

**Alter*NATIVE* Economic Development Models
For Native American Tribes:
A Case Study on the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California**

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Architecture and Planning
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

**In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Urban Planning**

Thesis Advisor: Stacey Ann Sutton

By

Jacqueline Louise Keliiaa

May 2012

© Copyright by Jacqueline Louise Keliiaa, 2012
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, thank you to my family for your immense support over these last few years. I appreciate everything you have done for me. A very special thank you to my mother for instilling in me the value of higher education and for her unconditional belief in my abilities. Moo, your dedication to social justice has inspired me to no end and I will continue our family mission to service our communities.

To the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California for supporting me in my pursuits and giving me the opportunity to conduct research with the community. Washoe Tribal staff were amazingly helpful throughout this process, especially Robert Beltramo, Geoff Ellis, Debby Carlson, and Jennifer Johnson.

To my friends and classmates for supporting my research! You helped make the endless hours of research and writing bearable and at times, fun!

To Dan Press for your support of my research from the start. Those early conversations inspired this work and an ongoing desire to continue asking the big questions about improving community and economic development Indian Country.

And to my adviser, Stacey Sutton who encouraged me to always challenge myself. I am grateful for your valuable intellectual insight and incredible support throughout this process.

Jacqueline Louise Keliiaa
New York City
May 2012

Table of Contents

1 Acknowledgments	3
2 Introduction.....	7
1.1 Abstract.....	5
1.2 Introduction.....	7
1.3 Literature Review.....	8
1.4 Background.....	17
1.4.1 Challenges to Economic Development on Reservations.....	17
1.4.2 Limitations to the Dominant Model.....	22
1.4.3 Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada...	28
3 Research Methodology.....	39
2.1 Field Research.....	39
2.2 Survey.....	42
2.3 Data Analysis.....	46
4 Community Survey Findings & Discussion.....	47
5 Recommendations.....	61
a. Tackling Formal Barriers.....	61
b. Realizing Informal Potential.....	67
6 Conclusions & Discussion	74
7 Bibliography.....	78
8 Appendixes.....	81
a. Community Map.....	82
b. Interviewees.....	82
c. Field Photo.....	83
d. Census Demographic Data.....	83
e. Demographic Tables.....	84
f. Community Survey Response Tables.....	107
g. Community Survey Instrument.....	114

Abstract

Federal Indian policies which have contributed to the extensive architecture of tribal land regulations have rendered Native American reservations unfit to fully realize economic development potential. With extremely limited investment capital, Tribes can only afford investments in industries with very high marginal returns. Indian Gaming is one such industry in which some tribes have a competitive advantage. The emergence of Indian Gaming and the subsequent federal (and existing) policies have resulted in dire political and social externalities for Native American people. Political consequences related to gaming policies such as the Indian Gaming Reorganization Act (IGRA), have resulted in the compromise of sovereignty. In general, tribes who are allowed to and chose to game have become subjected to state, county and municipal jurisdiction, contrary to age old Federal Indian Policy which established Tribes' sovereign rights.

Local Economic Alternative Development Strategies (LEADS) serve as an alternative model for development on reservations. LEADS can shape economic development trajectories that are sensitive to the tenets of sovereignty and self determination. This thesis examines the utility of LEADS in guiding tribal economic development for Native American reservations. Specifically, this thesis is a case study of the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, a Native American Tribe located around the center of Lake Tahoe and positioned at the borders of two adjoining states.

To examine the potential of the LEADS model on the Washoe reservation, I conducted surveys and community interviews and utilized a combination of secondary data. The

results yielded the foundation of this thesis which exemplifies alternative economic development models that protect Native American sovereignty and self-determination while offering stable economic ends.

Introduction

As of 2012, there are 566 federally recognized Native American tribes in the United States. Until recent decades, many of these tribal communities have experienced severe socio-economic disparities and the quality of life on reservations—federal trust land that houses many of these tribes—has been compared to that of the developing third-world. The emergence of Indian Gaming has attempted to address this issue and has improved the socio-economic conditions for some of these communities but the improvements are marginal across the board. Furthermore, the political implications of engaging in the Indian Gaming economic development model are dire. Political relationships that have emerged with the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) have compromised Tribal sovereignty and self-determination as states continue to influence economic development efforts in Indian Country.¹

Despite the multi-billion dollar Indian Gaming industry, a majority of Native American communities throughout the United States continue to be affected by health disparities, unemployment, and a number of other social and economic characteristics that are drastically lower than all other races in the United States. Economic development in these communities is pressing but challenging. With virtually no tax base, many tribes simply do not have the means to provide services and goods to improve the prospects on reservations. Dependent on federal funding and grants, coupled with extreme land use

¹ Indian Country is legally defined as all land within the limits of any Indian Reservation (18 USC § 1151). However, it is important to note that 67 percent of Native Americans live in urban areas (Urban Indian Health Commission Report 2008).

constraints on Tribal trust lands, the toolkit for economic development on Native American reservations is largely non-existent.

Indian Tribes are sovereign nations and unique cultural and political institutions that require economic development models that are sensitive to these nuanced qualities. As such, economic development for Indian Nations is a unique project. This thesis seeks to investigate alternative economic development models for tribes. Alternative models are anchored in the local community and are sensitive its political aims. Tribes are inherently community based and have a unique status as sovereign nations. Using Local Economic Alternative Development Strategies (LEADS) as a framework, this thesis seeks to understand utility of LEADS in shaping economic development in Indian Country and promoting Tribal sovereignty, self-determination and nationhood.

Literature Review

Discourse on economic alternatives has emerged in last few decades. Recently, the concept has taken greater hold in urban literature in light of the crippling economic recession our Nation is currently experiencing. The recession ultimately exposed the instability of our current economic system. Urban economists like Gar Alperovitz are calling the dominant models of economic development unstable and responsible for the concentration of wealth and greater inequality in the nation (Alperovitz 2005). Alperovitz highlights staggering statistics that show the “ownership of wealth in the United States is concentrated in the richest one percent of the population” (Alperovitz 2005, 5). Cries of the 99% in the ongoing Occupy Wall Street movement are a testament to this growing

inequality. Critical of the role of large corporate influence on the American economy, Alperovitz contends that community oriented strategies will lead American economic development toward a more sustainable and equitable future.

Thad Williamson, David Imbroscio and Alperovitz see that these policies favor global economic concerns with community and local issue coming secondary (Williamson et al. 2002). They argue that the subservient role of local need has led to the degradation community ties, increase in job instability, unnecessary movement of capital and other negative externalities such as urban sprawl. The decline of manufacturing in the 1980s, the open trade policies of the 1990s and lowered lending standards of 2000s are just some of the benchmarks in federal economic policies have devastated the American economy. These intuitional practices have rendered the American economy vulnerable and increasingly sensitive to the global economic forces.

While not offering an explicit critique of the dominant development strategies, economic development planners Edward Blakely and Nancey are also calling for a shift in approaching economic development. Some definitions of economic development rest solely on economic growth i.e. increase of tax base, creating jobs, and so on. This strategy has been critiqued as leading to further social injustice, inequality as well as environmental degradation as more wealth and assets does not necessarily translate to a benefits for all. According to Blakely and Leigh, “economic development is achieved when a community’s standard of living can be preserved and increased through a process

of human and physical development that is based on principles of equity and sustainability” (Blakely and Leigh 2010, 74).

Williamson et al. suggest communal institutions can build alternative economic development (Williamson et al. 2002). Community financial institutions, worker owned cooperatives, community land trusts and community development corporations are just some of the examples supported in the alternative framework. In more recent works, Imbroscio has further articulated these approaches in what he calls Local Economic Alternative Development Strategies or LEADS. Imbroscio suggests that these approaches allow communities to avoid harmful economic relationships and reclaim urban democracy (Imbroscio 2010). LEADS are characterized by a bottom up process that anchors economic development within the community and provides this development sensitive to its mission. It is also important to note that many of the alternative strategies proposed are characterized by community involvement and long term processes.

Imbroscio calls upon the scholarship of *urban regime* theorists like Clarence Stone and Susan Fainstein to illustrate the way in which business interests have dominated the political economy of cities (Imbroscio 2010). *Urban regime* theory holds that the division of labor between the state and the market, “estranges public power from economic activity, [and] the local state is left too weak to accomplish the complex policy tasks to govern the city effectively” (Imbroscio 2010, 3). This arrangement forces public institutions to form partnerships with private actors in order to create the capacity for effectively governance. This phenomenon is largely the result of the economic crisis and

federal policy shifts in the latter part of the 20th century. In the 1970s “cities and other local governments were struggling to cope with the severe cutbacks in federal aid, double-digit inflation, and growing anti-tax sentiment (Sagalyn 2007, 9). The subsequent “New Federalism” policy of the 1980s introduced the practice of distributing funds through block grants which resulted in the devastation of local budgets. These financial constraints made it difficult for regional governments to distribute social goods and programming which they had previously done with relative ease. This shift in economic policy has made public private partnerships essential for local governments to produce public goods and fulfill their governmental responsibilities.

Examples of public private negotiations have resulted in Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) or large scale public-private development like the new Yankee Stadium in New York City. With the BID arrangement, merchants and property owners pay additional taxes to fund improvement within the district boundaries. Through BIDs, local governments ensure that basic services such as security and sanitation are provided without having to foot the bill. Scholars like Ryan Devlin contend that over the recent decades public power has diminished and BIDs have become “quasi-governmental bodies for governing public space” (Devlin 2010, 51). In the case of the Yankee Stadium redevelopment, responding to threats of a possible relocation, over \$1.3 billion public subsidies were used to fund a new stadium to ensure that nation’s most valuable franchise would stay in New York City (Good Jobs New York 2009). The proposed benefits of job retention and job creation were the impetus for such large public subsidies but after the dust settled it was discovered that fewer jobs were created than expected and the public

bore the financial cost of the new stadium (Humphreys and Matheson 2008, 15). In both situations, public private partnerships end in gain for the private at the cost of the public. It is this very imbalance that proponents of alternative models seek to ameliorate.

Additionally, Imbroscio has identified *liberal expansionism* as policies based on individual mobility and the deconcentration of urban poor. *Liberal expansionism* policies are "people-oriented strategies that frequently seek to relocate persons far from the places where they now reside" (Imbroscio 2010, 7). Imbroscio contends that instead of relocating social issues, ameliorating the problems of American's central cities lays in tapping into the "value of the collective" (Imbroscio 2010, 9). Working at the community level rather than the individual gets to the core of the problem and provides the opportunity for meaningful improvements.

Imbroscio holds that Local Economic Alternative Development Strategies, called LEADS, are the strategies to remedy the failure of the current economic development trajectory. Unlike the *urban regime* theory and *liberal expansionism* LEADS promotes a fluid public and private institutional mix and rootedness in place of mobility. The two strategies that "buttress" the LEADS project are the local public balance sheet and the idea of community economic stability (Imbroscio 2010, 95).

The Public Balance Sheet, (PBS) which is also known as the social cost-benefit analysis, is a concept that examines the public and private benefits with development efforts. The PBS calculates the social costs that go unaccounted for because they are not expressed by market actors (Imbroscio 2010, 97). Conventional economic theory does not expresses

these costs “externalities.” In one example, the company, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Subsidiary shut down in Ohio, resulted in the loss of 4,000 jobs and 3,600 more suffering the ripple effects—a decline in related business that once sustained the industry. Tax payers had to pay \$60-70 million to cover costs for unemployment, and public assistance after the factory closure. The financial burden was far greater for the public than that bore on the private company.

These are the types of costs that go unaccounted for in traditional analysis. The PBS is a holistic approach to economic development evaluation which tracks the physical, social, human, fiscal and political costs (Imbroscio 2010, 106). In some cities “linkage development” policies have been enacted. A “link” is draw between the development and the exacerbation of the city’s social, economic and environmental problems (Imbroscio 2010, 105). These firms are then required to contribute monies to fund projects with pressing community needs. The state of Vermont requires a similar mechanism, an economic impact statement, to be conducted before any economic development project. Based on the results of the impact statement, a community decided against having a Wal-Mart built in their neighborhood (Imbroscio 2010, 105). The PBS, linkage developments and economic impact statements are all ways in which communities can evaluate economic development activities and weigh potential outcomes with respect to the social costs.

Drawing upon the LEADS model is the Triad for community economic stability. The goal of the Triad is to achieve community economic stability, “a condition where

communities possess the job base and general economic vibrancy to afford their populations a decent standard of living over time” (Imbroscio 2010, 12). The three legs of this Triad are to Induce, Multiply and Anchor. Inducing is enticing business to invest using incentives such as tax breaks and other efforts to cut business capital costs. The process of inducing is an “overall development process that generates and regenerates new enterprise” (Imbroscio 2010, 120). Multiplying is fostering interdependence and web-like networks of interaction. Encouraging buying and producing locally ensures that profits continue to circulate in the community. Anchoring ensures that job creation and other economic development initiatives stay in the community. A strategy to anchor economic development is employee ownership such as cooperatives. Community members have come together to buy coffee shops, restaurants, theatres and retail. The Wisconsin Green Bay Packers is a community owned co-op (Imbroscio 2010, 128).

The structure of LEADS addresses the failure of the current models that lead to disconnection of community engagement in economic development processes and greater inequality. These models can take many forms but are shaped according to the Triad for Community Economic Stability.

These literatures contend the impetus for alternatives are the negative externalities that have emerged with the current economic development model; increased inequality, lack of sustainability and the loss of truly democratic processes that reflect the concerns of the community. But what implications do these alternatives hold for Native American economic development? I argue that these alternative models have great utility for

critically approaching economic development for Native America. As sovereign nations with some of the most challenging socio-economic conditions in the country, Tribes can benefit from a strategic economic development model that is rooted in community engagement and is sensitive to its political aims.

Other scholars working exclusively with Native American communities are advancing economic development research that resonates with these types of alternative models. In 1987 Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt created the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development which aims to understand what models works in Indian Country. The Harvard Project understands sovereignty and self-determination are essential to Native nations and they promote economic development through institutional development, leadership and culture. Cornell and Kalt call strategies like Indian Gaming the “*standard approach*” that is characterized by being a short term, non-strategic techniques that favor non-tribal expertise and reduce the power of the community to articulate its own aims (Cornell and Kalt 2005, 4). The Harvard Project encourages economic development that leads to nation building. Like Imbroscio’s LEADS, the nation building approach looks to Tribal communities and Tribal governments as the driving force of the economic development strategies. This approach advocates for Tribes asserting control of their own strategic, long-term and sustainable economic development. It calls for Tribal governing institutions to be fair and capable of exercising sovereignty and less dependent on federal policies that can compromise self-determination.

Attorney Daniel Press has been an active practitioner in the field of Native American economic development for over 40 years. Similar to Williamson's et al. community financial institutions, the alternative models Press proposes are intertribal initiatives where tribes pool together economic resources to provide lending and venture capital investment monies to developing tribes (Beyond Casinos Lecture November 29, 2011). Press was one of the founding members of the Native American Bank located in Denver Colorado which has a holding of over \$87 million in assets. It is jointly owned by 26 Indian tribes and provides 90% of all their loans to tribes and individual Indian entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the bank understands unique tribal tenets such as sovereignty, self-determination and even jurisdictional issues such as land trusts. Press also advocates for Tribes to utilize existing preference hiring and preference programs which can bring jobs and business to Indian country. Press was instrumental in creating the Tribal Enrollment Rights Ordinance (TERO) a Tribal government institution that was developed to enforce Indian preference hiring which had existed as early as 1834 but was largely ignored until 1971 (O'Neill 2020, 140). He is also an advocate of the Small Business Administration 8(a) Business Development Program which helps small and disadvantaged businesses gain preference for government contracts.

Joe Sarcinella, a legislative associate for the Navajo Nation, described a number of alternative economic development strategies happening throughout Indian country (Beyond Casinos Lecture November 29, 2011). Solar energy is an emerging industry in tribes of the south west and some tribes on the east coast have been investing in hotel businesses near prominent Native American facilities such as the Museum of the

American Indian in Washington, DC. Furthermore, Sarcinella asserts that economic development for tribes is inherently cultural. He contends that economic development must always look to the community and cultural practices as a way to understanding the betterment of Indian people.

It is apparent that economic development in Indian Country has been shifting towards non-gaming alternatives—a way to divorce the “standard approach” and envision new methods that maintain Tribal sovereignty. Academics and practitioners alike are attempting to augment the toolkit for economic development planning on reservations. These approaches take into account the unique political and socio-economic circumstances of Tribal nations. Furthermore, these models are seated in a framework that supports sovereignty and self-determination and are sensitive of cultural differences such as alternative models like LEADS. There is no one size fits all strategy for development, but I seek to understand models that can afford the highest return in economic development while also protecting sovereignty and bolstering nation hood building.

Background

Challenges to Economic Development on Reservations

The toolkit for economic development in Indian country is severely limited. The types of economic activities that occur on most non-trust lands are simply nonexistent on reservation lands because of the unique legal framework which dictates land use. The existing legal framework is the result of countless treaty negotiations, federal policies and

congressional statutes among others. This complex web of land restrictions hamper economic activity on reservations and are one of the most significant barriers to development in Indian Country. Reservation lands are economic deserts. Indian people have exercised limited agency as economic actors because their economic fates are so heavily regulated by the Federal government. The results of this unbalanced relationship are exemplified by the continued socio-economic disparities that affect Indian people more than any other race in the United States. Rampant poverty, high unemployment, poor public health, and other demographic challenges have historically characterized reservation communities.

Federal Indian policies which have contributed to the extensive architecture of tribal land regulations have rendered reservation lands unfit to fully realize economic development potential. With the standard tools for economic development non-existent on tribal trust lands, Indian tribes have had little choice about the types of economic development that they engage in. While federal policies governing tribal trust lands have presented extreme barriers to economic development, they have also presented opportunities. Tribal economic development was essentially nonexistent on reservations until the advent of Indian Gaming which saw rapid development in the 1980s. Sovereign trust lands allow for Indians to engage in industries otherwise unavailable to individuals without trust land status. Casino style gambling, for example, is illegal in many states throughout the nation, but if a state allows gaming in general, Indian tribes may be able to take advantage of this opportunity and create a gaming industry on their sovereign, trust

lands.² Indian tribes have also engaged in industries with particularly high excise taxes. Goods with inelastic demand such as gasoline and tobacco are other examples of commodities that tribes sell because they have a corner on the market and can ensure maximum profits (Cornassel 2008, 19). For tribes with historic socio-economic challenges, investment capital is virtually non-existent so they can only afford investments in industries with very high marginal returns and guaranteed success.

The Supreme Court case law from the early 17th century, Called the “Marshall Trilogy” has established the political economic structure of a tribal trust relationship. As such, federally recognized tribes have the right to poses lands but they do not have right to alienation— the ability to sell the land (Wilkinson 2008, 120). Furthermore, Indians on federal trust lands are not subject to property taxes while the land remains in trust, nor state jurisdiction. These protections were put in place to ensure that Indian lands were not wrongfully seized by unscrupulous parties or local governments and states. When Indian land is held in trust by the Department of the Interior legal title to that land is effectively *owned* by the federal government (Young Bill 2012). This lack of land title is the root of the inability for Tribal community members to collateralize the property they live on. Trust lands may not be mortgaged or otherwise used by tribes as collateral to obtain operating capital (Wilkinson 2008, 76). The ability to leverage your property for capital can provide funding for education, home improvements and a range of investments that can improve the socio-economic circumstances of a community—a practice enjoyed by

² There are some exceptions. In the case of Utah, the state does not allow gaming of any kind (horse betting, lottery, etc.) so tribes are not allowed to game either.

millions of average American homeowners—but not many Indian people who own homes on their respective reservations.

Another constraint to economic development on tribal trust lands is land use approval from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Everything from building a home to getting a simple business license must be approved by the BIA. As such, the BIA has a significant influence on the economic development fates of tribes. During a class lecture on April 12, 2012, Clara Pratte, Director of Navajo Nation Washington Office, former National Director of the Office of Native American Affairs of the US Small Business Administration, said that in most situations, a business license can take a few weeks to obtain but it can take upward of nine months on tribal trust lands. As such, the BIA has a significant influence on the economic development fates of tribes. The office that processes these approvals is only staffed by two people so administration of these documents is often backed up. In the business world, “time is money” and lengthy building permit processes can raise the cost of doing business and can serve as a barrier to economic development” (Blakely and Leigh 2010, 155). Furthermore, tribal communities rich with natural resources such as oil or timber can only lease these resources with federal approval. This situation has necessitated the formulation of a leasing scheme that permits economic development of trust lands (Wilkinson 2008, 76). These leasing schemes have been an effective method for Indian tribes to realize capital production on their land through farming, grazing leases, and mining among others. On its Web site, the Cobell v. Salazar Class Action Suit Website states that money earned from these land productions is collected by the Department of the Interior and deposited

into Individual Indian Money or IIM accounts. The Department of the Interior was sued for mismanaging these IMM trust funds and in 2009 the parties reached a settlement, \$1.4 billion will go to individuals and 2 billion will go to buy trust land from Indian owners at fair market prices, with the government finally returning land to tribes (Warren 2010). BIA land use approval also serves as a barrier to tribal sovereignty. Tribal sovereignty is inherently diminished every time the Tribe is required to interface with the BIA.

Sovereign immunity, while a unique power to sovereign nations also acts as a barrier to economic development. Indian tribes, like other sovereigns, cannot be sued without an “equivocally expressed” waiver of sovereign immunity. In 1998, the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma was sued by Manufacturing Technologies, Inc. for breach of contract. The tribe entered into an agreement to purchase stock from the manufacturer, but the tribe defaulted on the agreement. The Tribe filed a motion to dismiss for lack of jurisdiction on the grounds of sovereign immunity. Oklahoma’s highest court granted a writ of certiorari and the Supreme Court reversed the order of the lower courts that denied the defendants motion to dismiss because of sovereign immunity. While this was a victory for the tribe, businesses are reluctant to deal with tribes because no remedy exists for breached contracts (Wilkinson 2004, 76).³ Sovereign immunity effectively makes reservations.

Tribes are unable to fully engage in economic development endeavors because of land constraints pertaining to the lack of land title, inability to mortgage lands for capital, and

³ In the same lecture, Clara Pratte elaborates that In the case of the Navajo Nation, their tribal courts are respected by business interests so they were able to deal with non-native business without a waiver of sovereign immunity .

the oversight of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Lack of ownership, no access to capital and continued oversight which hampers any reservation land use changes are extreme challenges to economic development. Tribes should be able to engage in economic development of their choosing, not only of convenience and high marginal returns. Tribes need to take charge of their economic fates, but the continued interference from the BIA has essentially made this impossible and has led to delays and great inefficiencies in business transactions. The Cobell settlement illustrates that the scale of these inefficiencies are not negligible, mismanagement of the IIM accounts was a multi-billion dollar mistake.

Limitations of the Dominant Model

In 1976 the United States Supreme Court held that a state did not have the right to assess a tax on the property of Native Americans living on tribal land. What began as a dispute over \$147 in county tax inadvertently created a multi-billion dollar industry (Washburn 2008, 1). This landmark decision sparked unprecedented development of the Native American gaming enterprise throughout the United States. The Supreme Court decision ultimately created the conditions for Indian Gaming to emerge as the forefront model for tribal economic development. Exercising their competitive advantage, a number of Indian Tribes began developing small scale gaming operations such as high stakes bingo and card rooms on reservation land. Gaming generated unprecedented economic growth in otherwise severely economically depressed areas.

Federally recognized Tribal nations are unique in their exclusive federal government to indigenous government relationship. This relationship grew out of prior treaties, direct consultation with congress, federal statutory obligations, and court decisions which were established to protect nations from state encroachment (Corntassel 2008, xv). One such case was the 1832 Supreme Court decision *Worcester v. Georgia* which contributed to this reading of sovereign rights. Chief Justice John Marshall asserted the Cherokee Nation a “distinct community, occupying its own territory...which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter.” (Corntassel 2008, 17-18) As such, federally recognized tribes are sovereign nations within a nation and tribal self-determination and protection of nationhood rests on the tenet of sovereignty. Sovereign rights are often described as the inherent political, economic and cultural powers of an indigenous nation.

Indian Gaming is a way in which tribes have exercised their sovereign rights by instituting self reliant economic development models. However, federal gaming policy in the recent decades has given states unprecedented influence on tribal economic development. State and municipal budgets devastated by the funding cuts with President Ronald Reagan’s “New Federalism” sought to increase their revenue by taxing gaming Tribes. Reliant on tax revenue and hard pressed for funding, tensions amount and states began lobbying for federal intervention to harness the rapid development of gaming and capture tax revenue from “free riding” Indians.

The State of California was the first to challenge Indian Gaming. The case went to the Supreme Court and resulted in a victory for tribes. In 1986 the State of California sought

to shut down bingo parlors belonging to the Cabazon and Morongo band of Cahuilla Indians. The state allowed gaming in the form of state lottery, horse betting and limited card clubs but argued that “casino-style” gaming violated state law. The United States Supreme Court held that California could not enforce gambling laws on tribes because they were sovereign political entities. More importantly, the court’s decision allowed for a broader reading of tribal sovereignty which regarded tribes as nations within nations, precluding state interference and placing regulation of indigenous gaming solely in the hands of the federal government (Corntassel 2008, 122).

The tides quickly changed with the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA), which gave states explicit power to negotiate directly with tribes for gaming regulation. The impetus for such legislation was to ensure that tribes would engage in safe gaming and avoid organized crime and illegal activity that plagued similar industries in Las Vegas. Under the policy, Indian casinos with class III games like slot machines and black jack were required to enter into Tribal-State gaming compacts. Not unlike business agreements, compacts delineate parameters for gaming activities within a state.

Tribal-state compacts allow states exclusive right to decide the terms for any gaming development in their jurisdiction. Should there have been a dispute between Tribes or states, IGRA provided resolution through the federal district court. However, this dispute resolution mechanism was undone due to a Supreme Court ruling that congress did not have the authority to subject states to federal court jurisdiction.⁴ As the regulation stands,

⁴ See Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida (1996)

Tribes must agree to the terms of the state in which they wish to game or they cannot engage in class III “casino-style” gambling at all.

On its Web site, the United States General Accounting Office defines a compact as;

“An agreement that may include provisions concerning standards for the operation and maintenance of the gaming facility, the application of laws and regulations of the tribe or the state that are related to the licensing and the regulation of the gaming activity, and the assessment by the state of the amounts necessary to defray the costs of regulating gaming activity”

IGRA precludes states’ ability to collect taxes from tribes unless agreed upon. As the definition states, compacts are a way in which states can exact fees from annual gaming revenue. In 1993, the Foxwoods Casino belonging to the Mashantucket Pequot tribe entered into an agreement with the state of Connecticut. As a result, 25 percent of annual slot revenue of the Foxwoods has been exacted by the state (Corntassel 2008, 19). In 2008 four tribal gaming compacts were renegotiated with the state of California. The initial compacts agreed upon in 1999 gave the state \$76 million. The 2008 revisions included the addition of 17,000 slot machines to casino operations with an additional \$55 million going to the state. With such large sums of money being pumped into states, it seems that IGRA is no more than an instrument to extort Indian Gaming revenue. Despite the exactions, Indian Gaming still remains a multi-billion dollar industry, but economic development practitioners like Dan Press call the IGRA principal “terrible.”

While the financial costs are bearable, the political implications are dire. This new governmental relationship under IGRA has proved to have dramatic political implications for Indian tribes throughout the nation. Jeff Corntassel asserts the policy shifts have led to the degradation of the inherent sovereign rights of tribes. Corntassel states, with “the subsequent transfer of powers to state government, indigenous nations have now been forced into dangerous political and legal relationships with state governments that challenge their culture and nationhood status” (Corntassel 2008, 5).

Furthermore, IGRA has resulted in an extortive relationship with Tribes and state. As Native American scholar Wayne J. Stein asserts, “state governments have proven to be the most adamant opponents of Indian Natives, their governments and their new efforts in the gaming world” (Stein 1998, 74). Stein poignantly affirms that the point of contention for “state governments and tribal governments is the issue of power” (Stein 1998, 75). The budgetary system of the new federalism era created financial constraints which made it difficult for state governments to distribute social goods and programming which it had previously done with relative ease. Though states were given new responsibilities with the delegation of power, the federal government did not furnish them with sufficient means to carry out these new charges. It is no surprise that these states would lobby the federal government to tap into revenues from an exogenous community, especially one that has historically been vulnerable to the whims of federal policies.

Contrary to the images of “Rich Indians” that policymakers have invoked as a strategy to regulate Indigenous nation, self-determination and governance capacities, Native American communities throughout the United States continue to be affected by health disparities, unemployment, and a number of other social and economic characteristics that are drastically lower than all other races in the United States (Corntassel 2008, 23). Income from gaming has only proved to have marginal benefits across the board. A ten year economic report on Indian Gaming illustrates these trends in per capita income (Taylor and Kalt 2005); For example, in the year 2000 Native Americans on reservations had a per capita income of \$8,816 while the total U.S. population of all races had a per capita income of \$21,587. To understand the effects of gaming on these statistics, Taylor and Kalt calculated per capita income levels for tribes with Indian Gaming enterprises. Native Americans had a per capita income of \$7,472 in non-gaming areas with \$9,771 in gaming areas. Native American areas outside of Oklahoma Tribal Statistical Areas had a per capita income of \$7,365 in non-gaming areas and \$8,466 in gaming areas.

As an economic development model, Indian Gaming has a high political and financial cost, but the benefits are only marginal across the board. Even prosperous California Indian Gaming tribes are located in the poorest counties and census tracts in the state (Marks et al. 2007, 1). Furthermore, successes in Indian Gaming are dependent on locations near gaming markets (Cornell and Kalt 2006, 6). Many Indian tribes whose reservations are in remote locations are thus excluded from gaming as an economic development strategy. And it is not simply Indian Gaming. Urban theorists like Dennis R. Judd (Fainstein and Campbell 2002, 293) say that non-Indian Gaming schemes like

Atlantic City and Casino boats “simply lead to competition increases.” As A.G. Sulzbergers noted in a *New York Times* article on April 7, 2011, when these regional gaming enterprises compete with one another, the results are a veritable zero sum game—where there are no actual gains on either end of the spectrum. Human and economic capital simply shifting from one locality to another does not impact true net benefits.

Gaming as an economic development model for tribes is unsustainable and it impedes on tribal sovereignty and pursuit of self determination. Alternatives are imminent and I seek to understand the use of Local Economic Alternative Economic Development Strategies in Indian Country.

Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada

This thesis examines a non-gaming tribe, the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada, to understand alternative models for economic development. The tribe has a total of 1600 enrolled members; 880 living on the reservation and the remaining “off rez” members living throughout the United States (Washoe CEDS 2011). The Washoe tribal lands span the borders of California and Nevada and are divided into four communities, two of which are characterized as non-urban and rural. While there are Washoe tribal residents that live on the Reno Sparks Indian Colony, members of the Tribal council have informed me the Carson Colony, Stewart Community, Dresslerville Community and the Woodfords community define the reservation lands for the tribe. Each of the four communities has a five member community council which represents the interest of the community. Each community council has a vice chair and president. These lead

community members take two seats on the 12 member Tribal Council. Eight members represent the four communities, two members represent off reservation interests, one at the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony and a community elected Chairperson. While a number of tribal members live off reservation and maintain strong relationships with the tribe, for the sake of this research project, all research was conducted on the Washoe reservation working with residents of the community (Washoe CEDS 2011).

The *Washiew* people have lived at *Da ow a ga* or Lake Tahoe and surrounding regions since time immemorial (Nevers 1976). The furthest eastern boundaries were marked by the Pine nut Hills in the eastern Carson Valley. The western front cradled the Sierra Nevada's and the north reached as far as Honey Lake—to the south laid Sonora Pass (Keliiaa 2012). In traditional times, the Washoe were divided into three distinct communities; *Wel mel ti* to the north, the central eastern *Pau wa lu* in Carson Valley and further south were the *Hung a lel ti* (Nevers 1976).

True to the ancestral patterns of habitation, the boundaries of this sovereign and federally recognized tribe extend across the state borders of California and Nevada (Washoe CEDS 2011). Modern day Washoe live closely connected with their traditional geographic region. The distinctive jurisdictional and spatial factors present unique challenges and opportunities for the planning of economic development for the Washoe Tribe. The tribal land base spans across three county lines and two state lines. Carson Colony is located in Carson City, Nevada which is about 35 miles south of Reno, Nevada. Just four miles south is the Stewart Community which is nestled in the borders

of Carson and Douglas Counties. These two communities are identified as the most urban. Roughly 22 miles south of the Carson Colony is the Dresslerville Community located in Douglas County, Nevada. Dresslerville is the most populated community and is referred to as the “heart of the Tribe” by community council members. Thirteen miles south of Dresslerville is the Woodfords Community located in Alpine County, the smallest county in California. Both Dresslerville and Woodfords are rural with Woodfords being the most remote community in the Washoe Tribe. The Washoe communities are spread out over 30 miles from the Woodfords Community to Carson Colony. Tribally owned parcels including the Pine-nut allotments are scattered throughout the hills of Carson, Douglas and Alpine counties. A majority of these lands are vacant and they are not considered in this analysis. The reservation lands are connected by the U.S. Route 395 and California State Route 88 highways. (See Appendix, Section 1 for Community Map)

As of 2010, Dresslerville has the largest population of 343 followed by the Stewart Community with 256, Woodfords with 142 and finally Carson Colony with 139 residents.⁵ The remaining enrolled tribal members are considered “off rez” with some living in the local area and others dispersed across the United States (Washoe CEDS 2011). According to 2010 census numbers, over three quarters of the community are American Indian with about six percent White, ten percent Asian and 6 percent two or more races. It is important to note that while 52 percent of residents on the reservation are enrolled Washoe tribal members, there are also residents on the reservation which are non-tribal members (Socio-Economic Profile for The Washoe People, 2006). According

⁵ American Community Survey 2006-2010 5-Year Estimates

to a study conducted by the tribe from 2005-2006, 47 percent of the community is not enrolled Washoe because they are either enrolled in another tribe or have less than one-quarter Washoe blood and are ineligible for enrollment.⁶ About 15 percent of the community is not Washoe. This is attributed to many of the community members having intermarried with Native Americans from other tribes or other non-native races. Many Washoes have intermarried with other tribes from the regional area including Paiute, Shoshone and other Californian and Great basin tribes. It is common for community members to practice cultural traditions from all of their tribal heritages. One community member shared that she grew up speaking both Washoe and Oneida and she maintains cultural practices for both tribal communities.⁷

Like many Tribal Nations, the Washoe Tribe has had significant socio-economic challenges in recent decades. According to 2010 census numbers the tribe has a 19 percent unemployment rate. This unemployment rate is about ten percent higher compared with the region and state. Comprised of Alpine, Douglas and Carson counties, the region surrounding the tribe has a ten percent unemployment rate which is similar to the nine percent for the state and eight percent for the Nation in 2010. These significant unemployment percentages are likely attributed to the national economic crisis seen in the recent years. Compared with the region, state of Nevada and the Nation, the Washoe community has been hit especially hard by the recent economic recession. In 2000, the region, state of Nevada and Nation had unemployment rates that doubled from 2000 to

⁶ Per the tribe's membership requirements, individuals must have at least ¼ Washoe blood to be enrolled.

⁷ Interview with Community Member Boo Boo Roach

2010. In 2000 the tribe had a much lower unemployment rate of six percent which more than tripled to the current 19 percent.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 20 percent of the Washoe community is living in poverty. This is significantly higher than the region, state and nation. This poverty rate has decreased from 30 percent in 2000. Though there has been a significant reduction in poverty, the great spike in unemployment shows that it is not due to more Washoes become employed. This phenomenon is likely attributed to the services provided by the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program. In early 2000s the Washoe Tribe took over the administration of Native TANF, a federal and state program. This program provides up to five years of services to the most vulnerable Native populations on the reservation. Though the tribe administers Washoe Tribal TANF the program is institutionally separate from the tribal government and operates on federal funding.⁸ TANF is an integral service provider and apart of the comprehensive plan to meet the immediate needs of very low income members of the tribe including job training and job placement assistance. However, the program only provides services for a mere ten percent.

The community income distribution has exhibited a significant shift. In the last decade, the household income distribution trend for the region, state and nation is relatively consistent. Incomes decrease from 2000 to 2010 which is likely attributed to the economic recession. Unlike these regional comparisons, the Washoe household income distribution trend is significantly different from 2000 to 2010. In 2000 over 18 percent of

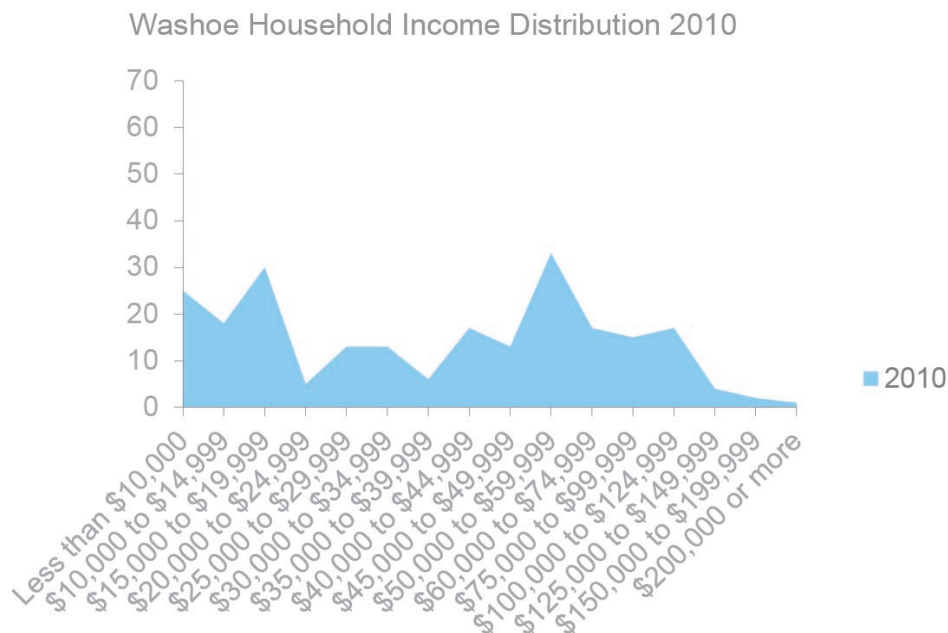
⁸ Interview with Wirt Twitchell

Washoe households were earning under \$10,000 a year. That has dropped to 10% in 2010. While it appears that the decrease of Washoe community members earning under \$10,000 is a positive change for the community, we see that incomes from \$20,000 to \$35,000 range which were heavily represented in 2000 have a sharp decrease in 2010. Incomes in the \$20,000 to \$25,000 range took an especially significant nose dive from 2000 to 2010. Though not as dramatic, household incomes in the \$35,000 to \$45,000 range have also decreased from 2000 to 2010. This could be related to layoffs in the area related to the economic recession. While the number of lower income ranges have dropped it appears that higher income ranges are on the upswing for tribal community members. There is an increase in household incomes in the \$45,000 to \$50,000 range and for the first time since 2000, community members are making household incomes of \$125,000 or more. It is positive that there is a household income upswing, but the income distribution is still heavily concentrated in the lower ranges; over 30 percent of the community is making under \$20,000 a year.

WASHOE TRIBE				
	2000		2010	
INCOME DISTRUBUTION	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Households:	328	100.0%	229	100.0%
Less than \$10,000	58	17.7%	25	10.9%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	25	7.6%	18	7.9%
\$15,000 to \$19,999	26	7.9%	30	13.1%
\$20,000 to \$24,999	42	12.8%	5	2.2%
\$25,000 to \$29,999	38	11.6%	13	5.7%
\$30,000 to \$34,999	28	8.5%	13	5.7%
\$35,000 to \$39,999	14	4.3%	6	2.6%
\$40,000 to \$44,999	29	8.8%	17	7.4%
\$45,000 to \$49,999	2	0.6%	13	5.7%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	25	7.6%	33	14.4%
\$60,000 to \$74,999	21	6.4%	17	7.4%

\$75,000 to \$99,999	18	5.5%	15	6.6%
\$100,000 to \$124,999	0	0.0%	17	7.4%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	2	0.6%	4	1.8%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	0	0.0%	2	0.9%
\$200,000 or more	0	0.0%	1	0.4%

Income Distribution for the Washoe Tribe. Source: 2000 Census and ACS 2006-2010 5-year estimates



2010 Income Distribution for the Washoe Tribe. Source: ACS 2006-2010 5-year estimates

Community members that are employed are earning far less compared with the region. In 2010 the median household income was \$41,196. This is about \$15,000 less than the median household income for the region, state and the national median income. When comparing annual median earnings by sex we see that male community members working full-time, year-round earn about \$40,100 while female community members working full-time, year-round earn just under \$29,000. These numbers are about \$8,000 to 10,000 less per year compared with the respective sexes for the region, state and

nation. It should be noted that female residents earn the least with \$28,958 as the median earnings for full-time, year-round employment. As mentioned previously, female community members are heads of household and are almost equally as employed as the men in the community. Native American women in the Washoe community are disproportionately earning significantly less than any other group in the Tribe or region. These earning disparities are likely attributed to the types of employment available to community members.

More Washoes have pursued post-secondary education in the recent decade. In 2000 a majority of tribal members had a high school education or equivalent. According to 2010 census numbers the majority of tribal members have now attended college. The increase is significant, community members with “some college” educational attainment have gone up from 24 percent in 2000 to 41 percent in 2010. While not as significant of an increase, tribal members with bachelor degrees and master’s degrees or higher has also increased. This trend for increased education is a benefit for economic development because community members can develop skills for better employment options.

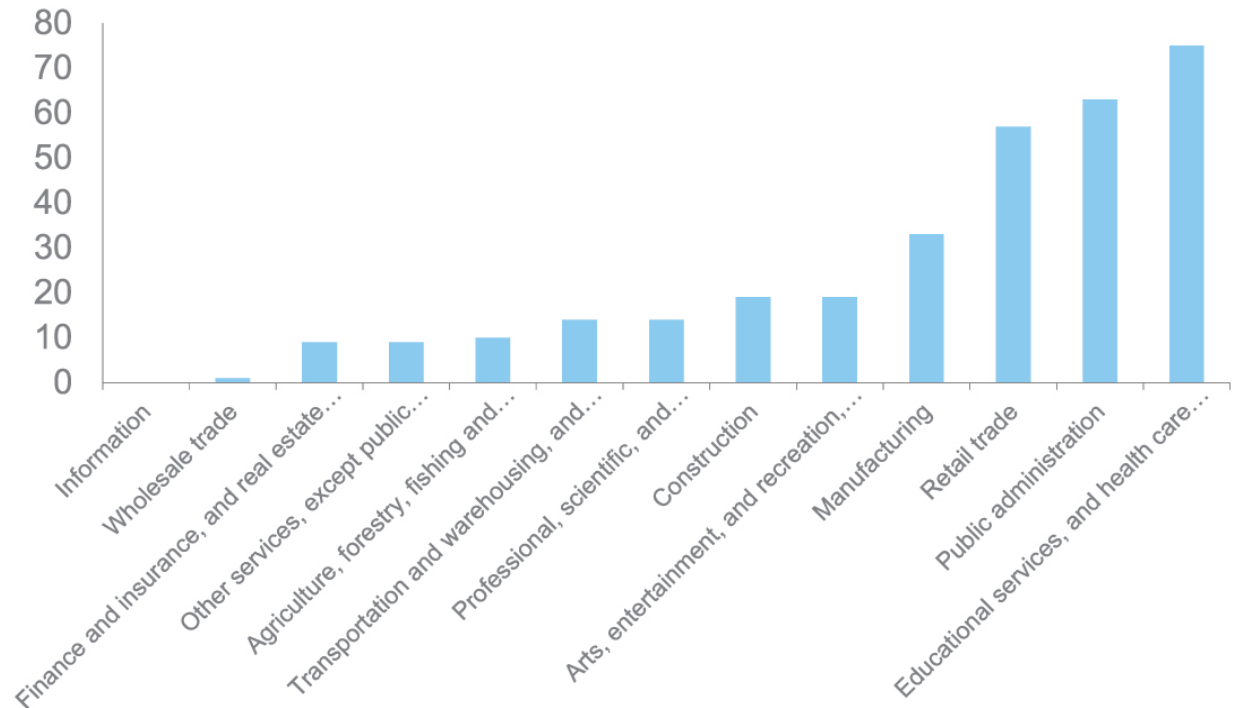
According to 2010 ACS estimates, most community members are employed in Educational Services, health care and social assistance followed by public administration. This is likely attributed to the employment options available through the tribe. The tribe has over 300 employees including those hired with Washoe Tribal TANF and the Washoe Tribe which are different instructions. The tribe administers a number of functions which provide a range of services from education, environmental, and health

among many others. The Washoe Tribe has over 29 departments including Planning, Housing, Tribal Courts, and Tribal Police. All employment available in the tribe has Indian preference hiring. This means that Native Americans and Washoe tribal members are given preference for any open position. Almost 45 percent of the population is employed in these industries followed by 18 percent in retail, ten percent in manufacturing, and six percent in both art, entertainment and recreational services and construction. The region is also heavily involved in educational, health and social services. Nearly 18 percent of the region is hired in this industry followed by 15 percent in Art, Entertainment and Recreation services, 11 percent in both retail and public administration. It is important to note that the art, entertainment and recreational services include employment in the casino and hotel industry which is a significant in Carson City. The industry by occupation statistics for the tribe, matches closely with region. The tribe clearly has a greater share of employment in the Public Administration industry. This is likely related to Indian preference hiring policy. The arts, entertainment, and recreation industry is one fourth of all employment for the State of Nevada. With a thriving gaming industry, it is expected this would be a strong industry in the state. Educational, health and social services follows with 15 percent, retail at 11 percent, professional, scientific and management services at ten percent, and construction at nine percent. The state industry breakdown is closely related to those in the region and tribe. It is clear that the important industries for tribal employment are:

- Public administration
- Educational, health and social services
- Arts, entertainment
- Recreation
- Retail
- Construction

- Manufacturing

2010 Washoe Industry by Occupation



Industry by Occupation for the Washoe Tribe. Source: ACS 2006-2010 5-year Estimates

Washoe community members are working in similar industries to the region and state, but they are still paid far less in these areas. It could be that community members are working in the lower rungs of the employment ladder, thus making less than their regional counterparts. This suggests that training and skill development is a key component to economic development in this community. An interview with the Wirt Twitchell, the Career Development Manager of TANF suggests that there are other challenges to tribal members entering the regional job markets. His experience with TANF clients suggests that tribal members are interested in working for the Washoe Tribe because it is familiar. He shared that trust is key to working with the Washoe community. He talked of his first months with the tribe as a sort of trial period where

community members slowly gained trust with him. There appears to be a level of hesitation for some tribal community members to enter regional job markets because this trust relationship has not yet been established. This suggests that job training and career development models must be cultural relevant and help prepare tribal community members to transition into employment with non-native. TANF does assist with culturally relevant services but as mentioned previously, they are only available to about 10 percent of the Washoe tribal community.

The community is young with about 22 percent of the population comprised of youth ages five to 17. At 18 percent, the second largest age cohort is tribal members ages 45 to 54. In planning for the future of Washoe, it should be noted that about 40 percent of current residents will enter the job market and also be of retirement age within the next decade. Education providers should work to ensure the youth are prepared with the competitive skills needed to enter the job market or post-secondary education.

Additionally, elder care providers should be prepared to respond to the aging population the in coming years.

Comparative demographic data in the recent decade shows that economic development for the Washoe tribal is pressing. The Washoe tribal community continuously exhibits economic conditions that are much lower compared with the surrounding, region, state and nation. While there is a high unemployment rate in the community, those that are employed are earning far less than their regional and State counterparts. This is likely attributed to the low educational attainment. It appears the Tribe needs an economic

development strategy that increases the number of Tribal members with jobs, increases the income of those who currently have employment and also bolster educational efforts in the community.

Research Methods

Field Research

As a Washoe Tribal descendant, data collection visits served as my first opportunity to enter the community as a researcher. I found my existing connections with Tribal community members to be extremely helpful throughout the research process. While a majority of data was collected during field work, I maintained communication with many Washoe tribal employees and their assistance was extremely helpful throughout this process.

In July of 2012 I attended the *Wa She Shu It Deh* Washoe Arts festival at Lake Tahoe and discussed my research interests with the Washoe Tribal Chairwoman Wanda Batchelor, Washoe Tribal Planner Rob Beltramo and Woodford Community Council member Geoff Ellis. In December of 2012 the Washoe Tribal Council approved my petition to conduct research on the reservation and field work was conducted in January and February of 2012. Preliminary research with the tribe took place from January 2nd -6th. The first visit to the Washoe community was exploratory and served as an opportunity to introduce myself and my research to Tribal employees and community members. I also conducted preliminary interviews with key actors informed about economic development for the tribe. I met with the Washoe Economic Development Group (WEDG), The Career

Development Manager and Job Development and Job Coach for the Washoe TANF Program and the Tribal Grants Manager. Interviews with tribal employees were used to inform my research in terms of the community context and the unique elements of Washoe specific planning. All tribal employees were very receptive of my research and offered to help by giving me access to tribal reports, census data and even geographic information system (GIS) shapefiles. Tribal employees also ensured I was connected with informed community members and was included in community council agendas when available. It is important to note that I was not able to interview members of the Washoe Tribal Council. Due to this limitation, the responses of Washoe employees were very helpful to weave together the narrative of Washoe economic development.

The preliminary visit was intended to draw out research themes, test the survey instrument and become acquainted with the particular frame of economic development planning for the Washoe Tribe. During my preliminary visit the survey instrument was edited with feedback from Tribal employees and distributed at Woodfords and Dresslerville community council meetings and various Washoe language classes held on the Woodfords, Carson Colony and the Stewart Communities. When administering my survey, I found that introducing myself and my Washoe family lineage was the best way to establish trust with tribal community members, garner interest in my research and increase the overall response rate.

The second research visit from February 15th-19th was planned around a large community event, the 5th Annual Red Hoop Round Dance. Hosted on the most populous Washoe

community of Dresslerville, the event is known as one of the largest community gatherings with over 200 in attendance. Though there were no community council meetings scheduled during this week, I anticipated that I would get the largest draw of survey responses at the community round dance. I found that some of the initial survey responses from the January research trip unusable because respondents circled more than one response and in some cases left questions blank. I revised the format of the survey to clarify the instructions. I was also interested in finer grained responses so I asked respondents to include their zip codes for their home and work destinations.

I distributed the revised survey at this community event. I found data collection at this event in particular to be the most challenging. Initially, I wanted to introduce myself and my survey but I was informed that it would conflict with the data collection that was being done by the TANF office. This was the greatest impediment to my data collection because I did not have a platform to support my survey. I resorted to approaching random spectators and asking if they wanted to participate in the survey. Because this was a social event I was told by many people to come back later or that they were not interested. I also realized that there were some spectators that were visiting from other states and they were not Tribal community members. Contrary to what I anticipated, this particular event also drew many people from outside of the community. To ameliorate this issue, I first asked spectators if they were Washoe community members to ensure that they were also residents of the reservation. Despite these challenges, I was able to get about 40 responses.⁹ In general, older community members had a much higher

⁹ Despite efforts to focus on Tribal community members, some responses were from out of community. These responses weren't included in the final tally.

representation in the survey responses. Additionally, the event was hosted on the Dresslerville community. Based on the location, there were more responses from community members from Dresslerville and the neighboring community of Woodfords. Very few responses were gathered from Carson Colony and no responses from the Stewart community.

The primary goal of the second field visit was to implement the revised survey instrument and collect the highest number of survey responses. Survey responses were also gathered at Washoe language classes and one elder's luncheon on the Carson Colony. Follow up interviews with tribal employees were conducted to confirm and expound on preliminary survey responses and census demographic findings.

Survey

Unemployment, entrepreneurialism, transportation issues were main themes highlighted in the reports conducted by the Tribe and noted in discussions with tribal employees. These issues became the central themes. The survey instrument was developed to create an economic census of the community. The LEADS frame supports indigenous entrepreneurial efforts, some of which are grounded in informal economies.¹⁰ Because of the LEADS frame and the marked entrepreneurialism in the community it was important to gauge both formal and informal economics occurring in the community. While the survey questions were intended to reveal the economic status of individual Washoe community members, the open ended questions were an opportunity to reveal community

¹⁰ Indigenous in this context does not refer to Native communities, but efforts originating from within in the community.

level challenges and opportunities. General demographics information such as age, gender was also included. Only residents of the four Washoe Tribal communities were asked to participate in the survey.¹¹ This was done in an effort to select Tribal community members that were familiar with the conditions on the reservation and knowledgeable about the economic climate. (See survey instrument in Appendix Section 8)

Demographic data revealed that the community has a significantly high unemployment rate. However, I was informed by tribal employees and community members that many Washoes are entrepreneurs. In the Carson community, for example, a local tribal entrepreneur started his own auto body shop on the reservation where he employs young adult tribal members. Another community member has her own sewing and alterations shop in Carson City. Other community members are known engage in more informal work. Women in the community make Native American arts and crafts such as baskets and jewelry and sell them at local festivals or Native American gatherings such as Pow Wows. Other community members weather the harsh economic realities on the reservation by supplementing their incomes with side work such as wood chopping or automotive work.

To gauge the types of employment in the community I asked if respondents were unemployed or employed seasonally, or currently employed part-time or full-time.

Respondents that were employed were asked to select if they were self-employed or working for someone else. This was done in an attempt to understand if tribal community

¹¹ While there are a small number of Washoe tribal community members that living on the Reno Sparks Indian Colony I was informed that the four communities of Carson Colony, Stewart, Dresslerville and Woodfords make up what is considered the Washoe reservation (Tribal Employee Interview).

members were engaged in formal or informal employment, “self-employed” correlates to the informal while “working for someone else” denotes a formal employment arrangement.

I also surveyed the particular fields in which both employed and self-employed respondents worked. Particular employment fields were included based on the preliminary survey responses and feedback from community members and tribal employees. I was informed that a number of the community members were employed in local, state and tribal governments so I included this field in the revised survey. An “other” fill-in-the-blank category was included to account for other fields not listed.

The initial site visit also confirmed that transportation is a significant concern in the community. The reservation communities are spread out along urban and rural roads and commuting from one end to the other, particularly at night, can be difficult. See appendix 1 for community map. Isolation, limited public transportation infrastructure, and high costs of commuting were all concerns echoed by tribal employees and community members. The concerns are greater for the rural Washoe communities of Woodfords and Dresslerville. One WEDG member said inadequate transportation is the “number one barrier for employment in all of Alpine County” footnote¹². For these reasons I surveyed respondents about home and work locations, commuting modes, and monthly commuting costs. This was done in an effort to understand the commuting patterns of tribal community members employed in the formal sector. In addition to commute patterns I surveyed tribal members about their individual commuting costs. Respondents were also

¹² Interview with Chuck Salerno

asked if they worked on or off the reservation.¹³ My initial survey instrument asked respondents for the city in which they worked. The WEDG informed me that local residents refer to counties rather than cities. The survey instrument was revised to reflect this local knowledge.

Crucial to any economic development census, I also surveyed respondents for their monthly income after taxes. Initially, the income question was a fill-in-the-blank but it was changed to an income range on recommendation from the WEDG. It appears the Tribe has had difficulty in the past surveying community members about sensitive information such as income. I was forewarned that community members have been reluctant to provide personal information and that the Tribe has had a low response rates with previous survey efforts. Finally, three open ended questions were asked of respondents; if they were satisfied with their current employment options, how they believe the tribe can support economic development and what they believe to be the most pressing issue in the community. The first question was asked to understand if the current employment opportunities were meeting the demand and needs of the community. The second question was intended to understand the role of the Washoe Tribal government in economic development. It was also an opportunity for Tribal community members to contribute their ideas. The final question about pressing issues was intended to understand potential barriers to economic development. These “issues” were expected to highlight challenges that need to be considered when formulating an economic development project for this community.

¹³ There are a limited number of employers on the reservation such as the Washoe Tribal TANF program and the Washoe Tribe which also owns and operates smoke shops on the reservation communities.

Data Analysis

A total of 46 survey responses were entered into an excel database. A majority of the survey questions had categorical responses with discrete values. Responses to these questions were added and normalized by the total. Tables and bar graphs were then made of the categorical responses questions such as age, sex, community, etc. See section five of the appendix.

Open ended questions had varied responses and were grouped according to content. Survey respondents were asked, “Are you satisfied with your current employment options? Please Explain.” Most survey respondents wrote either “yes” or “no” explaining their response. A handful of responses to this question were more vague. Responses such as “I was, recently laid off” and “need more work” were treated as “no” responses. See section five of the appendix.

Survey respondents were asked, “How do you believe the tribe can support economic development in the community?” While survey response more varied for this question, general themes guided the responses. Jobs, skill development and business initiatives were all common responses among many. In a few instances, some responses touched on multiple themes and each response was counted toward these different categories. For example, responses such as “move forward with jobs and business” and “spend money making businesses” were treated as two responses in favor of business and one in favor of job creation. Other responses geared towards specific projects such as “develop the

ranch” or “develop the upper and lower wade parcels” were condensed into an overall category of “development”.

Survey respondents were asked, “What do you believe is the most pressing issue in the community?” Responses for this question were markedly more detailed. Similar to the previous question, responses illustrated similar themes. Unexpectedly, public health was a dominant overarching theme in responses to this question. Concerns of substance and alcohol abuse, mental health, and personal healing were all grouped into a public health category. Other responses referring to “lack of jobs,” “need work!” and other employment concerns were grouped into a no jobs category. Similar to the previous open ended responses, respondents touched on multiple themes. For example, one respondent wrote, “drug and alcohol abuse, lack tribal council communication & leadership with no economic development plans in the near future!” A response such as this was treated as one response toward no jobs, one toward public health and one toward communication.

Community Survey Findings and Discussion

While conducting my survey analysis I came across many community members that were enthusiastic about the opportunity to weigh in on the economic development efforts for the Tribe. The survey included three open ended questions which asked about satisfaction with the current employment options in the community, the ways in which the Tribe can support economic development and finally, the most pressing issues in the community. I received very detailed responses for the open ended questions. The

response rate for other survey questions such as monthly income and employment status were much lower. Of a total of 47 community member responses, I received no responses from the Stewart Colony. While a site visit was made to the Stewart community for a Washoe Language class, it appears participants were not from Stewart. I attempted to obtain survey responses from all four communities but there were limitations resulting from the timing of my research visits. While not a balanced survey of the community, these responses serve to support the census demographic data and provide a voice for tribal community members which were very eager to participate.

A majority of survey respondents are older. Over 30 percent of respondents are ages 46-55 followed by 26 percent ages 56-66. This is likely due to the fact that most of the respondents were surveyed during community council meetings. It appears that household heads are most invested in the community meetings and are more represented than younger tribal community members. Referencing the census demographic findings, about 20 percent of tribal community is aged 45 to 54 years so this illustrates that those interested in community participation are also significantly represented in the community as a whole. Their opinions are important and they are ensuring their concerns are addressed.

Women accounted for 57 percent of the survey respondents which is again supported by the census demographic data that women are heads of households and have significant roles in the community. I found that female respondents were especially inquisitive about this research project and were very vocal about their opinions for the economic

development approach in the community. One tribal community member from Woodfords shared that she had started a Native American bead work business to improve her personal economic circumstances but that she stopped production because she had too many orders to fulfill.¹⁴ Male respondents also shared their opinions about how they promote their individual economic circumstance and those that the tribe should consider for the community as a whole. Another community member from Woodfords shared that he is developing a Native American crafts business and is receiving guidance from the Alpine County One-Stop business services. It appears that many members of the tribe are entrepreneurs. One community member from Carson explained that he owned an engineering consultation business in the California for years before returning to the reservation to retire. I found tribal community members eloquent and informed. Community members that those to participate were well aware of the socio-economic challenges on the reservation and their enthusiasm showed that they want to make a difference.

Many of the respondents surveyed are very low income. About 30 percent of respondents make under \$1,000 a month after taxes. It should be noted that about 20 percent of respondents left this question blank. I was cautioned by the Tribal Economic Development Group that questions about household income would be difficult to survey. It appears that community members have been guarded about sharing this information in the past and it has been confirmed by the low response rate with this question. It is possible that the income information is impacted by high the number of elderly respondents that are potentially retired or are receiving public benefits. Unfortunately

¹⁴ Interview with Catherine Walker

respondents were not surveyed for their retirement or public benefits status. Should the Tribe conduct an analysis like this in the future it would be important to include these questions. The high number of low-income respondents in the sample population is explained by the demographic data. In 2010, 11 percent of the tribal community made under \$10,000. It appears that respondents in this income bracket have high attendance rates at community events and council meetings where the data was collected. This is also affected by 40 percent unemployment rate for. Of those that are employed, only 20 percent had full time status. It should be noted that about 15 percent of respondents left this question blank. As with the income data, these numbers could also be influence by the number of community members that are potentially retired or receiving public benefits.

Of respondents that were employed, a majority are working for someone else. I anticipated that the results would show that community members were weathering the harsh economic conditions by supplementing their incomes with self-employment. This was not supported by the survey responses that I received. Eight respondents shared that they are self-employed. Most of these respondents are making arts and crafts while others sell firewood. Others shared that they are self-employed in construction, auto mechanics and sewing and alterations. It would be important to know if self-employment falls in the formal and informal sector. It appears that some of these respondents own their own businesses but it is not conclusive based on the questions in the survey instrument. Should the Tribe conduct a similar analysis in the future it would be important to know these nuanced areas of self-employment.

Survey respondents were asked for their work destination. Twenty respondents left no response which is explained by the 19 respondents in the survey population that are unemployed. Of the 43 percent respondents that are employed, nearly 50 percent travel out of county they live for employment. A majority of respondents that are employed are commuting significant distances to work. The longest commute is 55 miles or one hour and ten minutes each way from Woodfords to the Reno Sparks Indian Colony. The shortest commute is 21 miles or 33 minutes each way from the Dresslerville community to the Carson Colony. But not all respondents have long commutes to work. Thirty percent of these respondents work in the same Tribal community in which they live. These respondents are “ultra-local” and travel less than one mile to work each day.¹⁵ There were four respondents that live and work in the same county which suggests they work locally. These survey responses suggest that are three different types of work commuting patterns for this population sample, those that live and work ultra-locally (little or no commute), local (within county) and regionally (traveling upwards of 40 miles each day).

Regardless of the distance they commute, nearly all respondents are driving to work. Over 25 percent of all respondents pay \$100-\$115 for their monthly commute. Another 23 percent are paying \$115 or more each month. One respondent volunteered that they spend an average of \$200 each month on commuting costs. The data shows that over half of employed respondents are spending over \$100 each month to commute to work. Not

¹⁵ Ultra-local denotes community members fixed in employment arrangements with the lowest possible commuting costs. These members have limited mobility governed by their incomes.

surprisingly, the commuters that spend the most are traveling the farthest distance to get to work. Another 23 percent are spending \$10-\$25 each month followed by 12 percent spending \$55-\$70 each month. Most of respondents that are spending \$10-25 each month are ultra-local and work in the community they live. Respondents working locally (in the county in which they live) have less consistent commuting cost patterns. The average community cost for this commuting type ranges from \$25-\$40 to \$100-\$115 each month. The survey data from this population sample suggests a commuter pattern where tribal community members that work regionally spend more money on their monthly commute than those working ultra-locally. Cross tabulating commuting costs with income reveals interesting trends. Only 21 respondents provided both income and commuting costs information. Of respondents with incomes under \$1,000 a month, most spend \$10-25 on commuting. One respondent, however, spends \$200 to commute to work each month. A majority of respondents with monthly incomes ranging from \$1,000-2,500 are paying the highest commuting costs each month; \$100-115, \$115 or more. Respondents with highest incomes of \$5,000 or more each month have lower monthly commuter costs than those in the lower income brackets. This suggests that lower income respondents are disproportionately affected by work commuting costs. Not only are these respondents earning very low wages, but they must spend upwards of \$100 each month just to commute to these low paying jobs. It appears that respondents that are making under \$1,000 are working ultra-locally in exchange for low commuting costs. This suggests that tribal community members could potentially be fixed into ultra-local employment arrangements because the cost of entering the regional job markets is far too high.

In an independent study, one tribal employee has documented her daily gas costs for a seven year period from 2006-2012. Costs fluctuate due to gas prices, but the median annual gas price for a midsize vehicle¹⁶ traveling from Reno to Gardnerville (about 100 miles each day) is about \$ 3,618 or about \$302 a month (Carlson, 2012). The costs for maintaining the vehicle (oil change, wipers, headlights, etc.) is approximately \$700 annually. In order to engage in the regional job market such as Reno, tribal community members will have to pay approximately \$350 each month in gas and maintenance, not to mention car payments which will vary. Recalling the demographic data, over 30 percent of the community is earning under \$20, 000 annually, which is about \$1,600 each month. Many Tribal members are potentially paying upwards of 20 percent of their monthly income to engage in the regional labor market.

The financial cost of commuting is just one consideration. Recalling the community characteristics, the Washoe Tribe has kinship based family patterns where women have significant roles as heads of household. The social cost for commuting is another factor to consider. As cited previously, respondents that work regionally (out of county) commute a minimum of 40 miles each day and 100 miles in certain cases just to get to work. A roundtrip daily commute can take upwards of 1 hour to sometimes Time commuting is time away from family and household responsibilities. Not only are tribal community members paying high costs to travel to low paying jobs, they are doing so at the expense of family time and household responsibilities.

¹⁶ 1997 Nissan Altima

These survey responses, demographic data and supporting independent study suggest that Tribal community members must pay high financial and social costs in order to earn low wages. It appears the costs and benefits of regional employment are unbalanced and that many low-income Tribal community members are thus precluded from engaging in these regional employment options. This phenomenon resembles John Kain's "spatial-mismatch theory" which suggests that distance and difficulty of reaching certain jobs imposes high costs which can discourage jobs seekers to find employment there (Kain 179). While Kain's research is limited to Black inner cities, transportation costs present similar challenges for rural Native American communities.

With 20 percent of the community living in poverty and 19 percent unemployed, the socio-economic circumstances will continue to fare poorly if tribal community members continue to be closed off to regional employment options. Should the financial and social costs of commuting to work be reduced, tribal community members would have an incentive to engage in the regional employment market. One potential method to mitigate barriers to regional job market entry is for the Washoe Tribal Government to subsidize travel to work costs. These recommendations will be explained in more detail in the chapter to follow.

The opened ended question responses reveal that many of the respondents are looking for work followed by an equal number of respondents that volunteered they were recently laid off, in school or retired. When asked if they are satisfied with the current employment options in the community, a majority of respondents share they are

dissatisfied because of lack of employment or underemployment. Surprisingly, respondents that were most satisfied and most dissatisfied with the employment options were actually residents that earned under \$1,000 a month. This response could be explained by recipients of public benefits or retirement. Those that are retired may believe they are familiar with the employment offerings in the community and feel they are adequate. Those that could be receiving public benefits may also share a similar outlook. Again, to shed light on these data phenomenon it is important to note which community members are retired or receiving public benefits. The survey data and open ended responses suggest that unsatisfied community members are either unemployed or underemployed. In this community, it is not just simply question of employment but *more* employment. A number of community members responded that they are seeking full time status or need more work than they presently have. Others expressed frustration with a recent lay off. One community member shared that they were recently laid off after 18 years of service for their employer. Additionally, those that are unsatisfied suggest that location of employment is also a factor. One community member elaborated, "Currently can't find work near place of residence." Other responses reference no car, high gas prices and lack of opportunities in the area. Again, the data suggest that location of employment opportunities and transportation is another factor to unemployment.

Of the seventy percent of respondents that answered this question, 40 percent felt satisfied with the current employment options. Those that were satisfied elaborated that they had steady jobs, that their schedules worked or they were students and appreciated the flexibility. Once respondent shared that they are satisfied with the flexibility and

schedule, except for the pay. This suggests that some community members are happy with simply having employment and income expectations are secondary considerations. One satisfied respondent shared that they have their own office and work at their own pace. It appears some survey respondents run their own businesses. Because the number of respondents surveyed is a very small percentage of the tribal community, it is difficult to determine if there are a significant number of Washoe business owners. In discussions with tribal employees it appears that there are other Washoe business owners that I did not have an opportunity to speak with. One tribal member owns a mechanic shop on the Carson Colony, another has a sewing and alterations store in Carson City and others that have budding business plans or past experience with being business owners. There is definitely an entrepreneurial spirit in the community. Interviews with tribal employees have shared that the Tribe is interested in supporting individual tribal business development, particularly the female community members that are involved in arts and crafts. However, the already established Washoe owned businesses could be of use for promoting Washoe economic development. For future research it would be important to also survey current tribal community members that own their own business and those with past experience. This will be explored more in the recommendations section.

When asked how the tribe can support economic development, respondents cited job creation, skill development and business development as the top three concerns.

Respondents suggested “more jobs for tribal members”, “move jobs into community”, and “make sure each Washoe has a job”—all reasonable aims to improve community prospects. Regarding skill development, one respondent shared that even being an office

assistant for the tribe requires an associate's degrees. Others stated training and mentoring, especially for young people, must be supported. Tribal community members referenced individual small business development as well as tribal enterprises as key ways to support economic development. One respondent suggests that the tribe use green energy such as wind turbines to cover electricity costs for the communities and sell the excess for a profit. Others recommend creating more tribal businesses and also helping foster small business for individuals. Most tribal community members believe it is the Tribe's responsibility to better the economic conditions but they also understand the enormity of the task. One respondent characterized Tribal economic development as in its "infancy". Other tribal community members believe that small steps such as setting realistic goals, investing in the community and improving communication with Tribal members and Tribal council will better facilitate the current and future economic development initiatives.

Many respondents had specific development suggestions. One suggestion was to develop the existing and now defunct Campground off of US Route 395, further develop the Tribally owned Ranch operation, and the lower and upper Wade Parcels.¹⁷ Further investigation with Tribal members and Tribal employees showed that the campground was once active for recreational use but has since been abandoned and facilities are in a state of disrepair. There are concerns about its location on a flood plain and the investment dollars which would make it an operational campground. Members of the economic development group confirmed that there is potential and an investigation for

¹⁷ Community members content that the ranch is not operating to its full capacity. With approximately 200 heads of cattle, some community members believe that operation requires upwards of 400 head of cattle to become profitable (Interview with Community Member)

development of the campground is under way. In my discussions with tribal community members many reference the Ranch. The Ranch is cow-calf operation with hay production. The hay is used to feed the cattle and surplus is sold for profit. A recent economic census report suggests that there is inadequate water which limits the number of cattle herd that the property can maintain (Washoe CEDS 2011). Many tribal members remember when the Ranch was successful and believe there is still untapped potential. One community member was involved in a cost benefit analysis with the Tribe under a different administration and had previously calculated the necessary herd size that would allow for maximum profit. Though some of the community suggestions may not be feasible, this illustrates that tribal community members are eager with suggestions and are interested in helping improve the economic conditions of their tribe.

The economic conditions of tribal community members are a result of the current economic status of the community around them. As such, tribal community members have an intimate understanding of the challenges of the economic development conditions for the Tribe. They understand that economic development is a multi-layered undertaking which involves community participation, communication and strategy as well as some risk taking. As cited previously, Tribal community members that chose to participate in the surveys were very interested in contributing their thoughts about the types of economic development that the Tribe could engage in. Community members displayed a high level of interest and sophistication in these economic development concepts.

One community member developed a program for an a commercial agricultural operation engaging Tribal youth, another talked of fiber optic training program which has a growing market in the area, and others tribal community members spoke of various business ideas they had for themselves and the whole tribal community. It is important to utilize tribal community member knowledge where possible when structuring an economic development initiative for the tribe. Community participating will be discussed in the recommendations section.

When asked about pressing issues in Washoe community, tribal community members identified lack of employment, public health, housing and transportation to be key issues. With such a high unemployment rate in the community, it was no surprise that unemployment would be a significant factor. However, public health was a surprisingly dominant theme in response to this question. Respondents elaborated that alcohol and drug abuse and violence on the reservation is markedly high. Responses such as “personal health and mental healing” and “positive motivation” were grouped into a public health category. It appears that the community is in dire need of public health interventions to address these pressing community health issues. Due to the limited scope of this thesis a full analysis of the public health project cannot be fully explored. This, however can be addressed in future research in this community.

There were also concerns of housing. One community member expressed concerns of “unclean and unsafe homes” while others simply suggested housing was poor quality. Transportation emerged as another dominant theme which is consistent with community

survey findings and discussions with tribal employees. These pressing issues highlighted by community members have revealed challenges to economic development in the community that need to be ameliorate in order to fully realize the potential of the community. Particular methods will be discussed in the recommendations section to follow.

The economic conditions on the reservation are poor with a number of community members and survey respondents with incomes under \$1,000 a month. The survey responses reveal that community members are driving and there are three types of commute to work patterns; ultra-local, local and regional. The data suggests that tribal community members that are the lowest income are disproportionately affected by the cost of commuting and are thus fixed into ultra-local employment arrangements to avoid higher commuting costs. Commute costs are financial and social. In a community with kinship based family patterns and women as heads of household, time commuting is time away from family. This suggests that the opportunity costs are high and lowering financial and social costs can improve the economic conditions in the community. Of tribal community members that are employed, many say that they are not employed enough and that some community members are willing to put up with low wages for the sake of having a job in the first places. This suggests that tribal community members are underemployed and the local job offerings are not able to meet the employment demand of the tribal community members. This further supports the postulation that tribal community members need to be connected with more robust and potentially regional job markets. Tribal community members were eager to contribute their opinions about

economic development for the community. Many Washoes are entrepreneurial and have past or current business experience. As members of the Tribal community, they should also be involved in the structuring of the economic development plan for the Tribe as a whole.

Recommendations

The Washoe community has economic development opportunities in both the formal and informal sectors. There are clear barriers to economic development for the formal. Many of these were highlighted in the community survey responses. The main constraints being transportation, skill level, education attainment among others. These are barriers for incorporation into formal economies and improving these conditions requires strategic, long term strategies.

There are, however, opportunities for tapping into the informal sector as well. Recalling the literature of the LEADS model, local level interventions utilize community action to realize economic development improvements. The power of the LEADS model is its ability to integrate into a larger economic development trajectory. The following recommendations highlight ways in which the tribe can address barriers to formal sector incorporation and also utilize the opportunities that exist in the informal sector through LEADS.

Tackling Formal Barriers

Extreme poverty and high unemployment rates show that economic development is crucial in this community. However, barriers to economic development must be

addressed to establish a solid foundation to support future economic development efforts. Low educational attainment, poor public health, poor access to regional job nodes and limited access to capital are significant barriers to carrying out any economic development strategies in this community. These obstacles must be addressed in order for the tribal community members to prepare themselves to competitively enter the job market.

Survey responses confirmed that tribal community members feel they need better job skills and more of them. Coupled with the marked low educational attainment in the community, it appears that Washoe tribal community members are not as prepared or as competitive as their regional counterparts. For example, given the current circumstances, even if job creation efforts were successful, without access to better skills and better educational attainment, community members would be relegated to lower paying jobs with limited upward mobility and income disparities would persist. Otherwise, Tribal community members could simply be passed up for better quality employment opportunities because they are unqualified for the positions. The same can be said for public health. Tribal community members with substance abuse issues, for example, are less prepared to enter the job market. Should they be successful in obtaining a position, it is likely untreated health issues will affect their performance and render them unable to keep their employment. With regards to transportation, as seen with the community survey findings, Tribal community members may not engage in the regional job market because financial and social costs of commuting are too high. There are a number of

scenarios which illustrate that these barriers are impeding economic development in the Tribal community.

According to Blakely and Leigh, “economic development is achieved when a community’s standard of living can be preserved and increased through a process of human and physical development that is based on principles of equity and sustainability (2010, 74).” In the case of the Washoe Tribe, investment in human development is crucial to improving the socio-economic conditions on the reservation. The Washoe Tribal Council and Washoe Tribal Economic Development Group must implement measures to improve public health, access to regional job nodes, business training among others. It is important to note that the proposed interventions, for the most part will be realized at the individual scale. The improved educational attainment, business training or access to regional job nodes for one Washoe community member will provide positive benefits for themselves, and their respective households. Community based approaches will be discussed in the section on alternatives. The following recommendations are potential methods to remove these barriers and establish a solid foundation to help foster economic development efforts in the Washoe Tribe.

Reducing Transportation Costs

The Tribe can support economic mobility by subsidizing work commutes. This has been done in other communities in the form of transit vouchers for local buses, but research suggests that the current public transit options are not sufficient to meet the commuting

needs of the community members.¹⁸ A potential option is to have a bus fleet dedicated to transporting tribal members (and perhaps local community members) to and from regional job nodes throughout the work week. Should the program accommodate local community members (non tribal members), this project could potentially develop into an income generating enterprise. The Transportation Planning Survey conducted by the tribe has concluded that the Tribe has number of large vans that can be used for this type of transportation initiative. The social cost must also be addressed. If tribal members are to leave the reservation for daily work activities, responsibilities of child care must also be covered. Existing education facilities may suffice, but there is the option of creating a position for a local day care cooperative where parents share in the responsibility of care. Further research will have to be done with the Tribe to identify a day care method that will work best for the community. The existing Head Start programs across the tribe may be a starting point for this potential collaborative partnership.

Washoe Business Training Mentor Program

Community survey data and interviews with tribal employees suggest that a significant amount of Washoes are entrepreneurs and own their own businesses. Interviews also suggest that many Tribal community members prefer to be employed by the Washoe Tribe because they are comfortable and familiar with the surroundings of their co-workers and relatives. It appears that moving from the tribal community to the non-native community is not always a smooth transition. For tribal community members that have more difficulty incorporating into the non-native regional job nodes, initial job

¹⁸ Southern California municipalities such as Ventura County and Santa Clarita use subsidized bus transit voucher programs to ease commuting costs for seniors and low-income residents.

development training and mentorship programs can be conducted in Washoe establishments. In this exchange program, Washoe employers can support training initiatives and also create necessary partnerships to help run their business. This arrangement can be temporary and arranged with existing program such as Washoe Tribal TANF or even the local One Stop Business Centers. These programs can potentially provide compensation for the trainee and the Washoe employer would receive necessary assistance without any additional costs. The dimensions of this program would need to be fully organized by community members and also the Tribal Council.

Education Policy

Education in the Washoe community is on the upswing in the last decade; however, educational attainment of community members still falls below that of their regional, state and national counterparts. Both the surrounding region and the state have nearly twice as many residents with higher education degrees such as bachelors or masters. Simply put, due to the current educational attainment of the community, Washoe community members are not as competitive. It is likely that Washoe community members will continue to occupy the lower ranks of the employment ladder until educational policies are addressed. As cited in the demography section, a large percentage of the community is youth. Education policies should be directed at Washoe youth to ensure that they are prepared and competitive when it is time for them to enter into the work force. It is not to say that they should be the only focus, higher education should be a priority for all community members. Community members can tap into local resources such as community colleges and existing educational scholarships offered by

the tribe. Additionally, Washoe community members that have gone on to higher education can serve as mentors for individuals interested in higher education. In the same way that high school students have academic counselors, the community can benefit from mentors that can advise on applying for schools, exploring educational options and providing for a culturally specific outlook that addresses the educational needs of Washoe community members.

Public Health Initiatives

Survey responses revealed that community members are especially concerned about the state of public health in the community. This was also confirmed during my site visit where billboards and signage in the community promoted suicide and meth prevention. These community health concerns move far beyond economic development. The future of the entire community rests on the wellness of its people. In the case of Washoe, poor public health has significantly compromised community wellness. The community is in dire need of public health initiatives addressing drug and alcohol abuse, violence and depression among others. A full analysis of Washoe community health is crucial to understanding the potential strategies to increasing community wellness. While the dimensions of this particular initiative have yet to be explored, the Tribal council should make a priority of implementing public health initiatives, especially alongside economic development strategies. Additionally, such region-wide issues can be addressed with the development of local partnerships for prevention. This would be extremely useful for the tribe. The future of individual lives and the future of the community rely on it.

Community Participation and Communication

Eager participation from community members suggest that there is very limited communication between community members and Tribal council. Tribal community members are very knowledgeable and have sophisticated understandings of the community in which they live. Greater communication must be facilitated between the Tribal Council and the Tribal Community members. It appears this disconnect has lead to negative externalities such as in-fighting, disagreements and an overall misunderstanding of the community's goals. Traditionally, tribal communities maintained a delicate balance between the community and the governing system. It appears that this community can benefit from readjusting that balance. I propose that the community be solicited for their input and opinions about greater trajectory of economic development for the Tribe as a whole. Community engagement initiatives can ensure that goals and aims of the Council and other significantly influential groups such as the Washoe Economic Development Group are also in line with those of the Washoe Tribe as a whole. Furthermore, it is significant to note that the very infrastructure of the Tribal Council and tribal government are manifestations of the colonial institution and not a true representation of aboriginal methods.

Realizing Informal Potential

Survey results did not reveal a significant number of informal activities occurring on the reservation. Some community members indicated they engaged in wood cutting, craft making and mechanic work to supplement their income, but these responses were few. While it appears that there is limited informal engagement at the individual level, it does not mean that informal engagement at the community level is not possible. The LEADS

structure can be employed to tap into the informal potential and craft community level interventions for the Washoe tribe.

LEADS are a great model for tribes because they are community based and can account for the political and social aims of the community. For Tribal communities like Washoe, the tenets of sovereignty and self-determination are core values central to tribal nationhood. Using the frame of the LEADS model, these tenets can be accounted for and included in the overall economic development trajectory of the Washoe community. The LEADS frame has been reworked to account for the unique characteristics of tribes.

Economic development models must;

- Satisfy long term sustainable economic development
- Be sensitive to the tenets of tribal sovereignty and self-determination
- Be anchored in the community
- Represent the aims of the Tribal Community

The following recommendations illustrate initiatives that follow directly along the LEADS model and others that borrow from the LEADS structure yet are specific to the Washoe community.

Community Land Trust (CLT)

As discussed earlier, the toolkit for economic development on reservations is severely limited because of land uses restrictions stemming from the federal trust relationship. The “American Indian Empowerment Act,” also known as the Young Bill and the Helping

Expedite and Advance Responsible Tribal Homeownership (HEARTH) Act are current legislative measures to remove these land use restrictions. The Young bill does away with the BIA oversight entirely and the HEARTH Act allows leases to be granted without the express approval of the Secretary of the Interior. The legislative approach requires political support which may not be easily garnered for radical proposals that diminish the government's influence on Tribal land matters. These initiatives may be on legislative floors for years before they are given serious attention, meanwhile the land use restrictions will continue to hamper economic development on reservations.

I propose that CLTs are potential local level interventions that can be implemented on fee simple land owned by tribal communities. CLTs “allow for a community-based institution to retain title to land, holding it in permanent stewardship through the trust, while making it available via long-term leases to individuals or businesses for housing or commercial development (Blakely and Leigh 2010, 238).” The Washoe Tribe owns land fee simple that is in the process of being placed into trust with the federal government.¹⁹ It appears that the incentive to making such a transfer is that the Tribe will not have to pay property tax on the land and thus not have the added financial burden or the concern of land loss in the event they would default on the property tax payments.

The legal structure of a CLT would necessitate the creation of a 501(c)(3) which would give the Tribal CLT tax-exemption status. Under the Tribal CLT the legal structure would be established to protect the land in perpetuity and it would never take on the injurious land restrictions that currently characterize reservation lands in trust with

¹⁹ Interview with Jennifer Johnson Environmental Specialist

federal government. The particular dimensions of Tribal CLT will need to be decided according to the political aims of the community and the land use desires of the Tribe.

Aside from its practical application, the CLT model lends well to Tribal communities because it removes the complication of land ownership, a concept that is not an inherently indigenous value. Many tribal communities continue to think of themselves as stewards of their land, only protecting it for future generations. Tribes, as place-based people feel “responsible for protecting the ancestral territories provided them by their creator (Wilkinson 64).” One of the main tenets of the CLT model is to ensure that land is held “in stewardship for all mankind present and future (Davis 2010, 221).”

In the case of Washoe, the Tribe could potentially establish a CLT and they can negotiate terms for leasing the land to Tribal members that want to start their own businesses, set up community gardens, or a multitude of other economic development initiatives.

This approach requires existing fee simple land and legal expertise to establish the terms of the CLT. It is not to say that all tribal trust lands need be transferred into a Tribal CLT, but this method can help introduce land with much more flexibility in permitted uses.

Implementation of the Public Balance Sheet

In many cases tribal trust land status can present barriers to economic development, but in the case of firm location, it can, also provide a number of incentives that lower the cost

of doing business. Small Business Administration certifications such as the HUBzone and 8(a) programs provide Federal contracting preference to small businesses. Additionally, there are low cost loan options available to businesses occurring on reservation land. These programs are one of the few ways in which reservation land can be attractive to non-native firms and Tribes can usually negotiate for a percentage of jobs to be set aside for Tribal community members.

The Tribe has been approached by firms in the past that wish to locate on the reservation. The Tribe should run a Public Balance Sheet (PBS) for all potential developments on Tribal trust land. Essentially, the Tribe would conduct a standard cost-benefits analysis on the current proposal, but also take into account the social and political costs and analyze the impact of the potential investment on sovereignty and whether or not it is will provide the expected jobs.

Should a PBS have been conducted for economic development initiatives like Indian Gaming, high political costs could have been accounted for. The PBS should be used for future economic development proposals occurring on the tribal community.

Washoe Cooperatives

The LEADS model calls for the triad of community economic stability. The three legs of this Triad are to Induce, Multiply and Anchor. The WEDG already engages in inducements to bring employment opportunities to the reservation. Tribal general council uses legal ordinances to provide incentives for business to location on reservation lands.

Multiplying and Anchoring are two approaches that need to be stimulated in the community. Multiplying, or fostering interdependence and web-like networks of interaction can be accomplished through buying and producing locally. This ensures that the profiles continue to circulate through the community. The process of anchoring ensures that job creation and other economic development initiatives stay in the community. A strategy to anchor economic development is employee ownership such as cooperatives. Working with the two legs of the triad, Multiply and Anchor, the tribe can structure a multitude of economic development initiatives. The cooperative model appears to serve the most utility in ensuring business is anchored in the community and profiles circulate.

Washoe Grocer

A potential model is developing a Washoe Grocer. One community member has already promoted a commercial agriculture initiative on the reservation and the Washoe Tribal TANF program is in the process of developing a community farm on the Carson Colony. There are existing initiatives aimed at promoting access to healthy food. Additionally, TANF Career Development Manager informed me that similar food initiatives have cropped up in the area in responding to the poor access to health foods in the region. The tribe can turn a commercial agriculture business into a community co-op where consumers are members. Memberships can be extended to tribal members and to residents of local community. Tribal community members can invest in the community by shopping at the Washoe Grocer which will ensure profits circulate, and the cooperative nature of the business will ensure it is anchored within the community.

It would take considerable capital to invest in such a project. Community members can combine capital and establish the business together, or the Tribe can utilize revenue from current business. It is likely this type of project will necessitate the creation of partnerships with local organizations or event firms that can invest capital in the project. Whoever resources become pooled together, it is important the Tribe utilizes strategic methods such as the Public Balance Sheet to weigh all costs in the investment.

This is one of many potential cooperative structures that can be implemented in Washoe country. Other potential ideas could be structured around cultural customs such as basket weaving or other crafts. The particular dimensions of such a project would ultimately be decided by the community in conjunction with the Tribal council, WEDG and community partnerships.

While farming and agriculture seems to lend well to the skill sets of the Washoe community, the type of cooperative structure that other Tribal nations invest in may be completely different. The cooperative should be structured with the community in mind, and the particular times of formal and informal skills that can be brought to the table. Tribes in northern California for example may have a cooperative around fishing while Tribes in the Pacific Northwest may have a cooperative around Timber felling. The options are endless but structuring a cooperative project distinctive to the tribal community is one way of ensuring it is not only anchored in a geographical sense, but that it is anchored in the culture of the community as well.

Conclusion Discussion

Reservations are economic deserts and Indian tribes have had little choice in the types of economic opportunities they engage in. For tribes with historic socio-economic challenges, investment capital is virtually non-existent which necessitates economic development approaches that yield very high marginal returns. Indian gaming is one such industry which has dominated the trajectory of Tribal economic development. The policy analysis of the Indian Gaming Reorganization Act (IGRA) has revealed that despite the fiscal improvements, the marginal revenue increase has come at a high social and political cost to tribal sovereignty and self determination. As sovereign nations and unique cultural and political institutions, Tribes require economic development models that are sensitive to these nuanced qualities. As such, economic development for Indian Nations is a unique project.

The LEADS model has developed as a response to the growing economic inequalities across the nation. The critique of the dominant economic trajectory of the United States echoes that of the Indian Gaming. Both have significant implications for community development and nationhood and both have especially significant political consequences. The parallels between these two analyses highlight the need for an economic development model that can be sensitive to the political aims of a nation, local government, or in this case, Native American tribes. The LEADS model functions to account for the nuanced needs of Native American economic development; the LEADS can weigh social and political costs and implement place-based strategies, community oriented strategies.

Indian Tribes must be cognizant of the political implications of the type economic development strategies they engage in. Social and political costs must be weighed. The LEADS structure provides a mechanism to account for these social and political costs through the Public Balance Sheet.

Additionally, the LEADS model suits Native American economic development because of its place-based strategies. Federal policies to approach economic development have depended on the relocation of Native communities from their ancestral homelands. From early policies such as the Allotment Act²⁰ to the Urban Indian relocations of the 1950s²¹ the reservation has never been the focus of community improvement; movement away from the reservation has always characterized these federal level interventions. David Imbroscio would equate these mobility strategies as *liberal expansionism* policies that attempt to deconcentrate poverty but accomplishes little in true improvements.

LEADS are place-based strategies that ensure development efforts are realized in the very community where the challenges occur. Concentrating development efforts on the reservation presents opportunities that had previously lain dormant. Establishing a Community Land Trust, for example is a way in which, local level interventions can create opportunities on the reservation. Furthermore, these opportunities are accessed

²⁰ In 1877, the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act was, intended to make private property owners out of individual Indian people. Operating under the guise of altruistic motives the Act promoted individual ownership but ultimately deduced Indian owned lands from 138 million acres in 1887 to 48 million acres in 1934 (Canby 2004). Over 20 percent of the remaining Indian lands were desert or semi-desert and of poor quality unfit for the settled farming livelihood they promoted.

²¹ Urban Indian Relocation was a policy that encouraged Indians to leave the reservation and seek employment in urban areas (Wilkinson 2004).

through the exercise of self-determination, a tool which in many Tribal communities has become a no more than a political sound bite.

The gaming critique also supports the reframing of economic development policy.

According to Blakely and Leigh, “the blind pursuit of economic growth can destroy the foundation of economic development (Blakely and Leigh 2010, 74).” While revenue generation is crucial, industries with the highest marginal returns do not necessarily translate into true economic development. Such high marginal returns come at the cost of social and political relationships. In this case, the fruit of economic development becomes diminished because of the high costs. The Triad for Community Economic Stability reframes economic development. Prioritizing economic *stability* to economic *growth* allows for ensures that economic improvements are realize a decent standard of living over time. The stability method necessitates community participation which avoids the classic hazards of the economic growth machine that result in inequality and concentrations of wealth.

Finally, the utmost importance is placed on the community. For Tribal communities with kinship patterns of belonging, this is a very natural dynamic. However, the imbalance between the tribal community and tribal governing system is another recurring theme across Indian Country. In order for tribes to be successful in creating economic stability, the tribal community needs to be involved in the economic development planning process. This concerted effort will restore the balance between the tribal community and

tribal governing system and allow for economic development improvements to be realized across the board.

A case study on the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada is a parallel representation of Indian Communities across the nation. Analysis of the Washoe community reveals a number of similar themes that occur on many reservations throughout the United States. Fragmented jurisdictions, a multitude of pressing community issues, historical social-economic disparities, challenges of isolation in rural settings and universal to all federally recognized tribes, an ongoing relationship with the federal government which has a great level of influence on tribal affairs have characterized many reservation communities.

The case study on the Washoe tribe reveals that Tribal communities have opportunities to improve economic conditions on reservations through both formal and informal approaches. Tapping into the value of the community allows for these projects to occur in tandem with one another. The formal incorporation will assist with ameliorating the more severe socio-economic demographics while the informal can support the overall trajectory of economic development and the structure of nationhood development. The LEADS model provides the dimensions to execute such a project but ultimately, the project will be the result of strategic planning efforts of both the community and the Tribal government.

Bibliography

- 1) Washburn, Kevin K. *The Legacy of Bryan v. Itasca County: How an Erroneous \$147 County Tax Noticed Helped Bring Tribes \$200 Billion in Indian Gaming Revenue*. Minnesota Law Review. 2008.
- 2) Taylor, Jonathan B., and Joseph P. Kalt. "*Cabazon, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, and the Socioeconomic Consequences of American Indian Governmental Gaming A Ten-Year Review.*" The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University, 2005.
- 3) Blakely, Edward J., and Nancey Green. Leigh. *Planning Local Economic Development: Theory and Practice*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2010.
- 4) Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, *Comprehensive Economic Development Narrative/Profile* (September 2011)
- 5) Marks, Minday and Spilde Contreras, Kate. *Lands of Opportunity: Social and Economic Effects of Tribal Gaming on Localities*. Policy Matters. Vol 1. Issue 4. Summer 2007
- 6) Fainstein, Susan S., and Scott Campbell. *Readings in Urban Theory*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2002.
- 7) Alperovitz, Gar. *America Beyond Capitalism: Reclaiming our Wealth, Liberty and our Democracy*. Hoboken, New Jersey 2005.
- 8) Corntassel, Jeff and Witmer, Richard C. *Forced Federalism: Contemporary Challenges to Indigenous Nationhood*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2008.
- 9) Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, *Socio-Economic Profile of the Washoe People* (2005-2006)
- 10) Imbroscio, David. *Urban American Reconsidered: Alternative for Governance and Policy*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2010.
- 11) Williamson, Thad, David Imbroscio, and Gar Alperovitz. *Making a Place for Community: Local Democracy in a Global Era*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2003.
- 12) Lecture: *Indians Beyond Casinos: Economic Development on the Reservation*. Presenters: Dan Press, leader of Van Ness Feldman Native American practice

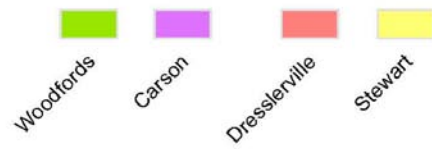
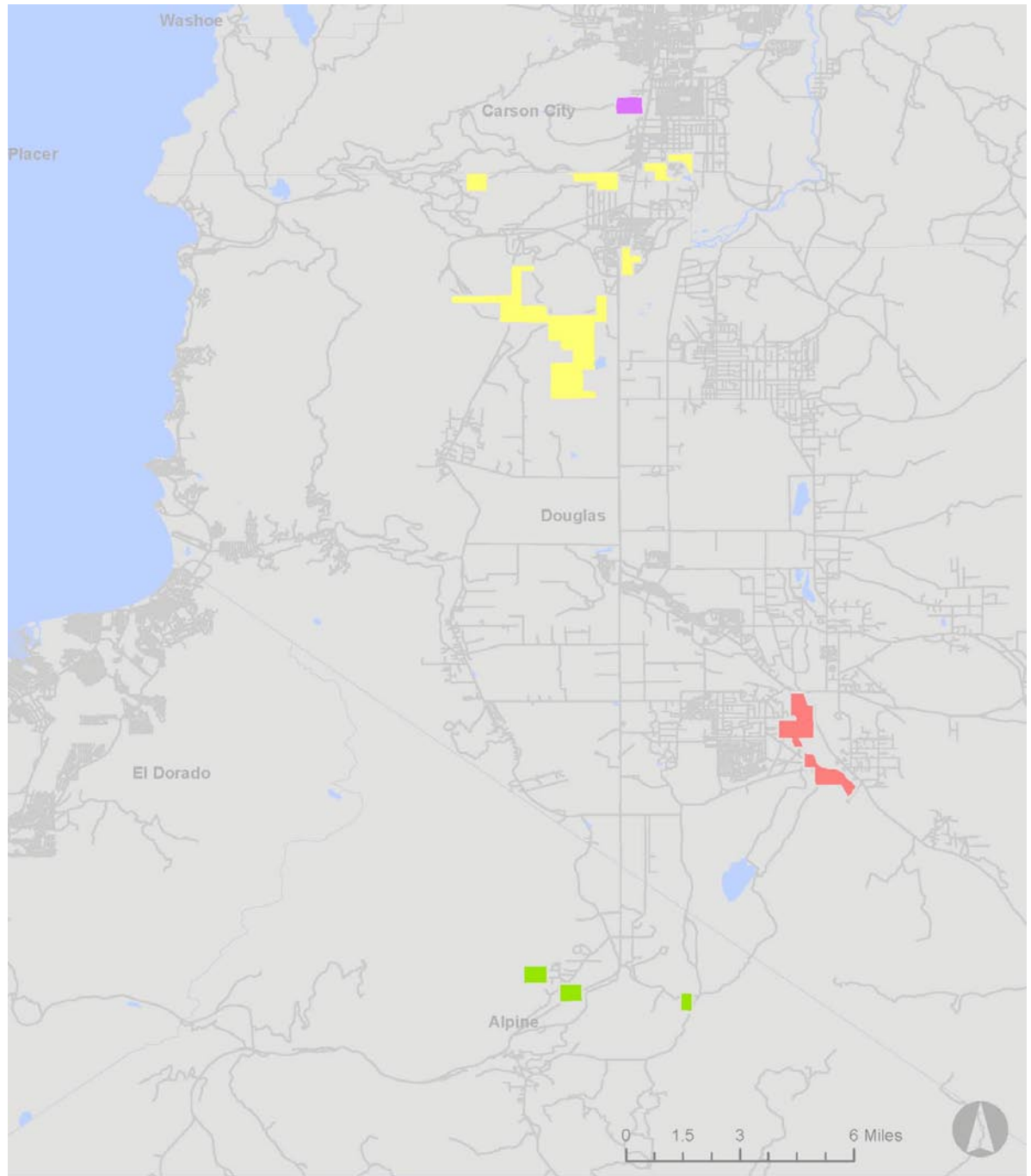
group. Joe Sarcinella, Navajo Nation. Columbia University, Monday, November 28, 2011.

- 13) Jo Ann Nevers, Wa She Shu: A Washo Tribal History (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Printing Press 1976) 8.
- 14) Caitlin, Keliiaa *Towards Deconstructing Gender: Re-envisioning the Language of Sovereignty* (2012)
- 15) "Jobs and Sovereignty: Tribal Employment Rights and Energy Development in the 20th Century," in *Indians and Energy: Opportunity or Exploitation?* Edited by Sherry L. Smith and Brian Frehner (Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press, 2010), 135-160.
- 16) Sagalyn, Lynne B. "Public/Private Development." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 73.1 (Winter 2007): 7-22.
- 17) The Urban Indian Health Commission, *Invisible Tribes: Urban Indians and Their Changing World*. Rep. Seattle: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2008, pp. 5.
- 18) Good Jobs New York (2009). Taxpayer subsidies for the new Yankee Stadium and parking garages. Available:
<http://goodjobsny.org/sites/default/files/docs/yankee_public_costs_january16.pdf>
- 19) Humphreys, B.A., & Matheson, V.A. (2008). PILOTS and public policy: Steering through the economic ramifications. College of the Holy Cross, Department of Economics, Faculty Research Series, Paper No. 08-17.
- 20) Wilkinson, Charles F., and Christine L. Miklas. *Indian Tribes as Sovereign Governments: A Sourcebook on Federal-tribal History, Law, and Policy* Second Edition. Oakland, Ca.: American Indian Lawyer Training Program, 2004
- 21) Cobell Land Consolidation Program Draft Plan, Department of the Interior, 2011.
- 22) Devlin, Ryan. "Informal Urbanism: Legal Ambiguity, Uncertainty, and the Management of Street Vending in New York City." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010.

- 23) The United States General Accounting Office. "Indian Gaming: Federal Controls Did Not Detect Compact Approval." Resources, Community, and Economic Development Division. <http://archive.gao.gov/paprpdf1/159665.pdf> (accessed February 15, 2012).
- 24) Press, Dan. Interview by Jackie Keliiaa
Audio File. Columbia University, February 20, 2012.
- 25) Sulzbergers, A.G "Businesses Stand to Gain Most in Rivalry of States." *New York Times*, April, 7, 2011.
- 26) Davis, John Emmeus. *The Community Land Trust Reader*. Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2010. Print.
- 27) Canby, William C. *American Indian Law in a Nutshell*. St. Paul, MN: Thomson/West, 2004. 22-23.

Appendix

1) Community Map:



Washoe Community Map

Source: ReferenceUSA and Census Tiger Files 2010

2) Interviewees:

Tribal Employees

- 1) Geoff Ellis (Vice Chair for Woodfords Community, Serves on Washoe Tribal Council)
 - a. Fostering Business Environment
- 2) Rob Beltramo (Tribal Planner)
 - a. Managing ED strategies
- 3) Wirt Twitchell (TANF Career Development Manager)
 - a. Connecting tribal members to resources
- 4) Charles Salerno (TANF Job Development and Job Coach)
 - a. Trying to get TANF people to use resources, says transit huge issue
- 5) Lynelle Hartway (General Counsel)
 - a. Believes in legal framework to bolster ED. Creating business friendly climate. Doesn't believe that there needs to be a separate institution to handle ED for the tribe. Says it was done in the past but was not successful
- 6) Debby Carlson (Grants Manager)
 - a. Drives to work 1.5 each way from Reno. People think she is "insane" for the commute. Wants to know how to bolster quality of life for the tribe. Believes that leaving the reservation for work may be the best thing.
- 7) Elise Niemann (Alpine One Stop)
 - a. Offers scholarships for tribal members in Woodfords. Their scope is county based but they can allow people into their workshops if there is space. It is for everyone in the alpine county. She is working tribal members (Woodfords) that are interested in starting their own business.

Economic Development:

- 1) Dan Press (Van Ness Feldman, Head of the Native American Practice Group)
 - a. Believes that non-gaming ED are the future for tribes. Works with labor laws and building charters to allow for job growth and fair practices on tribes.
- 2) Joe Sarcinella (Navajo Nation Washington Office, Government & Legislative Affairs Associate)
 - a. Says that you cannot leverage land for loan money on rez land.
- 3) Clara Pratte (Director of Navajo Nation Washington Office, former National Director of the Office of Native American Affairs of the US Small Business Administration)
 - a. Development on reservations is

Community Members:

- 1) Melba Rakow (Tribal Member, Owner of "Sew and Sew" Fabric Store)
 - a. Difficulties of being Native owner. People see the white woman she works with and customer thinks that she is the owner.
- 2) Caroline Walker (Woodfords Community) Arts and Crafts Interview

- a. Had an online store for a while. There was a huge order from England for 500 pieces. She couldn't fulfill the order and had to close shop. Uses word of mouth. Successful business
- 3) Boo Boo Roach (Carson Community)
 - a. Long time community member believes that language is key to development for the community

4) Field Photo



Survey Collection at Stewart Community Washoe Language Class. January 4, 2012

5) Census Demographic Data

Census 2000 data tables used:

1. T1. Total Pop
2. T5. Sex
3. T8. Age
4. T20. Households by Household Type
5. T40. Educational Attainment for Population 25 and Over

6. T69. Employment Status
7. T86. Occupation for Employed Civilian Population 16 Years and Over
8. T92. House Hold Income
9. T93. Median Household Income in 1999 Dollars
10. T105. Median Earnings By Sex By Work Experience In 1999 Dollars (For population 15+)
11. T156. Tenure
12. T179. Poverty Status In 1999 Of Families by Family Type By Presence Of Children Under 18 years
13. T209. Occupation for the Employed Civilian Population 16+ Years

Census 2006-2010 ACS 5-year summary tables used:

1. T1. Total Pop
2. T5. Sex
3. T8. Age
4. T17. Households by Household Type
5. T25. Educational Attainment For Population 25 Years And Over
6. T37. Employment/Unemployment Status for Civilian Population
7. T49. Industry by Occupation For Employed Civilian Population 16 Years and Over
8. T50. (Occupation Detailed) Occupation for Employed Civilian Population 16 years And Over
9. T56. House Hold Income
10. T57. Median Household Income
11. T65. Median Income By Sex By Work Experience For Population Age 15+
12. T94. Tenure
13. T113. Poverty Status
14. T140. (Occupation Brief) Occupation for Employed Civilian Population 16 Years and Over

6) Demographic Tables

WASHOE TRIBE	2000		2010	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL POP				
Total Population	1,016	100%	880	100%
SEX				
Total Population:	1,016	100%	880	100%
Male	486	48%	448	51%
Female	530	52%	432	49%

AGE				
Total Population:	1,016	100%	880	100%
Under 5 years	94	9%	37	4%
5 to 17 years	283	28%	197	22%
18 to 24 years	78	8%	131	15%
25 to 34 years	145	14%	117	13%
35 to 44 years	177	17%	84	10%
45 to 54 years	100	10%	155	18%
55 to 64 years	71	7%	73	8%
65+	68	7%	86	10%
HOUSEHOLD BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE				
Households:	317	100%	229	100%
Family households:	256	81%	173	76%
Married-couple family	113	36%	66	29%
Other family:	143	45%	107	47%
Male householder, no wife present	37	12%	33	14%
Female householder, no husband present	106	33%	74	32%
Nonfamily households:	61	19%	56	24%
Male householder	38	12%	22	10%
Female householder	23	7%	34	15%
TENURE				
Occupied Housing Units:	317	100%	229	100%
Owner Occupied	240	76%	160	70%
Renter Occupied	77	24%	69	30%
EDUCATION ATTAINMENT				
Population 25 years and over:	586	100%	515	100%
Less Than High School	173	30%	77	15%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	224	38%	177	34%

Some college	154	26%	211	41%
Bachelor's degree	28	5%	40	8%
Master's degree or Higher	7	1%	10	2%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS				
Population in Labor Force 16 years And Over:	698	100%	400	100%
Employed	363	52%	323	81%
Unemployed	45	6%	77	19%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME				
Median household income In 2010 Dollars	\$26,481		\$41,196	
POVERTY STATUS				
Families:	269	100%	173	100%
Income in 2010 below poverty level:	81	30%	36	21%
Income in 2010 at or above poverty level	188	70%	137	79%
MEDIAN EARNINGS BY SEX				
Median Earnings: Worked full-time, year-round In 1999 and 2010 Dollars:	\$14,607		\$15,901.50	
Male	\$25,890		\$40,188	
Female	\$27,196		\$28,958	
Median Earnings: Other:	\$10,164.50			
Male	\$10,390		\$4,710	
Female	\$8,145		\$12,500	
OCCUPATION BRIEF				
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	363	100%	323	100%

Management, professional, and related occupations:	69	19%	63	20%
Service occupations:	95	26%	60	19%
Sales and office occupations:	87	24%	103	32%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	6	2%	9	3%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	66	18%	28	9%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations:	40	11%	60	19%
Production occupations	13	4%	37	11%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	27	7%	23	7%
OCCUPATION DETAILED				
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	363	100%	323	100%
Management, business, and financial operations occupations:	19	5%	12	4%
Professional and related occupations	50	14%	51	425%
Healthcare support occupations	8	2%	11	22%
Protective service occupations	15	4%	13	118%
Food preparation and serving related occupations	17	5%	10	77%
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	23	6%	10	100%
Personal care and service occupations	32	9%	16	160%
Sales and related occupations	32	9%	21	131%
Office and administrative support occupations	55	15%	82	390%

Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	6	2%	9	11%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	66	18%	28	31%
Production occupations	13	4%	37	132%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	27	7%	23	62%
INDUSTRY BY OCCUPATION FOR EMPLOYED				
Total Employed Civilian Population 16 Years And Over	363	100%	323	100%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	8	2%	10	3%
Construction	51	14%	19	6%
Manufacturing	12	3%	33	10%
Wholesale trade	3	1%	1	0%
Retail trade	26	7%	57	18%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	5	1%	14	4%
Information	3	1%	0	0%
Finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	13	4%	9	3%
Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	22	6%	14	4%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	67	18%	75	23%
Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	64	18%	19	6%
Other services, except public administration	28	8%	9	3%

Public administration	61	17%	63	20%
-----------------------	----	-----	----	-----

Source: 2000 Census and 2006-2010 ACS 5-estimates

CENSUS 2000	CARSON COLONY		DRESSVILLE COMMUNITY		STEWART COMMUNITY		WOODFORDS COMMUNITY		TOTAL WASHOE TRIBE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL POP										
Total Population	286	100%	315	100%	196	100%	219	100%	1016	100%
SEX										
Total Population:	286	100%	315	100%	196	100%	219	100%	1016	100%
Male	134	47%	157	50%	88	45%	107	49%	486	48%
Female	152	53%	158	50%	108	55%	112	51%	530	52%
AGE										
Total Population:	286	100%	315	100%	196	100%	219	100%	1016	100%
Under 5 years	23	8%	24	8%	22	11%	25	11%	94	9%
5 to 17 years	74	26%	84	27%	53	27%	72	33%	283	28%
18 to 24 years	26	9%	18	6%	18	9%	16	7%	78	8%
25 to 34 years	46	16%	49	16%	27	14%	23	11%	145	14%
35 to 44 years	45	16%	57	18%	43	22%	32	15%	177	17%
45 to 54 years	33	12%	27	9%	13	7%	27	12%	100	10%
55 to 64 years	20	7%	30	10%	10	5%	11	5%	71	7%
65+	19	7%	26	8%	10	5%	13	6%	68	7%
HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE										
Households:	87	100%	113	100%	60	100%	57	100%	317	100%
Family households:	66	76%	88	78%	51	85%	51	90%	256	81%
Married-couple family	25	29%	41	36%	25	42%	22	39%	113	36%
Other family:	41	47%	47	42%	26	43%	29	51%	143	45%
Male householder, no wife present	9	10%	11	10%	9	15%	8	14%	37	12%
Female householder, no husband present	32	37%	36	32%	17	28%	21	37%	106	33%
Nonfamily households:	21	24%	25	22%	9	15%	6	11%	61	19%

Male householder	14	16%	17	15%	3	5%	4	7%	38	12%
Female householder	7	8%	8	7%	6	10%	2	4%	23	7%
TENURE										
Occupied Housing Units:	87	100%	113	100%	60	100%	57	100%	317	100%
Owner Occupied	74	85%	82	73%	44	73%	40	70%	240	76%
Renter Occupied	13	15%	31	27%	16	27%	17	30%	77	24%
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
Population 25 years and over:	165	100%	187	100%	112	100%	122	100%	586	100%
Less Than High School	46	28%	71	38%	16	14%	40	33%	173	30%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	65	39%	88	47%	35	31%	36	30%	224	38%
Some college	45	27%	17	9%	57	51%	35	29%	154	26%
Bachelor's degree	4	2%	11	6%	4	4%	9	7%	28	5%
Master's degree or Higher	5	3%	0	0%	0	0%	2	2%	7	1%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS										
Population 16 years and over:	198	100%	204	100%	139	100%	157	100%	698	100%
Employed	120	61%	85	42%	87	63%	71	45%	363	52%
Unemployed	9	5%	5	3%	11	8%	20	13%	45	7%
Not in labor force	69	35%	114	56%	41	29%	66	42%	290	42%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME										
Median household income in 1999 Dollars	\$27,639		\$20,917		\$34,375		\$25,417		\$26,481	
POVERTY STATUS										
Families:	71	100%	83	100%	65	100%	50	100%	269	100%

Income in 1999 below poverty level:	12	17%	44	53%	8	12%	17	34%	81	30%
Income in 1999 at or above poverty level	59	83%	39	47%	57	88%	33	66%	188	70%
MEDIAN EARNINGS BY SEX										
Median Earnings: Worked full-time, year-round in 1999 Dollars:	\$11,597		\$16,000		\$24,545		\$13,214		\$14,607	
Male	\$22,031		\$19,750		\$30,694		\$29,500		\$25,890	
Female	\$9,167		\$14,464		\$14,750		\$5,833		\$27,196	
Median Earnings: Other:	\$11,400		\$8,750		\$15,972		\$8,929		\$10,164.50	
Male	\$30,625		\$21,667		\$26,875		\$19,167		\$10,390	
Female	\$10,250		\$5,625		\$8,929		\$6,250		\$8,145	
OCCUPATION BRIEF										
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	120	100%	85	100%	87	100%	71	100%	363	100%
Management, professional, and related occupations:	18	15%	7	8%	22	25%	22	31%	69	19%
Service occupations:	45	38%	13	15%	14	16%	23	32%	95	26%
Sales and office occupations:	20	17%	30	35%	29	33%	8	11%	87	24%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	0	0%	6	7%	0	0%	0	0%	6	2%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	19	16%	21	25%	13	15%	13	18%	66	18%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations:	18	15%	8	9%	9	10%	5	7%	40	11%
Production occupations	6	5%	0	0%	7	8%	0	0%	13	4%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	12	10%	8	9%	2	2%	5	7%	27	7%

OCCUPATION DETAILED										
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	120	100%	85	100%	87	100%	71	100%	363	100%
Management, business, and financial operations occupations:	0	0%	1	1%	7	8%	11	16%	19	5%
Professional and related occupations	18	15%	6	7%	15	17%	11	16%	50	14%
Healthcare support occupations	2	2%	2	2%	0	0%	4	6%	8	2%
Protective service occupations	7	6%	4	5%	4	5%	0	0%	15	4%
Food preparation and serving related occupations	10	8%	2	2%	0	0%	5	7%	17	5%
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	14	12%	5	6%	0	0%	4	6%	23	6%
Personal care and service occupations	12	10%	0	0%	10	11%	10	14%	32	9%
Sales and related occupations	12	10%	11	13%	9	10%	0	0%	32	9%
Office and administrative support occupations	8	7%	19	22%	20	23%	8	11%	55	15%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	0	0%	6	7%	0	0%	0	0%	6	2%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	19	16%	21	25%	13	15%	13	18%	66	18%
Production occupations	6	5%	0	0%	7	8%	0	0%	13	4%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	12	10%	8	9%	2	2%	5	7%	27	7%
INDUSTRY BY OCCUPATION FOR EMPLOYED										

Total Employed Civilian Population 16 Years And Over	120		85		87	100%	71	100%	363	100%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	2	2%	6	7%	0	0%	0	0%	8	2%
Construction	10	8%	18	21%	10	11%	13	18%	51	14%
Manufacturing	9	8%	0	0%	3	3%	0	0%	12	3%
Wholesale trade	0	0%	3	4%	0	0%	0	0%	3	1%
Retail trade	9	8%	0	0%	17	20%	0	0%	26	7%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	0	0%	5	6%	0	0%	0	0%	5	1%
Information	2	2%	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	3	1%
Finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	0	0%	7	8%	4	5%	2	3%	13	4%
Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	12	10%	6	7%	4	5%	0	0%	22	6%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	27	23%	6	7%	5	6%	29	41%	67	18%
Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	26	22%	18	21%	9	10%	11	15%	64	18%
Other services, except public administration	10	8%	7	8%	6	7%	5	7%	28	8%
Public administration	13	11%	8	9%	29	33%	11	15%	61	17%

Source: 2000 Census

2000 Census Data	Tribe	Region	State	Nation
-------------------------	--------------	---------------	--------------	---------------

TOTAL POP	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Population	1,016	100%	94,924	100%	1,998,257	100%	281,421,906	100%
SEX								
Total Population:	1,016	100%	94,924	100%	1,998,257	100%	281,421,906	100%
Male	486	48%	48,577	51%	1,018,051	51%	138,053,563	49%
Female	530	52%	46,347	49%	980,206	49%	143,368,343	51%
AGE								
Total Population:	1,016	100%	94,924		1,998,257	100%	281,421,906	100%
Under 5 years	94	9%	5,476		145,817	7%	19,175,798	7%
5 to 17 years	283	28%	16,981		365,982	18%	53,118,014	19%
18 to 24 years	78	8%	6,523		179,708	9%	27,143,454	10%
25 to 34 years	145	14%	10,847		306,611	15%	39,891,724	14%
35 to 44 years	177	17%	15,521		321,961	16%	45,148,527	16%
45 to 54 years	100	10%	14,875		269,050	13%	37,677,952	13%
55 to 64 years	71	7%	10,487		190,199	10%	24,274,684	9%
65+	68	7%	14,214		218,929	11%	34,991,753	12%
HOUSEHOLD BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE								
Households:	317	100%	37,055	100%	751,165	100%	105,480,101	100%
Family households:	256	81%	25,445	69%	498,333	66%	71,787,347	68%
Married-couple family	113	36%	20,222	55%	373,201	50%	54,493,232	52%
Other family:	143	45%	5,223	14%	125,132	17%	17,294,115	16%
Male householder, no wife present	37	12%	1,634	4%	41,650	6%	4,394,012	4%
Female householder, no husband present	106	33%	3,589	10%	83,482	11%	12,900,103	12%
Nonfamily households:	61	19%	11,610	31%	252,832	34%	33,692,754	32%
Male householder	38	12%	5,954	16%	140,245	19%	15,556,103	15%
Female householder	23	7%	5,656	15%	112,587	15%	18,136,651	17%
TENURE								
Occupied Housing Units:	317	100%	37,055	100%	751,165	100%	105,480,101	100%
Owner Occupied	240	76%	25,237	68%	457,247	61%	69,815,753	66%
Renter Occupied	77	24%	11,818	32%	293,918	39%	35,664,348	34%
EDUCATION ATTAINMENT								
Population 25 years and over:	586	100%	66,029	100%	1,310,176	100%	182,211,639	100%

Less Than High School	173	30%	8,864	13%	253,374	19%	35,715,625	19.60%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	224	38%	18,022	27%	384,270	29%	52,168,981	28.60%
Some college	154	26%	25,499	39%	434,657	33%	49,864,428	27.40%
Bachelor's degree	28	5%	9,056	14%	158,078	12%	28,317,792	15.50%
Master's degree or Higher	7	1%	4,588	7%	79,797	6%	16,144,813	8.90%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS								
Population 16 years and over:	698	100%	75,045	100%	1,538,516	100%	217168077	100%
In labor force:	408	58%	46,118	61.50%	1,003,293	65.20%	138820935	64%
Employed	363	52%	43,625	58.10%	933,280	60.70%	129721512	60%
Unemployed	45	6%	2,425	3.20%	61,920	4.00%	7947286	4%
Not in labor force	290	42%	28,927	38.60%	535,223	34.80%	78347142	36%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME								
Median household income in 1999 Dollars	\$26,481		\$46,370		44,581		\$41,994	
POVERTY STATUS								
Families:	269	100%	25,736	100%	502,508	100%	72,261,780	100%
Income in 1999 below poverty level:	81	30%	1,659	7%	37,877	8%	6,620,945	9%
Income in 1999 at or above poverty level	188	70%	24,077	94%	464,631	92%	65,640,835	91%
MEDIAN EARNINGS BY SEX								
Median Earnings: Worked full-time, year-round in 1999 Dollars:	\$14,607		\$28,591		28,706		\$27,932	
Male	\$25,890		\$38,561		36,812		\$38,349	
Female	\$27,196		\$29,210		18,783		\$15,125	
Median Earnings: Other:	\$10,164.50		\$17,432		18,832		\$16,327	
Male	\$10,390		\$20,413		28,019		\$28,135	
Female	\$8,145		\$11,088		11,225		\$9,936	
OCCUPATION BRIEF								

Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	363	100%	43,625	100%	933,280	100%	129,721,512	100%
Management, professional, and related occupations:	69	19%	13,767	32%	239,717	26%	43,646,731	34%
Service occupations:	95	26%	8,393	19%	229,795	25%	19,276,947	15%
Sales and office occupations:	87	24%	11,741	27%	257,647	28%	34,621,390	27%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	6	2%	186	0%	2,499	0%	951,810	1%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	66	18%	4,534	10%	106,600	11%	12,256,138	10%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations:	40	11%	5,004	12%	97,022	10%	18,968,496	15%
Production occupations	13	4%	3,184	7%	40,378	4%	11,008,625	9%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	27	7%	1,820	4%	56,644	6%	7,959,871	6%
OCCUPATION DETAILED								
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	363	100%	43,625	100%	933,280	100%	129,721,512	100%
Management, business, and financial operations occupations:	19	5%	6,198	14%	107,182	12%	17,448,038	14%
Professional and related occupations	50	14%	7,569	17%	132,535	14%	26,198,693	20%
Healthcare support occupations	8	2%	705	2%	10,889	1%	2,592,815	2%
Protective service occupations	15	4%	1,181	3%	26,218	3%	2,549,906	2%
Food preparation and serving related occupations	17	5%	2,357	5%	82,239	9%	6,251,618	5%
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	23	6%	1,649	4%	47,462	5%	4,254,365	3%

Personal care and service occupations	32	9%	2,501	6%	62,987	7%	3,628,243	3%
Sales and related occupations	32	9%	4,867	11%	114,355	12%	14,592,699	11%
Office and administrative support occupations	55	15%	6,874	16%	143,292	15%	20,028,691	15%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	6	2%	186	0%	2,499	0%	951,810	1%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	66	18%	4,534	10%	106,600	11%	12,256,138	10%
Production occupations	13	4%	3,184	7%	40,378	4%	11,008,625	9%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	27	7%	1,820	4%	56,644	6%	7,959,871	6%
INDUSTRY BY OCCUPATION FOR EMPLOYED								
Total Employed Civilian Population 16 Years And Over	363	100%	43,625	100%	933,280	100%	129,721,512	100%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	8	2%	585	1%	14,938	2%	2,426,053	2%
Construction	51	14%	3,931	9%	86,327	9%	8,801,507	7%
Manufacturing	12	3%	4,940	11%	45,794	5%	18,286,005	14%
Wholesale trade	3	1%	837	2%	25,121	3%	4,666,757	4%
Retail trade	26	7%	4,667	11%	105,382	11%	15,221,716	12%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	5	1%	1,335	3%	48,102	5%	6,740,102	5%
Information	3	1%	742	2%	20,969	2%	3,996,564	3%
Finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	13	4%	2,994	7%	60,216	6%	8,934,972	7%

Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	22	6%	3,326	8%	82,172	9%	12,061,865	9%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	67	18%	6,069	14%	119,967	13%	25,843,029	20%
Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	64	18%	7,464	17%	245,679	26%	10,210,295	8%
Other services, except public administration	28	8%	2,107	5%	36,742	4%	6,320,632	5%
Public administration	61	17%	4,628	11%	41,871	4%	6,212,015	5%

Source: 2000 Census

2010 ACS DATA	CARSON COLONY		DRESSERVILLE COMMUNITY		STEWART COMMUNITY		WOODFORDS COMMUNITY		TOTAL WASHOE TRIBE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL POP										
Total Population	139	100%	343	100%	256	100%	142	100%	880	100%
SEX										
Total Population:	139	100%	343	100%	256	100%	142	100%	880	100%
Male	81	58%	143	42%	144	56%	80	56%	448	51%
Female	58	42%	200	58%	112	44%	62	44%	432	49%
AGE										
Total Population:	343	100%	256	100%	142	100%	139	100%	880	100%
Under 5 years	11	3%	6	2%	4	3%	16	12%	37	4%
5 to 17 years	75	22%	57	22%	39	27%	26	19%	197	22%
18 to 24 years	60	17%	31	12%	13	9%	27	19%	131	15%
25 to 34 years	38	11%	55	21%	15	11%	9	6%	117	13%
35 to 44 years	28	8%	20	8%	16	11%	20	14%	84	10%
45 to 54 years	55	16%	38	15%	38	27%	24	17%	155	18%
55 to 64 years	35	10%	20	8%	8	6%	10	7%	73	8%
65+	41	12%	29	11%	9	6%	7	5%	86	10%
HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE										
Households:	72	100%	80	100%	40	100%	37	100%	229	100%

Family households:	47	65%	68	85%	28	70%	30	81%	173	76%
Married-couple family	24	33%	24	30%	15	38%	3	8%	66	29%
Other family:	23	32%	44	55%	13	33%	27	73%	107	47%
Male householder, no wife present	1	1%	18	23%	1	3%	13	35%	33	14%
Female householder, no husband present	22	31%	26	33%	12	30%	14	38%	74	32%
Nonfamily households:	25	35%	12	15%	12	30%	7	19%	56	25%
Male householder	5	7%	6	8%	8	20%	3	8%	22	10%
Female householder	20	28%	6	8%	4	10%	4	11%	34	15%
TENURE										
Occupied Housing Units:	72	100%	80	100%	40	100%	37	100%	229	100%
Owner Occupied	65	90%	37	46%	29	73%	29	78%	160	70%
Renter Occupied	7	10%	43	54%	11	28%	8	22%	69	30%
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
Population 25 years and over:	197	100%	162	100%	86	100%	70	100%	515	100%
Less Than High School	24	12%	28	17%	11	13%	14	20%	77	15%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	78	40%	51	31%	29	34%	19	27%	177	34%
Some college	71	36%	64	40%	42	49%	34	49%	211	41%
Bachelor's degree	22	11%	11	7%	4	5%	3	4%	40	8%
Master's degree or Higher	2	1%	8	5%	0	0%	0	0%	10	2%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS										
Population 16 years and over:	144	100%	118	100%	83	100%	55	100%	400	100%
Employed	112	78%	95	81%	69	83%	47	86%	323	81%
Unemployed	32	22%	23	20%	14	17%	8	15%	77	19%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME										
Median household income in 2010 Dollars	\$36,250		\$52,656		\$42,188		\$25,417		\$41,196	

POVERTY STATUS										
Families:	47	100%	68	100%	28	100%	30	100%	173	100%
Income in 2010 below poverty level:	9	19%	23	34%	1	4%	3	10%	36	21%
Income in 2010 at or above poverty level	38	81%	45	66%	27	96%	27	90%	137	79%
MEDIAN EARNINGS BY SEX										
Median Earnings: Worked full-time, year-round In 2010 Dollars:	\$19,095		\$9,427		\$25,750		\$12,708		\$15,901.50	
Male	\$40,795		\$48,750		\$35,000		\$37,500		\$40,188	
Female	\$25,250		\$32,125		\$32,188		\$28,250		\$28,958	
Median Earnings: Other:										
Male	\$11,875		\$6,406		\$13,750		\$3,966		\$4,710	
Female	\$14,779		\$8,021		\$11,875		\$14,688		\$12,500	
OCCUPATION BRIEF										
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	112	100%	95	100%	69	100%	47	100%	323	100%
Management, professional, and related occupations:	22	20%	15	16%	10	15%	16	34%	63	20%
Service occupations:	17	15%	21	22%	19	28%	3	6%	60	19%
Sales and office occupations:	36	32%	28	30%	23	33%	16	34%	103	32%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	0	0%	9	10%	0	0%	0	0%	9	3%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	8	7%	14	15%	4	6%	2	4%	28	9%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations:	29	26%	8	8%	13	19%	10	21%	60	19%
Production occupations	18	16%	7	7%	2	3%	10	21%	37	12%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	11	10%	1	1%	11	16%	0	0%	23	7%

OCCUPATION DETAILED										
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	112	100%	95	100%	69	100%	47	100%	323	100%
Management, business, and financial operations occupations:	4	4%	0	0%	4	6%	4	9%	12	4%
Professional and related occupations	18	16%	15	16%	6	9%	12	26%	51	16%
Healthcare support occupations	7	6%	0	0%	4	6%	0	0%	11	3%
Protective service occupations	0	0%	5	5%	8	12%	0	0%	13	4%
Food preparation and serving related occupations	0	0%	9	10%	1	2%	0	0%	10	3%
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	0	0%	6	6%	1	2%	3	6%	10	3%
Personal care and service occupations	10	9%	1	1%	5	7%	0	0%	16	5%
Sales and related occupations	11	10%	9	10%	1	2%	0	0%	21	7%
Office and administrative support occupations	25	22%	19	20%	22	32%	16	34%	82	25%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	0	0%	9	10%	0	0%	0	0%	9	3%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	8	7%	14	15%	4	6%	2	4%	28	9%
Production occupations	18	16%	7	7%	2	3%	10	21%	37	11%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	11	10%	1	1%	11	16%	0	0%	23	7%
INDUSTRY BY OCCUPATION FOR EMPLOYED										

Total Employed Civilian Population 16 Years And Over	112	100%	95	100%	69	100%	47	100%	323	100%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	0	0%	9	9%	1	1%	0	0%	10	3%
Construction	7	6%	10	11%	2	3%	0	0%	19	6%
Manufacturing	13	12%	7	7%	3	4%	10	21%	33	10%
Wholesale trade	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Retail trade	28	25%	9	9%	20	29%	0	0%	57	18%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	11	10%	0	0%	3	4%	0	0%	14	4%
Information	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	1	1%	6	6%	2	3%	0	0%	9	3%
Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	0	0%	2	2%	12	17%	0	0%	14	4%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	35	31%	16	17%	7	10%	17	36%	75	23%
Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	5	4%	12	13%	2	3%	0	0%	19	6%
Other services, except public administration	4	4%	2	2%	3	4%	0	0%	9	3%
Public administration	7	6%	22	23%	14	20%	20	43%	63	20%

Source: ACS 2006-2010 5-year Estimates

2010 ACS Data	Tribe		Region		State		Nation	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL POP								
Total Population	880	100%	103,593	100%	2,633,331	100%	303,965,272	100%

SEX								
Total Population:	880	100%	103,593	100%	2,633,331	100%	303,965,272	100%
Male	448	51%	52,597	51%	1,331,625	51%	149,398,724	49%
Female	432	49%	50,996	49%	1,301,706	49%	154,566,548	51%
AGE								
Total Population:	880	100%	103,593	100%	2,633,331	100%	303,965,272	100%
Under 5 years	37	4%	5,839	6%	188,595	7%	20,131,420	7%
5 to 17 years	197	22%	16,700	16%	468,517	18%	53,901,697	18%
18 to 24 years	131	15%	8,142	8%	242,455	9%	30,205,496	10%
25 to 34 years	117	13%	10,297	10%	380,269	14%	40,191,013	13%
35 to 44 years	84	10%	13,056	13%	385,280	15%	42,206,141	14%
45 to 54 years	155	18%	16,386	16%	365,739	14%	44,302,697	15%
55 to 64 years	73	8%	15,083	15%	299,437	11%	34,277,395	11%
65+	86	10%	18,090	17%	303,039	12%	38,749,413	13%
HOUSEHOLD BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE								
Households:	229	100%	41,060	100%	979,621	100%	114,235,996	100%
Family households:	173	76%	27,297	66%	642,900	66%	76,254,318	67%
Married-couple family	66	29%	21,069	51%	464,193	47%	56,655,412	50%
Other family:	107	47%	6,228	15%	178,707	18%	19,598,906	17%
Male householder, no wife present	33	14%	2,005	5%	59,754	6%	5,214,950	5%
Female householder, no husband present	74	32%	4,223	10%	118,953	12%	14,383,956	13%
Nonfamily households:	56	24%	13,763	34%	336,721	34%	37,981,678	33%
Male householder	22	10%	6,858	17%	181,845	19%	17,572,636	15%
Female householder	34	15%	6,905	17%	154,876	16%	20,409,042	18%
TENURE								
Occupied Housing Units:	229	100%	41,060	100%	979,621	100%	114,235,996	100%
Owner Occupied	160	70%	28,295	69%	589,050	60%	76,089,650	67%
Renter Occupied	69	30%	12,765	31%	390,571	40%	38,146,346	33%
EDUCATION ATTAINMENT								
Population 25 years and over:	515	100%	72,912	100%	1,733,764	100%	199,726,659	100%
Less Than High School	77	15%	7,632	10%	272,581	16%	29,898,483	15%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	177	34%	21,260	29%	514,350	30%	57,903,353	29%

Some college	211	41%	26,751	37%	568,041	33%	56,197,824	28%
Bachelor's degree	40	8%	10,366	14%	250,126	14%	35,148,428	18%
Master's degree or Higher	10	2%	6,903	9%	128,666	7%	20,578,571	10%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS								
Population in Labor Force 16 years And Over:	400	100%	53,391	100%	1,377,921	100%	154,037,474	100%
Employed	323	81%	47,718	89.40%	1,254,163	91%	141,833,331	92%
Unemployed	77	19%	5,673	10.60%	123,758	9%	12,204,143	8%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME								
Median household income In 2010 Dollars	\$41,196		\$55,524		\$55,726		\$51,914	
POVERTY STATUS								
Families:	173	100%	27,297	100%	642,900	100%	76,254,318	100%
Income in 2010 below poverty level:	36	21%	2,047	7%	55,599	9%	7,685,345	10%
Income in 2010 at or above poverty level	137	79%	25,250	93%	587,301	91%	68,568,973	90%
MEDIAN EARNINGS BY SEX								
Median Earnings: Worked full-time, year-round In 2010 Dollars:					\$28,939		\$26,086	
Male	\$40,188		\$49,056		\$46,501		\$48,012	
Female	\$28,958		\$38,371		\$36,259		\$37,055	
Median Earnings: Other:								
Male	\$4,710		\$14,729		\$20,083		\$16,754	
Female	\$12,500		\$10,267		\$13,330		\$11,807	
OCCUPATION BRIEF								
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	323	100%	47,718	100%	1,254,163	100%	141,833,331	100%
Management, professional, and related occupations:	63	20%	15,328	32%	343,316	27%	50,034,578	35%

Service occupations:	60	19%	9,550	20%	324,844	26%	24,281,015	17%
Sales and office occupations:	103	32%	13,086	27%	327,123	26%	36,000,118	25%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	9	3%	178	0%	2,616	0%	1,011,461	1%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	28	9%	4,587	10%	134,195	11%	12,928,812	9%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations:	60	19%	4,989	10%	122,069	10%	17,577,347	12%
Production occupations	37	11%	3,030	6%	44,958	4%	8,912,797	6%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	23	7%	1,959	4%	77,111	6%	8,664,550	6%
OCCUPATION DETAILED								
Employed civilian population 16 years and over:	323	100%	47,718	100%	1,254,163	100%	141,833,331	100%
Management, business, and financial operations occupations:	12	4%	6,504	14%	151,103	12%	20,239,287	14%
Professional and related occupations	51	16%	8,824	18%	192,213	15%	29,795,291	21%
Healthcare support occupations	11	3%	864	2%	18,930	2%	3,275,129	2%
Protective service occupations	13	4%	1,565	3%	39,829	3%	3,091,553	2%
Food preparation and serving related occupations	10	3%	3,042	6%	117,041	9%	7,677,309	5%
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	10	3%	1,999	4%	72,388	6%	5,492,953	4%
Personal care and service occupations	16	5%	2,080	4%	76,656	6%	4,744,071	3%
Sales and related occupations	21	7%	5,655	12%	149,780	12%	15,907,529	11%

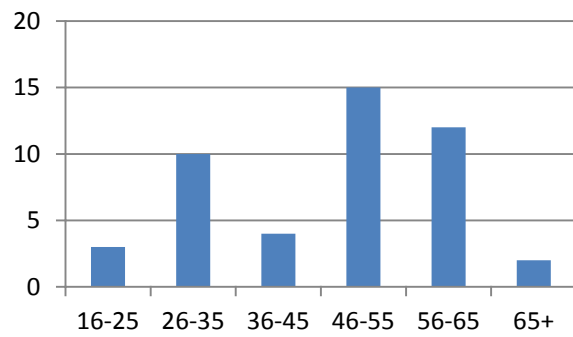
Office and administrative support occupations	82	25%	7,431	16%	177,343	14%	20,092,589	14%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	9	3%	178	0%	2,616	0%	1,011,461	1%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations:	28	9%	4,587	10%	134,195	11%	12,928,812	9%
Production occupations	37	11%	3,030	6%	44,958	4%	8,912,797	6%
Transportation and material moving occupations:	23	7%	1,959	4%	77,111	6%	8,664,550	6%
INDUSTRY BY OCCUPATION FOR EMPLOYED								
Total Employed Civilian Population 16 Years And Over	323	100%	47,718	100%	1,254,163	100%	141,833,331	100%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	10	3%	696	1.50%	18,242	1%	2,634,188	2%
Construction	19	6%	4,021	8.40%	115,602	9%	10,115,885	7%
Manufacturing	33	10%	4,726	9.90%	54,763	4%	15,581,149	11%
Wholesale trade	1	0%	1,052	2.20%	29,700	2%	4,344,743	3%
Retail trade	57	18%	5,442	11.40%	142,339	11%	16,293,522	11%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	14	4%	1,378	2.90%	62,482	5%	7,183,907	5%
Information	0	0%	418	0.90%	21,043	2%	3,368,676	2%
Finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	9	3%	3,262	6.80%	81,155	6%	9,931,900	7%
Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	14	4%	3,932	8.20%	129,611	10%	14,772,322	10%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	75	23%	8,338	17.50%	182,042	15%	31,277,542	22%

Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	19	6%	7,181	15.00%	307,792	25%	12,566,228	9%
Other services, except public administration	9	3%	1,854	3.90%	51,230	4%	6,899,223	5%
Public administration	63	20%	5,418	11.40%	58,162	5%	6,864,046	5%

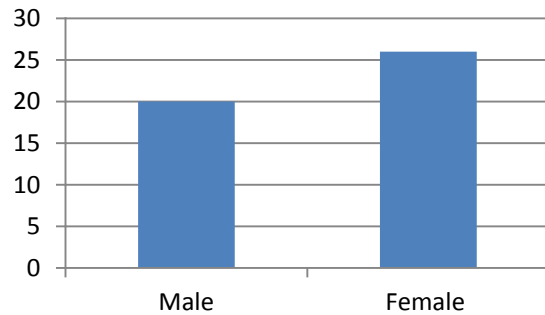
Source: 2006-2010 ACS 5-estimates

7) Community Survey Response Tables (n=46)

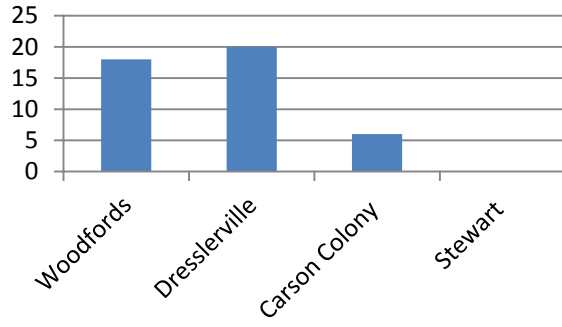
1) Age



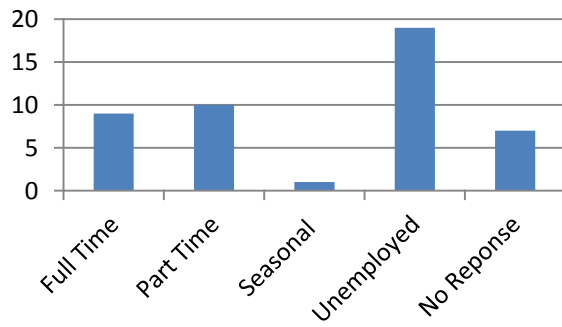
2) Sex



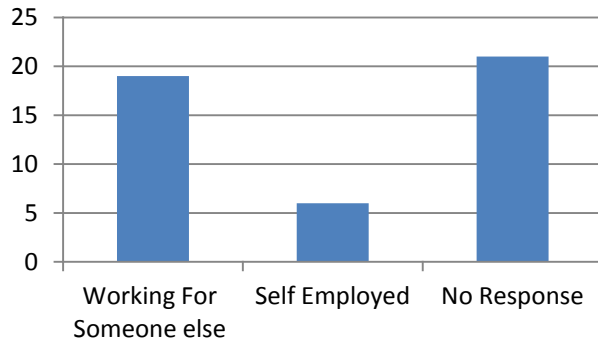
3) Community Base



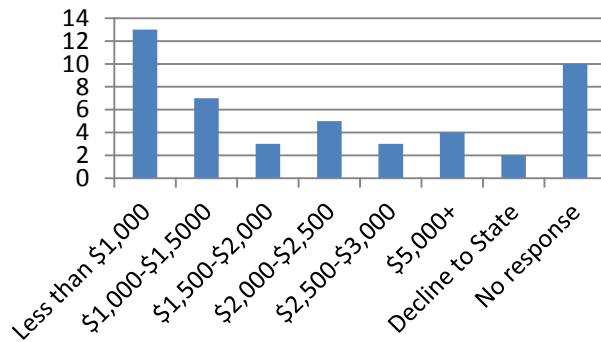
4) Employment Status



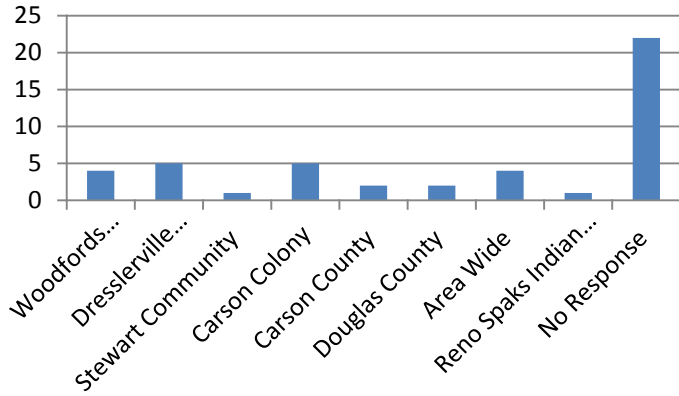
5) Employment Type



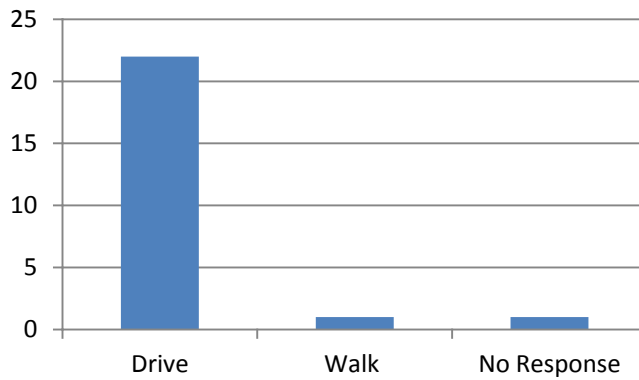
6) Monthly Income (after taxes)



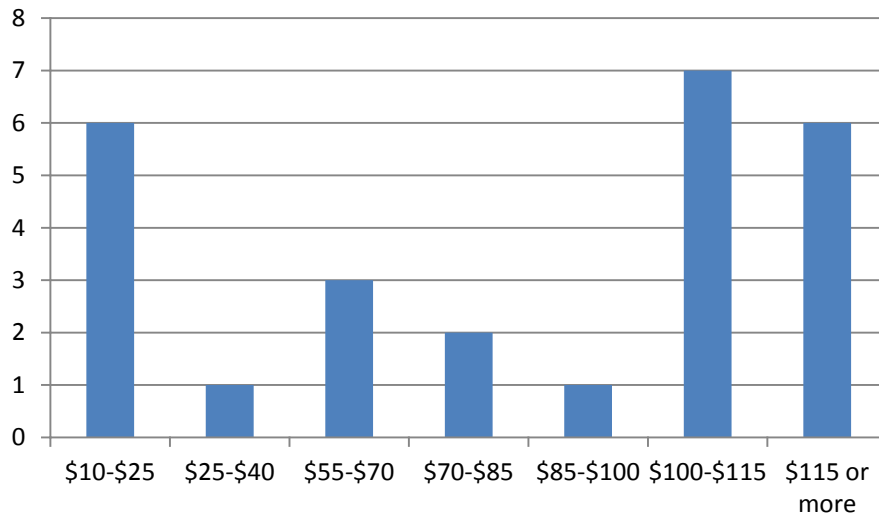
7) Work Destination



8) Commuter Mode to Work



9) Monthly Commuting Costs



Community Survey Results		
Age		
Total	46	
16-25	3	7%
26-35	10	22%
36-45	4	9%
46-55	15	33%
56-65	12	26%
65+	2	4%
Sex		
Total	46	
Male	20	43%
Female	26	57%
Community		
Total	46	
Woodfords	18	39%
Dresslerville	20	43%
Carson Colony	6	13%
Stewart	0	0%
Employment Status		
Total	46	
Full Time	9	20%
Part Time	10	22%
Seasonal	1	2%
Unemployed	19	41%
No Response	7	15%
Employment Type		
Total	46	
Working For Someone else	19	41%
Self Employed	6	13%
No Response	21	43%
Monthly Income		
Total	46	
Less than \$1,000	13	28%
\$1,000-\$1,5000	7	15%
\$1,500-\$2,000	3	7%
\$2,000-\$2,500	5	11%
\$2,500-\$3,000	3	7%
\$5,000+	4	9%
Decline to State	2	4%
No response	10	22%

Location of Work		
Total	46	
On Reservation	15	
Woodfords Community	4	
Dresslerville Community y	5	
Stewart Community	1	
Carson Colony	5	
Off Reservation	9	
Carson County	2	
Douglas County	2	
Area Wide	4	
Reno Sparks Indian Colony	1	
No Response	22	
Work Destination		
Total	46	
Woodfords Community	4	9%
Dresslerville Community y	5	11%
Stewart Community	1	2%
Carson Colony	5	11%
Carson County	2	4%
Douglas County	2	4%
Area Wide	4	9%
Reno Sparks Indian Colony	1	2%
No Response	22	48%
Commute Mode to Work		
Total Employed	26	
Drive	22	85%
Walk	1	4%
No Response	1	4%
Monthly Cost Commuting to work		
Total Employed	26	
\$10-\$25	6	23%
\$25-\$40	1	4%
\$55-\$70	3	12%
\$70-\$85	2	8%
\$85-\$100	1	4%
\$100-\$115	7	27%
\$115 or more	6	23%

Source: Data collection January 2, 2012 and February 15, 2012

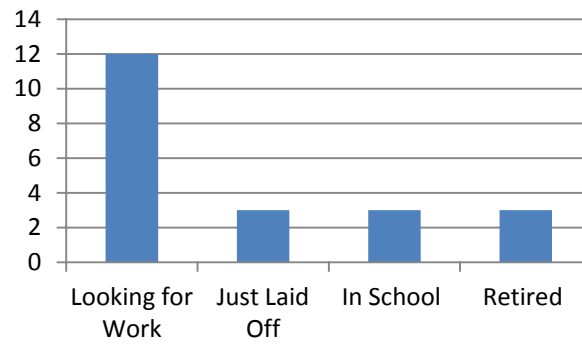
Current Economic Status	
Looking for Work	12
Just Laid Off	3
In School	3
Retired	3
How Can The Tribe Support Economic Development?	
Invest In:	
Jobs	8
Skill Development	5
Business	5
Better Leadership	4
Communication	3
Green Energy	2
Community Involvement	2
Community Agriculture	1
Public Health	1
Financing	1
Housing	1
Entrepreneurship	1
Development:	6
Farm Land	1
Ranch	1
Campground	1
Dam	1
Wade Parcels	1
Truck Stop	1
Satisfaction of Employment Options	
Not Satisfied	18
Satisfied	14
Pressing Community Issues	
No Jobs	12
Public Health	12
Housing	5
Transportation	5
Communication	4
Isolation	3
Lack of Motivation	3
Language & Culture	2
Economy	1

Education	1
Lack of Unity	1

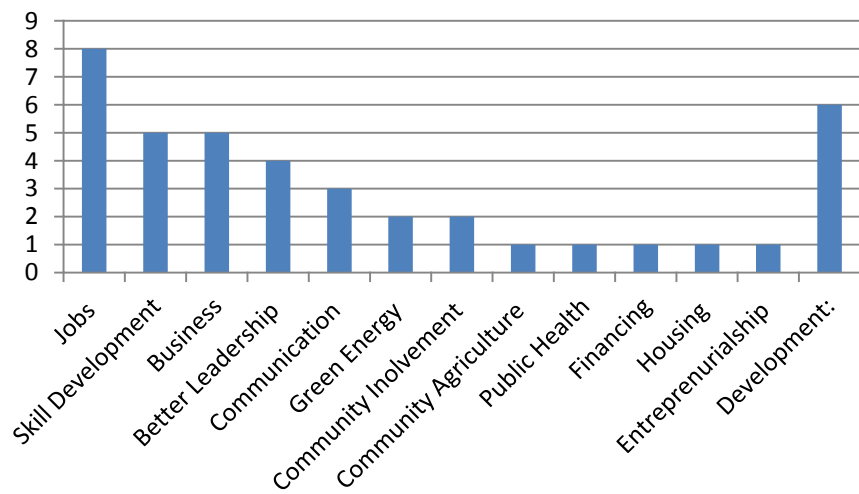
Source: Data collection January 2, 2012 and February 15, 2012

Survey Open Ended Question Responses

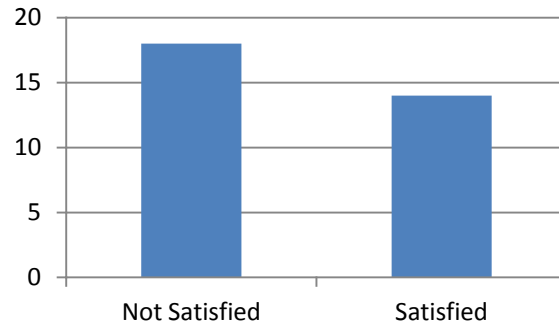
Current Economic Status	
Looking for Work	12
Just Laid Off	3
In School	3
Retired	3



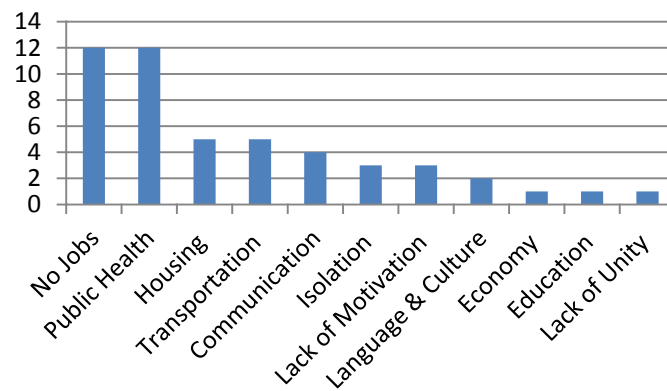
How Can The Tribe Support Economic Development?	
Invest In:	
Jobs	8
Skill Development	5
Business	5
Better Leadership	4
Communication	3
Green Energy	2
Community Involvement	2
Community Agriculture	1
Public Health	1
Financing	1
Housing	1
Entrepreneurship	1
Develop:	5
Farm Land	1
Ranch	1
Campground	1
Dam	1
Wade	1
Parcels	1
Truck Stop	1



Satisfaction of Employment Options	
Not Satisfied	18
Satisfied	14



Pressing Issues in the Washoe Community	
No Jobs	12
Public Health	12
Housing	5
Transportation	5
Communication	4
Isolation	3
Lack of Motivation	3
Language & Culture	2
Economy	1
Education	1
Lack of Unity	1



8) Survey Instrument

Survey Questions- Tribal Community Members

1) How old are you? (CIRCLE ONE)

- A. 16-25
- B. 26-35
- C. 36-45
- D. 46-55
- E. 56-65

F. 65+

2) What is your gender? (**CIRCLE ONE**)

A. Male

B. Female

3) What is your Tribal enrollment status? (**CIRCLE ONE**)

A. I am enrolled Washoe Tribal Member

B. I am a Washoe Descendant

C. I am not enrolled or a descendant

4) In which Washoe community do you live? (**CIRCLE ONE**)

A. Woodfords Community

B. Dresslerville Community

C. Stewart Community

D. Carson Colony

5) What is the **ZIP CODE** of your home address?

6) Are you currently...?

(**CIRCLE ONE**) **Employed:** Seasonal Part-Time Full-time

Not Employed

7) If employed, are you...

(**CIRCLE ONE**) **Self Employed** or

Working for someone else

8) If you **work for someone else**, in what field? (**CIRCLE ONE**)

- A. Food Service
- B. Cleaning
- C. Arts and Crafts
- D. Office/Clerical
- E. Health Service
- F. Education
- G. Retail
- H. Agriculture
- I. Casino Services
- J. Government

- 1) The Washoe Tribe
- 2) The State of Nevada
- 3) Douglas County

K. If other, please explain:

9) If you are **self-employed**, in what field? (**CIRCLE ONE**)

- A. Arts and Crafts (Basket Weaving, Beadwork, Jewelry Making, etc.)
- B. Child Care
- C. Mechanics/Auto Body Shop
- D. Elder Care
- E. Agriculture
- F. Wood Cutting
- G. Other, please explain:

10) Where do you work?

On Reservation (CIRCLE ONE)

- A. Woodfords Community
- B. Dresslerville Community
- C. Stewart Community
- D. Carson Colony

Off Reservation (CIRCLE ONE)

- E. Alpine County
- F. El Dorado County
- G. Placer County
- H. Douglas County
- I. Carson County
- J. Washoe County
- K. Other: _____

11) What is the **ZIP CODE** of your work address?

12) How do you get to work? (**CIRCLE ONE**)

- A. Drive yourself
- B. Car Pool
- C. Bus
- D. Walk
- E. Bike
- F. Other: _____

13) How much money do you spend each **MONTH** to commute to work? (Average costs for gas, bus fare or other related commuter costs) (**CIRCLE ONE**)

- A. \$10 - \$25
- B. \$25 - \$40
- C. \$40 - \$55
- D. \$55 - \$70
- E. \$70 - \$85
- F. \$85 - \$100
- G. \$100 - \$115
- H. \$115 or more
- I. Other: _____

14) What is your **MONTHLY** income? (**CIRCLE ONE**) (after taxes if applicable)

- A. Less than \$1,000

B. \$1,000-\$1,500

C. \$1,500-\$2,000

D. \$2,000-\$2,500

E. \$2,500-\$3,000

F. \$3,000-\$3,500

G. \$3,500-\$4,000

H. \$4,000-\$4,500

I. \$5,000 **or more**

J. I decline to state

15) Are you satisfied with your current employment options? Please Explain:

16) How you believe the tribe can support economic development in the community?

17) What do you believe is the most pressing issue in the community?