreneurs and investors have a great opportunity to look at the reservation as that

golden opportunity.

I think there are about six elements of economic diversification as a strategy that I'd like to share with you. And I mentioned the first, which is good governance. It absolutely has to have a supportive business climate on the reservation.

I think we also need to look at delivery of public services. Every government provides essential governmental services and those need to be done in the most efficient and reliable way.

We've seen a lot of pain through the government shutdown and we've seen a lot of vulnerability in many of our communities. So how can we take a look at this as a lesson to support these public services to our Native citizens?

I've mentioned the collateralized lending system and the remedies and recourses for private lenders -- or private investors. Most importantly, I think, or as importantly, we need to be able to use trust lands effectively. We have almost 70 million acres of reservation land, 60 million are in trust. We've just had over a million acres being consolidated through the land buy-back process. But from my experience and my review, these lands are locked and we cannot really tap into these lands because of so many bureaucratic processes and review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And title status reports, environmental reviews, title insurance, all of these take time, they take money, they discourage a lot of investors over time because time is money. So we need to unlock this potential of Indian country and we need to have a streamlined, normalized land leasing process.

Chairman Stevens talked about education. And this is an incredibly important part of diversification and future economic growth. We know that educational opportunities, pillars of economic development, economic mobility, and we talk about return on investment, return on community -- I love that phrase, Dr. Kate -- that education is surely the main return on investment.

So it has to be a pipeline and we have to take a look at it from the very

earliest stages of early childhood development, create a pipeline all the way through our adult learners and apply that uniformly across the board. And track and follow not only college education, but getting our students through high school, through vocational training, and really get them into the jobs that add value back to the community. And so we address the brain drain problem with a brain gain perspective.

And the last point I would say is publicly financing the need for infrastructure. The tribes really need to get into the business of developing bonding capacity for the housing.

We know that one of the premier programs, the HUD 194 Guaranteed Loan Program, 93 percent of those funds are for housing off the reservation. So if we want to attract good workers, if we want to build the workforce, if we want to support this education, we need to provide safe, secure, stable housing and create a really robust housing market. And we need to do that with a very strong, robust public bonding capacity.

So those are my thoughts on the future of gaming and workforce development through the lens of a labor economy. Thank you. (Applause)

MS. SPILDE: All right, our final panelist is John Tahsuda. John is principal deputy assistant secretary for Indian Affairs at the Department of Interior. He also is a former NIGA employee.

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: I'm sorry, John.

MS. SPILDE: Twenty-some years ago. He's done a lot since then.

So, John, we did hear from Jonodev and NIGC this morning. We'd love to hear more about the role of the BIA in tribal gaming in particular and also just some of your thoughts for the trends in the next 30 years.

MR. TAHSUDA: Thank you, Kate. I also want to start out by thanking Brookings and Dr. Akee for including me and your patience in staying with it and including me even though we weren't sure that we would be back working at this point and I would be able to participate. So thank you very much for that.

And I'm really -- I have to say personally I want to thank you, as well. I do have a personal affinity for Indian gaming. Indian gaming came around right about the time I was getting out of law school. And one of the first lawyer conferences I went to the keynote speaker was Tony Hope, the first commissioner of the NIGC. He had just been confirmed. And so I've been fortunate in many ways to have been an observer and in some ways a participant in Indian gaming from almost the very beginning. And I've seen the good things it's done. I've been in a lot of the discussions that have happened.

I've also been very fortunate to work with one of the tribal leaders who was at the forefront before IGRA. And I know he and former Chairman James Billy have a friendly competition about who got the idea to have a bingo hall first. (Laughter) But I've really been lucky to have been involved with folks like that from the tribal side.

And then on the opposite side, I had the great fortune to come to D.C. and work with NIGA, with former Chairman Rick Hill and with Ernie, and to really be part of the discussions that went on. They were very important discussions with the Gambling Impact Study Commission and there was a follow-up public sector commission. And that was a great deal of work, but also in the discussion about getting good facts and solidifying your data to push back the people. Those were important exercises, I think, for Indian country and for the tribes to really learn how to do that for the first time in a big way. And so I'm proud to have been part of that.

And also, though, I had the good fortune to spend some time on the Hill working for two not only unique men, but also unique in that they were both involved in the enactment of IGRA. I worked for Ben Nighthorse Campbell when he was in the House. He was part of the team that pushed what became IGRA out of the House to the Senate. And then, of course, I had the really good fortune to work for the late Senator McCain, who was one of the primary drafters on the Senate side of what became IGRA as we know it today. So I've been very fortunate, like I said, to have been part of that.

I've had some spirited discussions with Chairman Stevens in NIGA over the

years about potential changes to IGRA and all this. But I think it's always been -- and I appreciate Chairman Stevens always having a good and honest dialogue, though, on whatever side of the fence I've been on. And I think it's made it better for all of us. So, again, I appreciate that.

I went to kind of -- actually I thank you for letting me go last because I think part of what I want to say will pull in some of the other comments made. But also, I really want to focus in on the role of the department.

So when IGRA was enacted 30 years ago, they decided to divvy up some of what became responsibilities for the federal government in a little way than they were being handled at the time. So before IGRA was enacted the Department of Interior had virtually the sole responsibility, other than criminal prosecution, which was at DOJ, but really the sole responsibility for working with the tribes on any business, including what became Indian gaming.

Coming out of IGRA, in its wisdom Congress decided to divvy up those responsibilities a little bit. But one of the important roles that was kept with the department and particularly with the -- or is handled by the assistant secretary for Indian Affairs Office is the land aspect of Indian gaming. And we can't have Indian gaming without land, right?

And in some ways we can't -- it's really hard to be Indian tribes without land. We're so tied to it. The very notions of sovereignty that we depend upon, you know, derived from traditional notions of sovereignty and land and control over that. So the department retained that portion of the responsibilities for that.

And one of those really important roles is determining what is Indian land under the act that qualifies to conduct a gaming activity on. So the department has been part of that, again, from before IGRA, through IGRA. There's a lot of determinations that go on. But one of the fortunate aspects that we talked a little bit about, all the side benefits, et cetera, is that the department has been able to be part of the growth and to see the benefits that the tribes have received from Indian gaming. And acknowledged right up front, right,

that Indian gaming was a tribal initiative. And it's probably why it's been so successful, right? It wasn't a government initiative. The tribes came up with the idea, they pushed it forward sometimes in spite of the government, sometimes dragging the government with them.

But as Chairman Chaudhuri said, you know, there are three primary purposes: promoting economic development for tribes, promoting self-sufficiency, and promoting strong tribal governments. And without a doubt, it has been enormously successful fulfilling those purposes, right?

In fact, many tribes have become almost -- or have become very dependent upon this source of government revenue to really try to meet the needs of their people. Historically, you know, dependence upon federal revenues to provide services in Indian country has not always been met. And the tribes have been able to supplement that. Some tribes have been able to become completely self-sufficient and told the federal government we don't need you anymore. We're able to do it all ourselves. So it has been enormously successful on that front.

One of the spillover effects and one of the pleasures and the challenges that we at the department face sometimes is the spillover effect. By far, the spillover effect has been positive for all the surrounding communities, not Indian primarily. But as we know and the efforts through research and stuff have shown that the benefits to the surrounding communities, to tribes from any gaming is undeniable.

We have created business opportunities for local businesses. We've provided jobs not just on the reservation, but all around the reservation. The vast majority of the employees come from the surrounding communities and from the tribal community. It's provided an opportunity for them to interact in positive ways that they didn't really have a chance to interact with before. And so those benefits, to my mind, are almost as valuable as the economic benefits. That ability to really become part of, as many tribes talk about it now, the partnership of governments in their region, in their area, all the way up through state

governments. So that's been a positive success.

So we're now 30 years in, and in many ways it's a mature industry. Mature because the tribes have developed these relationships. They've been able to provide a lot of these benefits. And mature in an economic sense. So for many tribes now they have added on extra amenities and things to fully capture as much of the economic activity that they can through the gaming on the reservation.

And so what happens when you have a mature industry? You start to develop competition, right? And in some ways this is great, right, because it's been so successful that it's actually created competition among tribes in some regions, right, where they're now having to compete with each other. And that's certainly much better than not having any basis to do that on, right? So it's been successful, but that's something that we have to consider.

And it's also been so successful that it's actually created the desire by non-Indian entities, i.e., commercial gaming primarily, to come in and try to compete with the tribes, as well. And so I think tribal leadership pat themselves on the back for being that successful, as well, that they have actually made other business people jealous and they want to come and compete with them.

So that's great, but, again, competition creates pressure, as well. And at the end of the day, for many tribes, as almost that's spoken so far this morning have said, even given the level of success that tribal gaming has brought to tribes, they still have additional things that they want to do with their money, needs to be met, services, education, all these things. And so when you look at the future of gaming, I think you have to think about now what's next?

So what comes next? If you have competition in your area or with your business you can compete directly against it, which tribes are doing. You can try to hopscotch it, sidestep it, or you can try to get away and avoid it completely.

So for us, and, again, we pull this back to the legal concept in IGRA, what is

Indian land eligible and appropriate for gaming, is where do you go then? There are provisions in the act, very limited provisions, that allow a tribe to look at other opportunities off of their immediate reservation. And sort of generically, whether you want to call it a boogeyman or whatever, they're referred to as off-reservation.

Now, sometimes that's unfair. There are three exceptions in IGRA which I don't really consider off-reservation, but they have to do with tribes that just got recognized or were restored and never had the opportunity in recent times to have their reservation; tribes who had land taken illegally and can present a land claim. Those are three concepts that Congress considered and thought was fair to include in the act whenever they promulgated it in '88.

But there is the fourth one and this is sort of what really, to my mind, classifies as real off-reservation gaming in which you -- there's not a legal requirement that it be through the gaming aspect, that it be tied to the reservation. In some ways it's purely political because all you have to do is get the consent of the governor. And so that is for approval of the gaming aspect. The department, of course, still has to go through the process of determining whether the land is appropriate to be taken into trust, assuming it's not already in trust, for the tribe.

So that's a special legal situation created by IGRA. And so a unique opportunity, if you want to call it that, the tribes can look at to avoid competition or to move around competition.

And then, you know, there's always the opportunity, as well, that commercial gaming has looked at us as competition and we can look at them. Tribes can also, and some tribes are doing this, getting into commercial gaming themselves. They're competing head-to-head off the reservation, around the country sometimes, far away from where the reservation is. They're competing with commercial gaming and putting the expertise that tribes have developed, you know, in this industry over the years to work in a commercial context and often being very successful competing head-to-head with

commercial gaming.

So I think when we look ahead at gaming, Indian gaming in the next 30 years, those are some things that come up. Those are things we have to think about. And if we talk about where the federal government goes with this, you know, one interesting conversation we always have to have is about what is appropriate both to take into trust for tribe, because those are unique circumstances really, even in the context of the federal government acquiring property, and then is it appropriate for gaming.

And one of the policy discussions that tribes have had several times over in recent years, and I think as competition and as these things continue to materialize over the next 30 years, there's got to be a discussion about what is Indian gaming and what is unique about it. Because the farther, to my mind, I'll just say this is me personally, but the farther attenuated the gaming enterprise becomes from the reservation, then the less it looks like Indian gaming. Right? It looks more like commercial gaming.

When it's on the reservation, we have direct benefits. We have the jobs for people that live on the reservation. We have housing on the reservation. The further you get it looks more just like money. And who treats gaming, the gaming business just for money? Commercial gaming does.

So those I think are concepts that tribes and tribal leaders and policymakers are going to have to struggle with over the next 30 years if gaming is going to continue to grow and be successful. (Applause)

MS. SPILDE: Let's get another round for our whole panel. Thank you, John. (Applause)

We do have time, about 15 minutes, for questions from everybody here in the audience. And since each panelist has a very specific area of expertise, I just want to note that not every panelist has to answer every question, but certainly you're welcome to target it to a person on the panel or just open it up.

So does anybody have anyplace they want to start? And you all have

microphones on the table if you want to -- yes, if you want to step up.

SPEAKER: So one of the things that my husband and I were talking about on the way in is our 29-year-old who spends all this time on, you know, video games and our 11-year-old grandson whose big deal is Fortnite, which is a video game for those of you who don't have grandsons or young children; 125 million people are playing it. And, you know, Patrice mentioned how there's a lot of places who don't even have fast Internet. So, you know, what are we thinking of?

What are we -- how are we approaching how we're going to continue to compete as the little old ladies age out and aren't there for the slot machines and there's more and more young people who are playing e-sports? Anyhow, I guess that's the question, what are you thinking? What's going to be done?

MS. KUNESH: Well, I think it was interesting, I think I'll throw that to Chairman Martinez since he leaned over and said, you know, we just spoke about the next 30 years of tribal gaming and no one mentioned the Internet. So here we go. Chairman, do you have anything to say about what your property does around technology?

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: Well, technology, you know, just for the guest experience, technology at Sycuan we've been always wanting to embrace technology to make the experience for the gamer and the customer more user-friendly, easier. And so Sycuan has done so not just for the customer enhancement part of it, but because Internet gaming, the Internet has been floating around.

In California, it's actually been a very divisive issue pitting tribe against tribe. Some see it as a technology that cannot be ignored, that should be embraced, and the sooner the tribes get behind it, the better. Others have the opinion that it's no secret that tribes don't have the technology, the database, the platforms to operate these types of gaming, so they would have to partner with these commercial operators or outside entities. Once those people are involved in the business, they're not going to want to step away from that business. And again, the tribes have worked so hard to operate and manage and

regulate their properties, it really starts to change it, so it makes a lot of people nervous.

So, again, that has worked out into the political arena in California as a stalemate. And I'm sure it'll continue to come up again with sports wagering. I'm not so sure about Internet poker.

So what we try to do is make our floor -- I mean, a lot of the slot producers, you can see the games are taller, bigger, more engaging and interactive. So, again, they can somewhat attract a younger player, but a lot of the operators have also been down the path of overinvesting for the millennial, you know, that the market is still established with the older player, 45+.

So there's a lot to still be worked out, especially when we're out in California. We'll see where the tribes -- but early signs show that a lot of positions have not changed since the last session.

But how do we embrace it? How do we embrace the Internet? Very good question. So as the reality of a lot of these forecasted revenues come to play out, that's a little bit of an awakening because they had not become a reality, some of these numbers, 300 million, 500 million in lost tax revenue potential to the state.

So as we try to see where things, where the reality is, where the profitability of the tribes' ability to participate in these things, it's to be determined. But the strong argument, especially from our younger members, is you cannot forget about the Internet. It's there. It's a part of all of their lives. The smartphones are continually there. And how can we take a look at being a part of that I think is something our tribal government is looking not to be left behind, but to be in the forefront and to grow with that segment of the industry.

MS. SPILDE: Well, and as you mentioned and as Patrice I think mentioned, too, you know, there's a movement within Indian country and more generally nationally to understand broadband access as a civil rights issue, that access really is something that people have to have to just participate in society today.

I do want to also ask if Chairman Stevens wants to speak maybe from the perspective of NIGA. I know that the NIGA events often address this issue of how to attract millennials and maybe mention some of your policy positions.

CHAIRMAN STEVENS: Yeah. You know, I think that clearly one of our initiatives, you know, the Free Play Initiative within gaming, those kinds of things help us to develop that. We've been watching the Internet development over the years and continue to prep for that initiative. And, you know, it goes back to the sports betting thing, too. You know, we have two tribes that are Santa Ana Pueblo, I think, and Mississippi Choctaw that are moving forward with this.

So we're ready, but, you know, we like our gaming in the heart of our community. We like our slot machines, we like our table games, and we like economic development in Indian country. But those are viable economic opportunities and we want to stay focused on those, any way we can expand our energy to better suit our community and build our future for the next 30 years. These are key components.

But if I could just read to you, on the Internet one the tribes have developed principles over the time. And those principles are that "tribes must be acknowledged as governments with authority to regulate gaming. Tribal government Internet revenues will not be subject to taxation. Customers may access tribal government Internet gaming sites as long as Internet gaming is legal where the customer is located. Tribal rights under IGRA and existing tribal state compacts must be protected. IGRA should not be open for amendments and tribal governments must receive positive economic impact in any federal Internet legislative proposals. And Indian tribes must possess the -- Indian tribes possess the inherent right to opt into a federal regulatory scheme to ensure broad-based access to these markets."

This is a resolution that was established by NIGA through the work with the member tribes, through several consultations with the member tribes. It's signed by me and the secretary of NIGA's board, Ms. Paulette Jordan, who as here. My opportunity to

introduce our board secretary, Paulette is just off of a very energetic run for the governor of Idaho and she has served two terms in the state House of Representatives in Idaho. And she's one of our strong advocates for Indian gaming. I just wanted to take the chance to introduce Paulette Jordan. (Applause)

MS. SPILDE: Patrice or John, do you want to weigh in on e-commerce maybe as a diversification tactic for tribes?

MS. KUNESH: Yeah, I have a couple thoughts running through and it may not relate specifically to gaming, but it does relate to public safety. And we have heard from several reservation communities that the broadband Internet access is such a need, not just for distance learning, but for telemedicine, but for basic homework.

We had a community where many of the families would sort of hover around a casino and draw the broadband Internet access, so they could do their homework. And in one community they were hovering around the police department and it was such a drain on the reception of their services that the police department wasn't able to get the calls in and so forth. So I can't underestimate the need for these kinds of services.

But from an e-commerce perspective we are seeing the fintech aspect of lending big-time in Indian country. And the largest lender in Indian country is Rocket Mortgage -- I mean, Rocket Lending. What's the name of it? It's an online vendor that is for home mortgages, the largest lender in Indian country. And I'm wondering how do they get access to the Internet? How does the lender secure the loan and so forth?

But in all respects we're seeing fintech and the technology coming to be much more a part of the lending spectrum in Indian country, which raises a lot of jurisdiction issues and enforcement issues, and something I think we need to take a closer look at. Because these are very valuable tools in the way they are being applied and providing resources, financial resources to Indian country is exceptionally important.

MS. SPILDE: Any comment, John?

MR. TAHSUDA: Broadband is obviously very important, so we're in the

midst -- the President, as you know, has a nationwide rural America broadband outreach initiative. And the assistant secretary is working extremely hard to make sure that Indian country is part of that.

But it goes beyond even just broadband. Actually also energy infrastructure. It's kind of hard to run your laptop, get broadband, if you don't have someplace to plug it in once your battery runs out. And so that's also, when you talk about kids at home and Indian communities having a stable energy infrastructure for their communities is part of that, as well. So that's tied into, for our work anyway, tied into the broadband issue.

CHAIRMAN MARTINEZ: And Dr. Kate, I think it's -- and Patrice kind of addressed it, too, the next 30 years, we should make the top priority that Internet and broadband, these things come to our communities. We have so many myths and legends about the rich Indian, you know, and for the most part Indian folks, if you look at the majority, percentage-wise they're on the outside looking in. And the only thing -- like when I talk to broadband and access to technology, that would make us wealthy. And that's what we need in Indian country and this is something that's so vitally important.

So we need not focus on -- there are reasons that some of the tribes have more than others: location and car count and all that stuff. But for the most part, Indian people all over this country need access so that we can build a better tomorrow.

And that's why I always talk about our tradition and our culture and those young people in our communities. They are our leaders today because they got to take a giant step forward for us. And to do that we need access.

MS. SPILDE: Great. Well, again, I think we're out of time and I want to thank everyone for being here and thank our panelists and look forward to the next panel. (Applause)

(Recess)

MS. JORGENSEN: So we are just getting the last panelists mic'd up now

and if we could gather again for our second panel of the morning. I just want to give my thanks to Ted Gayer for that wonderful welcome and also to Randy Akee for the prayer that he offered to get us started in a good way.

And also again want to acknowledge that we are on the lands of the Piscataway people and I just want to give my respect to their elders and others who have worked on behalf of the sovereignty and self-determination of that nation. So again, acknowledging the land of the Piscataway and their people.

This panel changes tone a little bit. This is five of us are all academics of various stripes and this might be somewhat more familiar to those in the room who are used to bearing their noses in econometrics or in political studies and things like that and so what we would like to do is jump off of the first conversation where we heard a lot of stories about the development of the field. We heard a lot of experience from the ground from regulators, from folks who are advocates, from folks who are tracking this in communities and now we want to dig deep and see what the research is telling us about the experience of the 30 years of the Indian gaming industry and also look to the future as well and think about what some of those unanswered questions are to get some ideas for future research.

And I think critically, anybody in the room who is interested in maybe looking at this field, this is an area where the second half of the panel in particular can give some ideas and some really important leads for what work remains to be done.

So we are going to essentially go around twice asking two questions. The first question really is what have we been learning over the past 30 years from the American Indian gaming industry? What are some of the most important things we have learned about impacts of Indian gaming, about the effects of the industry? Tell us a little bit about the work that you've each been involved in that starts to answer this question about our learning and related especially to impacts of Indian gaming.

I'm going to start first with Raymond Foxworth. Raymond is Vice President of First Nations Development Institute for grant making and development. He is a Navaho

man and he has a Ph.D. in political science and he specializes in positive political economy. Thank very much.

MR. FOXWORTH: Thank you, Mr. Miriam. First of all, I have to thank Randy and others for inviting me and it's really awesome to be a part of this kind of historic conversation here at Brookings. So thank you.

At First Nations Development -- well, first of all, First Nations Development Institute is a national nonprofit organization. We are located in Longmont, Colorado right outside of Denver and we provide grants, technical assistance and training and also engage in research and advocacy work really around asset control of Indian nations and trying to promote models and methods for asset control within native communities acknowledging that history has been riddled with asset theft and asset stripping.

Some of our previous work has really looked at some of the positive effects of financial education on Native American youth that receive per capita payment, payouts. I'm blanking on the word right now but we have also done work trying to understand the impact of American Indian charitable giving and trying to raise the profile of American Indian charitable giving especially within the nonprofit sector wo tend to assume that Indians themselves do not give back to communities at large.

But what I want to share with you today is a little bit of research that we have been engaged in over the past two years really focused on public opinion and public opinion of America Indians. The sad reality is there is not a whole lot of data out there that focuses on public opinion as it relates to American Indians in the U.S. There is plenty of data focusing on public opinion or policy issues related to other ethnic or minority groups but really, there is not significant information out there when it comes to American Indians.

So for the past two and a half years, we have engaged in a project called Reclaiming Native Truth and as part of the Reclaiming Native Truth project, we have been collecting data from across the United States to try and understand the attitudes, the beliefs and perceptions that every day Americans have of American Indians. We have conducted

two national surveys, we conducted focus groups around the U.S. and we also did -- conducted elite interviews with congressional folks, with (inaudible), and also folks and individuals within philanthropy.

So I am just going to talk a little bit about what we found from some of that research. Well, first of all, the sad reality is that the majority of Americans know nothing accurate about American Indians today. They know nothing accurate about (laughter) American Indians in history. Most commonly American Indians are either totally invisible or romanticized and or people think that Indians are living in abject poverty or are super rich from Indian gaming. And sometimes those dual belief systems exist at the same time.

So on this slide, what you will see is some of the, some quotes from individuals that attended some of the focus groups that we held across the United States. At the start of every focus group, we did a little word association exercise asking individuals to give us the first, their first thoughts, their first words when we named something. So it would be something silly like Lady Gaga or a local politician and then we would name, in every focus group we would say tell us the first thing that comes to mind when we say Native Americans.

So on this slide, as you can see, all across the United States individuals cited Indian gaming as one of the first thoughts or casinos, one of the first thoughts that they thought of when they thought of American Indians. That in itself was interesting but also what is interesting about some of these word associations is also some of the negative things that come up when individuals think about American Indian gaming today and this assumption that there is mass corruption or various kinds of system of inequality that are being perpetuated by Indian gaming.

And again, at times people would express contradictory opinions, right, that in the same breath saying that Indians are all rich from Indian gaming but in the next sentence, you know, acknowledging or talking about the abject poverty that they've seen, witnessed or heard about in native communities.

There is a lot more to say about this but I think, you know, it's important to understand that if we are going to talk about Indian gaming and the future of Indian gaming, what we really need to talk about is -- what we need to include as part of that conversation is how people view American Indians and how people view gaming tribes and the effects that has on public opinion. I think that's important because the reality is that at all level of society, regardless of education, regardless of political affiliation and other variables like that, this lack of education, this lack of accurate information about American Indians exists.

So in another study we did, we looked at the attitudes and opinions of individuals in philanthropy. To get a better understanding of how they viewed and perceived American Indians and now the folks in our sample tended to be more educated than the average American, more sort of altruistic than the average American, more, perhaps more liberal leaning than the average American and even those individuals had similar attitudes than every day Americans, right. They cited stereotypes of American Indians as it related to gaming. They cited to other kinds of deficit focused stereotypes of American Indians as well.

So I'll kick it over to Randy but those are some of the things that we have been looking at, at First Nations in terms of really trying to understand some of the narratives as it relates to American Indian people today. And the reason why I think -- one more thing, the reason why narratives are important is that they can be changed. Right. That there are certain inputs that can change narratives, increase more accurate information and increase more accurate knowledge about American Indians and that's some of what we are trying to unpack with this research study.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thanks, Ray. That's really helpful and useful and we will go on like you said to Randy who is going to share a little bit of his, the learning that he has been engaged in. And Randy barely needs introduction but I'll just remind you that he's a Rubenstein Fellow here the Brookings Institute and that he is an associate professor at the Luskin School of Public Administration at UCLA and also a professor of American Indian studies there and he has a Ph.D. in economics.

MR. AKEE: Thanks, everyone. So this is some, you know, talking about sort of what we know of Indian gaming, I and colleagues of mine, I have a colleague over here, Amelia Simyenoova who is at Johns Hopkins and I have worked with several people, Dr. Spilde, Johnathan Taylor, Miriam Jorgensen here doing work on American Indian communities and in particular with regard to the impact of gaming impacts on children, the next generation which many of the previous panel discussed as well.

And here is just a summary slide of some work that I have done with again several co-authors. Looking at the impact of per capita payments to households on the children in subsequent years and, you know, this is an important piece of information because it tells us not just about the tribal community, in this case it's the eastern band of Cherokee but it tells us a more general story that's a story applicable to not just American Indians or indigenous peoples in general but to poor people. So this is a story that transcends a race, ethnic, tribal, political status. It's about being poor.

And in this community some people were poor prior to casino operations but some people weren't. This again gets to the nuances of what happens in tribal communities that there is a, you know, a distribution of people and households and income levels. And what we find is that for the most, the households previously in poverty, high school graduations, graduation rates go up by almost 40 percent after the per capita payments come into play. Educational attainment almost goes up by a whole year after these advent of per capita payments. We see arrests go down.

We also see seem very intriguing evidence, some new evidence that children voting probabilities as adult. There's civic engagement. So all these multiple dimensions of what builds a citizen, what builds a human being, we see them mostly positively affected by helping to reach and grab people out of poverty and that's a story that has to be reiterated and told much more forcefully I think that that's one thing that tribal gaming has done for American Indian communities and it's an example for others I think as well.

Parental drug and alcohol abuse we have seen has gone down, parental infighting. Parental employment hasn't changed. One of the criticisms of giving money to poor households is that well, these people will become even lazier and they will work even less. We found no evidence of that. They worked just the same prior as previous to the per capita payments as after. They're still working. They're not dropping out of the labor force. Other people have done work using very different data and they found relatively similar results. They found a reduction in smoking, heavy drinking and obesity and they found this not just for the Indian community that has a casino but also the adjacent community. Those living in the surrounding areas. So that's also quite interesting. In the counties using nationally representative data.

The last thing I will leave you with is a continuation of the research that Patrice was talking about earlier. She showed sort of what that was, was a static version of employment on the reservation in 2010. In further work that I have done with colleague at the Federal Reserve Bank, is we have looked at business survival. So over the 2007 to 2012, the Great Recession we looked at the difference between business survival rates on reservations versus off reservation and all the pink categories are where the survival rates exceed that of the off reservation industries.

And again, you see there they tend to locate in similarly lodging and food, arts and entertainment but also education, healthcare, public administration, and wholesale retail. So there is something about the vitality of America Indian communities that are allowing the floatation or the, you know, the continuation of businesses located on a reservation even over the Great Recession, a period in time where many businesses were going bankrupt or going out of business.

So we don't know what's exactly causing this. This is -- this took a long time for us to just get that data to do this. So, you know, the next iteration of this we will try to dig down and figure out what's the causal mechanism, why is it that's going on. But I think these are stories that most people sort of miss that there are these sort of, you know, sort of

a safety net issues that are being perpetuated by tribal operations, tribal governance gaming operations.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thanks, Randy.

MR. AKEE: Yes.

MS. JORGENSEN: I think we are going to start to hear some more of the economic story then from Jonathan Taylor. He is the Principal of Taylor Policy Group. He is an economist who specializes in natural resources, gaming and American Indian development.

MR. TAYLOR: Thank you very much and thank you, Professor Akee for arranging us all here today and thanks, Miriam, for the panel and thanks to the Brookings Institution as well. Let's see what we have here.

We opened with this slide and I want to go back to it to pick up a couple of thoughts about what we are learning and what we still want to explore. We heard John Tahsuda talk about a mature industry and this blue curve looks very interesting from a mature industry perspective. It looks like an S curve of adoption. So the presence of dishwashers in the American home sort of goes on an S curve and this looks at first glance to the presence of casinos on Indian reservations is following an S curve and that's guiding the revenues of course which is pictured here.

But I think there is an interesting question about that is part of a broader context and I want to step back a couple more steps to pick up on what Chairman Chaudhuri said. There has been an oscillation of public policy in Indian affairs between policies that attempt to pulverize or disband the reservation system, the tribal governments and so on, on the one hand and policies that try to stand those governments up and strengthen them. This comes along right at the time when the pendulum has swung the other way.

So we had just to keep going with the history, we have got lots of great history here. The allotment period from the 1880's through to the Indian Regionalization Act which the Miriam Report kicked off and then we have a termination period in the 50's and

then the self-determination period really gets going in the late 60's and early 70's. And we are five decades into that period and we are talking about 30 years, three decades of Indian gaming.

The context is that Indian gaming is an outgrowth of triable self-governance and I think that the -- its important speaking to these themes about Indian country being misunderstood, it's important to recognize that what we are looking at here are questions of public finance economics and development economics. How are communities developing better than they have been before?

I think there is one point of optimism. We saw these gray bars are the recessions. We had a short real estate recession in the early 90's. We had the 9/11 recession and then we had the Great Recession. And you can see commercial gaming gets it on the chin with a big recession and Indian gaming does not. I think that's an interesting puzzle to explore.

Now I want to look at a place where the light is bright and so we are looking for our keys under the lamppost. (Laughter) This is not the whole picture but this is a big, sweeping picture of per capita income of people who self-identify as American Indian alone that is not in combination with another race, living on the reservations for the United States.

And I think we all ought to just stop a second and think about what this would mean if we were living it. An increase of 48 percent in my paycheck, that would be a wonderful thing. Now think about an increase of all of the paychecks of all of the people I live with and know and work with. They're all going up by 48 percent in this period and now also the government revenues are, you know, doing dialysis more effectively, more thoroughly. The investments that Chairman Stevens mentioned about culture, about communities, about language, about recovering history. All of those things are moving with this.

Well, this looks to me a little bit like that S curve, right. It really got moving and it looks like it might be plateauing. I think we have to be careful with this data. This data

is plotted the way it's reported that is there are these five-year averages that come out every year now. It's not -- you have to interpret this with a big grain of salt but I think in the big picture, the plateauing is very much here.

And this -- as flawed as this picture is, it's what we economist look at because personal income is one of the largest shares of GDP so what we are looking here at is the GDP of reservations and its plateauing. I think this is kind of concerning for a number of reasons. In the international development arena, there's a general pattern that very well-designed aid programs can earn more than they cost in capital, in the cost of capital if they are very well designed. They're not always well designed. Migration of poor folks from less productive jurisdictions to more productive jurisdictions is 40 times more effective than aid programs.

And also speaking from the intentional literature, preventing growth decelerations or getting growth, the accelerations that are out there in the world economy, in the history of Iran and Mexico and Brazil and so on, are 100 times to 1,000 times more effective. And what I think we have witnessed in this last 30 years of Indian gaming is a growth acceleration that all of Indian country has experienced. And it looks to me like that growth acceleration is slowing down.

There is also another stark reality to this picture which is there is a lot of ground still to cover. There is a remarkable amount of income growth on the reservations but there is just a very large direction to go. We've got lots more to say about this but I want to give time to Thad here.

MR. CONNER: Thank you so much.

MR. CONNER: Thanks.

MR. TAYLOR: Thank you.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thanks Jonathan. And I just want to introduce you lastly, to Thaddieus Conner who is an assistant professor at New Mexico State University and he does a lot of really interesting work on sort of the political interface of gaming.

MR. CONNER: Yes, thank you so much for having me here with such, you know, esteemed company. It's an honor to be here. I have been kind of coming in and out for about a decade and so I'm always excited when Dr. Akee invites me back out to come talk and share some of the work and it's good to be joined with another political scientist as well. That's fantastic. (Laughter)

So a lot of the work -- I'm not sure -- there we go. So a lot of the work that I'm presently doing and that I've been doing for a while with a lot of other colleagues is that we have been also kind chipping away at the question of what is the overall impact or return on gaming for native nations in terms of improved socioeconomic conditions on reservation land. And we have always looked at it in isolation just as basically a does the nation have gaming, have they not adopted gaming, what are the differences.

But we started realizing it was difficult to get at sort of the larger political regulatory environment that was so important and that's one thing that we've learned the most is that if there is anything truer about Indian gaming is that it's always in flux. It's always changing. It's not static. And the regulatory environment in particular is not static. The compacts with native nations and states are constantly being renegotiated across Indian country.

And so we ask the question of well, do those compacts, do those agreements for those different regulatory environments condition the impact that gaming is expected to have in improving socioeconomic conditions in tribal governance. So this just shows sort of like a very crud map of the landscape, the regulatory landscape in 1999 for percentage based revenue sharing requirements and restrictions on the number of facilities.

So one thing we noticed from these compacts is that they differ greatly from nation to nation, from state to state in terms of restrictions on the number of facilities, restrictions on the number of machines and also on maybe one of the more controversial topics, revenue sharing agreements. With some compacts actually just requiring general compensation to the state for the cost of regulation while others actually ask for a percent of

net win typically in exchange for exclusivity so it's an exclusivity fee.

And so we wanted to understand sort of what is the nature of the landscape so we wanted to kind of like paint a picture of what does it look like now, how has it changed over time. We are still in the beginning well, actually end stages at this point of coding compacts to kind of map this out, to understand it. And so this is just showing, you can kind of see, you know, just as a cursory look that its changed quite a bit from the 90's to present day in 2019 with more states kind pushing towards percentage based revenue sharing provisions and also we see a greater number of states moving to restrict the number of facilities that gaming nations can have.

And so we are seeing this regulatory environment shift. And one thing that we are seeing in terms of what impact is this have on socioeconomic returns is that for percentage-based revenue sharing agreements we are not really seeing a huge difference in terms of differential impacts, right, between nations that are merely compensating the state versus nations that are actually having to pay a percentage. We actually don't see a really big noticeable difference and part of that could be because of the exclusivity agreements, right. That that's actually kind of balancing things out but again it's a little early to be able to definitely kind of put a causal mechanism on that of what is happening.

But where we do see differential effects is with restrictions on the number of facilities a nation can actually have and also restrictions on the number of machines. And we actually see that nations that are in regulatory environments or regulatory policy mechanisms that have less restrictions actually have greater gains. They actually see higher in per capita incomes than those that are in more restrictive regulatory environments.

And again, this is early research. We are just kind of cutting our teeth on this but it is kind of getting at what we think is a very important topic because as these regulatory environments continue to evolve, they continue to shift, as federal regulators continue to kind of play a role in balancing these often times competing interests and again as we have talked about with the primary objective of strengthening tribal sovereignty and

strengthening tribal self-governance, we need to beware of okay, what impacts are these regulatory environments really having as we can see states may be pushing into more restrictive environments.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thad, thank you so much. We are going to transition now to a little bit of a popcorn session where I'm just going to ask all the panelists to give us some ideas of where they think the edges of research are. What are some of the important questions that are still out there? What does their research point us to questions that need to be asked? We have gotten a little bit of flavor of that I think.

I'm hoping that we will hear about a broad range of things. I have scribbled down a few things that I'm hoping you guys will touch upon. This notion just to pick up a little bit on Thad's comments around we heard about the important spillover effects of tribal government gaming as distinct from the commercial gaming enterprise. And if we have the kinds of restrictions we are seeing, I'm wondering if that's, you know, as you're investigating this competitive gaming, are we losing out these chances for spillover benefits perhaps?

I'm interested in thinking about some of the opportunities for instance in changing public attitude and what impacts there could be if public attitude can change in terms of not just supporting the Indian gaming industry but getting just a better understanding of where tribes stand in those partnership of governments the we heard talked about.

I'm really interested if there's what some of the research questions are on the edge with relating Indian gaming, findings and data and research to questions around basic income that we hear so much conversation about and even things like conditional cash transfers of whether or not there is information coming out of that, out of Indian gaming that might help some of that.

And also just thinking a lot about this, I think that Jonathan is referring to some of the work of Lance Pritchard who argues that growth in place has the most return in terms of helping a low income community be transformed and what some of those questions

of research are to help improve findings in the Indian development area to kind of grab onto that to see if that's true there as well.

So those are some of the things I was observing. Now I'm hopeful that we will hear from the panel. Does anybody want to go first? You're not restricted order because we are not dealing with the slides being in order any more. Great, thanks Randy.

MR. AKEE: So I'll just jump in real quick because listening to everyone else speak, I again, I think that's the usefulness of bringing people together is hearing the work that others are doing and thinking about what can go further.

I think what Jonathan was saying about sort of this bringing people back, that's part of tribal sovereignty, that's part of what tribes as government are trying to do. They're trying to create economic opportunities such that their community members that had to migrate away are coming back. And so I think highlighting those kind of outcomes are incredibly important and I think those are the kinds of sort of research areas that we need to expand on. I think the public perception issue is also an incredibly interesting one and I wonder how much public perception has changed in the communities and the counties where employment is primarily because of the tribal economic opportunities. Right.

MS. JORGENSEN: Great question.

MR. AKEE: So it would be nice if we had had historically, you know, 15 years ago, 30 years ago public persona, which I know we don't, on tribe and see how that change has occurred because I think that is some of the integration of employment and just sort of working with others breaks down those barriers and I bet those perceptions have changed dramatically. So it's fascinating to me.

So I'll just say briefly the thing that I'm quite interested in going forward is something that Patrice actually mentioned is sort of the land buybacks that have occurred and something that Chair Stevens has mentioned as well is when those buybacks have occurred, are they now the properties that are being used for economic development? Are those lands being put into productive use and so I think those are some of the emerging

areas because I think that also is the assertion of sovereignty. The reclaiming of lands that for historical reasons are unproductive for rules beyond the tribe themselves but maybe there are these opportunities. So that I think is just fascinating and I think that is an emerging area.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thanks, Randy. Thanks for pulling together some thesis. You didn't have to speak so quickly but I think we got a lot of it. Raymond, were you going to jump in here?

MR. FOXWORTH: Yes.

MS. JORGENSEN: Great.

MR. FOXWORTH: I'll come in briefly and note, I think you're bang on in terms of the public opinion piece of your comments. I think one of the slides I didn't show is that in states where there is Indian gaming, one of the key data points that we found was they're more -- individuals in states with Indian gaming are more likely to believe that American Indians receive special benefits just for being American Indian from the federal government. You know, there is some special office that doles out resources for education or, you know, something like that.

MS. JORGENSEN: That's not John's office.

MR. TAYLOR: There's a Nobel laureate economist who says that there's an office that doles out casinos.

MR. FOXWORTH: Point me to that office.

MR. TAYLOR: It's a problem. (Laughter)

MR. FOXWORTH: But I think we really need to begin to understand some of the nuances of public opinion and really understand the contextual effects of public opinion especially at more local levels.

And I think that that does nothing but help us understand sort of how opinion influences policy and policy makers as well. I think one of the other opportunities for research is really around understanding philanthropy in the nonprofit sector. Not only in the

context, I think one of the earlier panelists put it, return on community, was the phrase which is great but I think what we really need to understand is that nonprofits in native communities are important elements of economic diversification as well. They not only offer means of employment but they also offer opportunities for diversification of services and they also bring in outside resources and revenue that is recircled locally in native communities.

And so the trends that you highlighted that, Professor Taylor, talking about some of the slowdown in per capita income, it also tracks similarly to philanthropic investment in native communities as well that since about the late 2000's we have really seen a dip in philanthropic investment and so, you know, that's I think part of the story as well, could be part of the story as well.

But I think another important part of that is really understanding tribal charitable contributions and its effects on not only public opinion but also on community development in local communities in Indian country and surrounding communities. So for example we know in the Great Plains region, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux community is one of the largest charitable givers in that region. Most folks didn't talk about that or really try to understand the effects that has on local economic development or community development in places like South Dakota, North Dakota and so on. So I think if we are going to talk about research, we really need to understand sort of the power of tribes in terms of their reciprocity and giving back as well.

MS. JORGENSEN: I really appreciate you bringing up that point, Raymond. I think it is really critical that one of the differences of tribal government gaming as opposed to commercial gaming is this commitment that it's a public sector revenue and much of that public sector revenue isn't just spent on the tribal community but on the broader community. And there is a tremendous number of things in all of our communities that tribes have actually paid for that I think we are probably unaware that they did.

So for instance, the early volcano warning system in for Mount Rainier has been paid for by the Puyallup Tribe and so essentially keeping the entire region of the

northwest safe is a tribal investment. So I think that's a really critical aspect of philanthropy and I appreciate you bringing that up.

Jonathan or Thad, do you guys want to jump in here with other important research questions on the horizon? And even maybe some of the hypotheses you have about some of those questions.

MR. TAYLOR: Sure. I think in those numbers that I put up there, there is a lot of diversity and I would like to understand what is going on in detail at some of these communities. Dr. Spilde has made it clear to me a long time ago that not only is Indian gaming an outgrowth of self-governance, but it's a fuel for self-governance. It's -- it creates institutions. You have to have a gaming commission and you need to make that gaming commission independent and you need to solve the internal things.

I think also native communities' capacity to solve collective action problems gets reinforcement from the investments that Chairman Stevens mentioned in culture, in community, in language, in caring for elders and so on. And I think as we look at the diversity we are going to find evidence, Miriam and I are finding it right now already, about institutions of governance that having separations of power, separations of business from politics, of having chief executive veto on it. Those are predictors of economic development success.

There is also layers underneath that of tribes investing in their cultures, in their community integrity if you will, improving their capacity to solve collective action problems. And hopefully we are just seeing a temporary plateau in these growth in place phenomenon that there is an opportunity now to invest and have that growth pick up again in the future.

And go I think in the ways that Patrice Kunesh hopefully pointed us to. In non-governmental gaming, I think in some of the business sectors in your data there is a potential influence of the government sector. Healthcare is a big one that didn't die in the Great Recession.

A colleague out in Indian country from Sayla Schinkudney says Jonathan, he is shaking me. Jonathan, we are still government oriented. We are still government oriented. We have done all this stuff. He was in the forefront of self-governance compacting in the demonstration projects. He has run businesses himself. He says just Indian country is still thinking in terms of the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission of the great society that's its government. Its government, government, government. And I think in order to see these numbers really reach their potential, to see these per capita income numbers take up again, we have to kind of see the whole economy leaving itself, right. Where the hair salon gets going out on Pine Ridge and therefore somebody now has the ability to buy a new car or something like that and it just sort of multiplies inside the reservation economy.

MR. CONNER: Yes, and building up all these excellent points, you know, I think the spillover effects are something that I feel is something that we are really trying, just starting to get into.

MS. JORGENSEN: Yes.

MR. CONNER: And one thing that I've noticed especially in terms of the research that we do with Indian education policy is that a lot of the gaming nations, especially those that we have worked with in Oklahoma are heavily investing in --

MS. JORGENSEN: Great point.

MR. CONNER: -- either developing their own tribally controlled schools or investing in working with and making partnerships or building stronger partnerships with public schools in their area that are serving native students and that's huge. I mean, that's -- that really is investing in not only the academic development of native children, native students but also the cultural development of native students and it also kind of fits in too and we get this a lot from our interviews with tribal leaders in Oklahoma is that it also has carry over effects to the public opinion piece that we talked about. That these benefits, these investments in schools are also spilling over to non-native students and that having those cultural opportunities to learn about the native nations in their areas actually helps

become more informed about tribal sovereign rights, tribal history and that makes them more sensitive to those critical, critical issues and so I think we are just now scratching the surface of just all the spillover effects or indirect effects that these gaming investments have made.

MS. JORGENSEN: That's a really nice point. Now I'm just going to ask the panel very quickly if there is anything else that you had hoped that would come up in terms of future research or any other pieces that you wanted to pull out of the original panel and then the last chance before we open it for questions.

MR. AKEE: I just want to reiterate and bring up the issue that many of us have talked about before and about the difficulty of conducting research on indigenous peoples in general. One, because of the lack of data. Two, because of the high obstacles that are in place because of the institutional knowledge that has required the education that has to come there.

And I want to sort of bring that up because it's not some -- that's part of the reason why we don't have a lot of -- lots of quality research is that there are few places few and far between, one of them is the Native Nations Institute at University of Arizona, the Harvard project and the American Indian Economic Development. The other is Sequon Institute that does also of research in Indian country. And then a new addition is Patrice Kunesh and the Center for Indian Country Development at the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. If you haven't looked at their website or any of these other websites, they're fantastic.

And I think that we have to sort of reinforce that, that the institutional knowledge at these various levels whether it be at the state, the federal, the local, the devil is in the details and all the interesting stuff happens there. And so an outsider who wants to break in and do some research, I feel that we should encourage people to participate but nevertheless we want to sort of be guiding hands.

And that's part of the reason I wanted to have this event as well is that more people get to meet each other and realize that there are lots of experts out there and you

should actually reach out to them. So that's something I wanted to reinforce that many good people are out and about.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thanks, Randy. And I'll just add on to that by saying that we do really hope that this inspires people to be engaged in a research that uses Indian country data or addresses Indian country issues in terms of economic development. We think that gaming is a really great jumping off point because as Thad has put it, spillover effects are everywhere and there's lots of pieces of research and information that can speak to broader issues that can be done and can also improve the lives and livelihoods of individuals living in Indian country. And we want to be resources to you in that work if you decide to pursue it.

With those thoughts in mind, we have about 10 minutes left that we can draw on or maybe even 15 to get some questions from the audience. What I would like to do is to get a series of question out there and I'll write them down on a clean sheet of paper and we will kind of pass them around to our panelists. So just so we get a little bit more interaction and engagement. So could we get some hands in the air of folks who have questions about the research that they saw? Ma'am? I think someone will come to you with a microphone. Oh, there a table microphone.

QUESTIONER: Good morning. I'm like pretty much (inaudible) in this room because I have actually been to a casino to play bingo. And so my comment to you and actually the other panel is as much as you focus on research, I think you actually have to go to a casino like in Oneida and spend the day playing bingo and listening to the people who are there and the demographic that is there. Because the Oneida casino has not made the people who go there like Indians any better. And in fact, they generally think that the Indians are taking their money back in sort of like revenge for centuries of being ripped off.

And what you hear -- I go once a year, spend two days with my elderly sister and I really suggest that you all need to do the same thing. You need to go to these casinos and think of yourselves as patrons in addition to all of the other wonderful work that

you do because that's a depressing place, that casino, for me who goes to visit. And the dialogue that I hear is not any better than 50 years ago when I left. So my question I guess is have you walked the walk? (Laughter)

MS. JORGENSEN: So is there another question? We are going to collect a series of questions here. Ma'am.

QUESTIONER: Yes. (Inaudible off mic). Yes. So I just want to -- it's a comment and a question. You know, we heard Jonathan talk about how a lot of the issues look like we are in developing countries. These are issues of public finance and developing economics and so on and just reminded me of where we were about 10, 20 years go with development economics and the World Bank and how they were viewed as like there is a bunch of people handing out money to dictators all over the world. We don't know what is going on. We don't know how anything works and part of the reason why that was the case was because we did not have a lot of good data and because we did not have a lot of good research that could plausibly identify what were the effects of all this economic development and know the growth and what was spurring the growth and what worked and what didn't.

And that ties in also with the comments on public opinion and how we can change that. Usually, you know, a safe bet is to put out plausible, good research and policy recommendations and reach out to the media and so on with really plausible, well identified research that shows this works, this doesn't work, these are the effects, these are the spillover effects and so on.

And that ties into my question which is to the entire panel and anyone else in the room who can comment which is to what extent do we see, you know, engagement from the gaming community, from the casinos, from the tribes and in collecting their own data we saw a lot of -- we saw the data that we saw was from the federal government from the census, from different parts and that is flawed along many dimensions.

So it seems to me that, you know, that the tribes themselves they have an incentive to collect their own data to do their own analysis of these things and to what extent

is this done? Are there any plans to do that and in addition to the partnerships that we have already heard about that Randy mentioned, are there any other and any other, you know, initiatives to maybe partner with academic institutions or some nonprofits to really do some in depth research of your own on what's happening and how it is happening and what works?

MS. JORGENSEN: How about one more question. Chairman Stevens.

QUESTIONER: See if I get that. Can you hear me okay?

MS. JORGENSEN: Yes.

QUESTIONER: But let me just clarify just one thing on that Oneida casino.

MS. JORGENSEN: Oh no. Wait a minute. (Laughter)

QUESTIONER: I didn't like the casino. There is a book called The Bingo Queen, you should get it sometime. And it talks about how Ernie Stee was a young teenager, just despised all those bingo cards, coming to our only gym on the reservation and we couldn't go play basketball because they were playing bingo. And then when the nice people who were running it before they told my uncle on me they said we want to tell you, see the lights? Okay, you can't play basketball with no lights on and that's how it was for us.

We could -- if we didn't play bingo we couldn't pay the bill. And so now we have like four or five gyms in our community and we continue to thrive. And I still have one in college yet studying for her doctorate so this gaming world that we live in that I didn't like initially I love every second of it. So that, I just wanted to say something about that.

But the, on the statistics, and I know it has got to be difficult sometimes. It's easy to write the statistics that become stereotypical of Indian country and as I'm analyzing you guys have done a great job of having factual statistics without talking down on our stereotype in Indian country. I want to thank you for that and maybe just ask how you do that or do you do that just because you work for Indian country or is it something you have to work at? That's a key thing I feel (inaudible over talking).

MS. JORGENSEN: That's a really great question. These are all really

great questions.

SPEAKER: That's the point.

MS. JORGENSEN: And so what we are going to try do is take about our last set of 8 to 10 minutes and integrate them and respond to all of them and I know that we have got a lot of pride in Oneida casinos here because that's your nation and some questions about it and so that's why I was kind of saying let's not get into that. But we do, I appreciate your personal --

QUESTIONER: I just wanted to offer the book --

MS. JORGENSEN: Yes.

QUESTIONER: (inaudible off mic).

MS. JORGENSEN: Yes, I appreciate your personal testimony and I'll let is it Michael Heft know that you're plugging his book. (Laughter) So we have heard some questions around I think a little bit of it is about how to do research. Do you spend time in the field to do that research? How do you develop a respectful attitude that and project that in the work so that what you're talking about isn't this sort of clientalistic kind of or a patronizing relationship?

And what are the -- what is the hope for moving beyond sort of this more general data into some of the more detailed data that as the testimony points out is -- has really transformed say research in the developing world. Anybody want to grab on to any of those threads? Jonathan?

MR. TAYLOR: Jump on all of them if I can.

MS. JORGENSEN: Sure.

MR. TAYLOR: I really believe in walking the shop floor, in getting in there and seeing what is going on and I have seen exactly that you are talking about where an Indian manager is asked oh where is the dial in the basement? These slots aren't paying, you're stealing my money and it's just and it on and on and on about fished rights and all kind of other things. And I think that that speaks to the real importance of getting out to the

community and seeing, trying to see what a number is that comes out of the census and imagining the human beings who are experiencing it. And I think that's really at the heart of it.

And I think I get an education all the time from Indian country and it goes like this. Boom, you don't understand. (Laughter) Really you don't understand. And I think to the point about the international development literature, thank you for bringing up Lance, Lance Pritchard's name. He is the man who talked about aid is superseded by migration and migration is vastly superseded by growth in place.

There is another economist who I think responded to the development consensus that had the name the Washington Consensus and it was in the 1990's. There was this recipe that would be handed out to all of the world and it was do this to your currency, do this to your budget, do this to your institutions and so on. And countries that followed it lock step fell flat on their face economically and countries that violated many of the deeply held principles they took off economically and everything in between.

And I think that I'll bring you up one more name. Danny Rodrick is a Turkish economist and he has a book with a title that I find very compelling. One Economics, Many Recipes. And the idea is that there are some bedrock things in economics about supply and demand and about the operation of market forces and so on but every community has a different set of constraints, a different set of priorities and therefore community based, that is sovereign based, that development has to be the way to prevent growth decelerations and to keep growth accelerations going.

MS. JORGENSEN: Anybody else want to pick up on some of these themes of appropriate methods of doing research, about getting community-based data, anything like that?

MR. FOXWORTH: I'll just add this. I think to your point about some of the negative connotations of Indian gaming or Indian establishments, first of all I proudly give my donation to any Indian casino that I'm at regardless of location including my own on Navaho.

And but I think what we really need to talk about in terms of making that point is really thinking about the narratives that go into thinking about American Indians. American Indians are sort of revered and loved when they are, you know, close to the -- seen as close to the environment and spiritual, right. But other emotions are invoked when we talk about Indians as business people, as smart and educated and creating local business to create local economic development. And we can't deny that that is racist, its rooted in a racist history and so I think it is important to acknowledge that and note that that's an important part of sort of the public opinion and the belief systems that Americans hold of American Indians.

In terms of research in Indian country, at First Nations, first of all of our research we like to think is -- promotes tribal sovereignty and promotes Indian control of Indian assets which is counter to federal Indian policy historically and counter to how tribal government have been forced to interest with Indian nations, right. That the federal government has tended to yield all the, wield all the power and sort of dictate what can go on with Indian assets. We believe that Indians can and should control their own assets. And so that's one of our core values and our core beliefs.

But research is hard in Indian country and the reality is that if we talk about international development and we talk about especially international development based in the idea that international development agencies can be colonial in themselves and can be predatory and can exploit, the same thing has occurred in Indian country where academic institutions and others have tried to exploit data in Indian country for their own gain and not for the benefit of Indian country or Indian communities themselves.

And so when we talk about partnership and collecting data, I think that is an important piece of the puzzle for when we talk about like where we are today in terms of data collection and scholarly study is that I think Indian country is on a journey in themselves sort of trying to figure out how best to engage with outsiders when it comes to research in native communities and how they can develop mechanisms to also have a voice and control

in that process so it's not exploited like it has historically been.

MS. JORGENSEN: I'll ask Randy and Thad if you just have one minute or less of a.

MR. AKEE: I'll go very quickly. Thank you for that point. I completely agree. I think part of what my job is, is to translate the research that we do that has academic, you know, peer reviewed integrity, has sound but I also, I need to be the intermediary who translates it for policy makers, for community members on the ground and that's specifically why I wanted to raise the Native Nations Institute, the Harvard Project, Sequon Institute, the Center for Indian Country Development. Those are existing institutions that reputation matters and those are the institutions and the institutes that already do walk the walk, talk the talk.

And there are other out there that are trying to enter the game and, you know, let a thousand flowers bloom but they haven't walked the walk, they haven't talked the talk. And so that's sort of the idea there so I completely appreciate that.

To the question that Amelia raised with regard to the tribal relationships in terms of data collection, I think there are emerging opportunities, tribes themselves have been known to collect their own census data so they've, separate from the U.S. federal government and so there are emerging opportunities there. The emerging opportunity and emerging problems. Problems being data governance, data security, you know, sort of access to that data, how is that preserved into the future and that's something Native Nations Institute is working hard on developing principles and guidelines in order to ensure that it's not just for American Indians but for indigenous peoples throughout the world so there is a lot of collaboration going on there. So I think there are emerging opportunities.

MS. JORGENSEN: Thad.

MR. CONNER: And I would agree. I mean, especially as a non-native person, you know, I'm very sensitive to the idea that there needs to be some ownership of the information that we are producing, right. Especially when we are working with, in

collaboration with tribal governments, there needs to be trust. There needs to be some respect there of how that data is going to be used, how it is going to be projected. But I think there is a lot of opportunities especially through, you know, Native Nations Institute and others to kind of try to pool our resources together as much as possible to really make the most of the data because we are all working on these different issues, right. And we are all kind of toiling away and collecting more and more information. But it's not useful if we are not really actually kind of putting it to use for tribal governments in addition to the scholarly community and that's something that I'm always very sensitive to.

And to the point as well about a lot of the, you know, walking the walk, I think that is where a lot of field work does come into play because it is not one size fits all especially when you are talking about native nations and that's where sometimes most of the information that I get, the most learning I get is actually going into the communities and doing the qualitative interviews and actually talking with folks. Yes.

MS. JORGENSEN: Okay. Thanks, Thad. I'm just going to take a prerogative and take one, a little bit of time just to say a few things myself. So first off, I think that we have gotten on a really interesting history here of where research in Indian country has been and where it is going. I do think that there is a critical challenge on the table for tribes themselves to think hard about their own data creation capacity and we have heard Randy mention a little bit of that. But I do think that there is a real push that says there is only so much that can be done with data that is collected externally and even more can be done and said and be useful to native nations through the production of data internally.

I think that the work that Randy has done with researchers and colleagues from Duke University looking at the eastern band of Cherokee's participation on longitudinal study on child on welfare and child health, really starts to show the payoff of having that kind of tribal and internal data that has benefits for the nation, i.e. the indigenous nation that the eastern band of Cherokee in that case and for society generally.

So there is a lot of really good work that can be done and I encourage us

and I think that that's part of the future of research related to Indian gaming but also tribal research overall. I also think that there is a lot of really important research to be done and we touched on it briefly around public opinion and public opinion related to gaming but also related to tribes. That's an emerging field that and if you haven't looked at reclaiming our truth, I really encourage you to take a look at and there's important work that was done there and that still can be done to address many of these questions around what do people know, what are their attitudes, and that are the attitudes that perhaps need to change?

Hopefully this Brookings forum has been part of that and I really appreciate you participating, listening, asking questions and being with us for the morning. And, Randy, you can tell us to close.

MR. AKEE: Yes, and so thank you all for being here. Thank you, Miriam, for being a fantastic moderator, all the panelists. So I now invite all of you to walk on over, we'll have lunch out there and there is a second room for us to sit in there so bring your stuff with you and we can sit at tables. So thank you everybody. (Applause)

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