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COLLABORATION AND INDIAN EDUCATION:

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EXPLORING INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TRIBES AND PUBLIC
SCHOOLS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wonderful wife Maria, whose love and companionship gave me the strength to continue on when nothing else could. Without your support and encouragement throughout these challenging years, none of this would be possible.

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There are so many people to thank that have helped me along the way. First, I would like to thank my very patient and loving wife. Your strength and support throughout these long years has not gone unnoticed and is truly inspirational. I also want to thank my wonderful family including my in-laws who have welcomed me into their home since I was a master's student in New Mexico and made me a part of their family.

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Finally, I would like to say a very special thank you to the tribal leaders and school officials in New Mexico and Oklahoma who participated in this study and took time out of their very busy schedules to sit down and talk with me about these important issues. Their leadership and perseverance is an inspiration to anyone looking to make a difference in the world that I hope to carry forward in my career.

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Abstract

The education of American Indian students in public schools requires the coordinated effort of managers at multiple levels of government including tribal, local, state, and federal. With more than 90% of American Indian students served in public schools in the United States, the strength of these relationships are argued to be critical in ensuring that local school officials adequately meet the unique cultural and academic needs of Native students. However, little is known about the nature of these relationships, and what effect government-to-government collaboration has on Native student outcomes. This dissertation seeks to address this dearth of knowledge and explores the relationship between tribes and public schools in New Mexico and Oklahoma, two of the largest states in the nation with regards to Native student enrollment in the public school system.

This analysis of the relationship between tribes and public schools draws from a number of sub-literatures in public administration and public policy, including theories of collaborative public management, representative bureaucracy, and social construction theory. In recent years, a number of scholars in public administration have called for greater attention paid to issues of tribal governance, with some referring to tribes as a "fourth player" in the intergovernmental relations framework. As one of the first major studies to explore the relationship between tribes and local education agencies from a public administration perspective, the analysis offers a unique attempt to model both the nature and impact of tribal-local partnerships on policy outcomes using a mixed methods approach. This study uses a combination of qualitative interviews with tribal leaders and quantitative data from a unique mail survey of 150 Indian education

directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma public schools, as well as secondary data on various school district characteristics.

From a substantive standpoint, this analysis also adds to our understanding of what factors are important to the strength of intergovernmental partnerships with tribes, and what this means for improving the ability of public agencies to better serve tribal communities and close persisting achievement gaps between Native and non-Native students. Chapter III highlights the issues and challenges associated with building meaningful partnerships between tribes and public schools, while Chapter IV explores the role of values and beliefs in the collaborative process. Chapter V builds on this analysis and demonstrates how collaboration between Native communities and local education agencies impacts perceived improvements in Indian education. Overall, the analysis demonstrates the leverage researching relationships between tribes and public schools can offer existing theory in both public administration and public policy, and introduces a framework for incorporating tribes into the broader intergovernmental relations discussion.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The education of American Indian students in the public school system requires the coordinated effort of officials and actors at multiple levels of government including tribal, local, state, and federal. With more than 90% of American Indian students served in public schools in the United States, the strength of these relationships are argued to be critical in meeting the unique needs of Native students (Demmert 2001; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Freemen and Fox 2005). Unfortunately, of these students less than half will graduate and continue on to college compared to 76.2% of white students, with American Indians falling well below national averages on a number of factors including proficiency, student retention, and graduation in the public school system (EPE 2007). In fact, according to a recent study by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), American Indian children attending public schools experienced higher dropout rates and lower rates of college preparedness than any other race or ethnic group in the country, with some referring to the current state of Indian education as a "quiet crisis" in the education system (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2003; Freeman and Fox 2005). Scholars and practitioners suggest that stronger partnerships and improved collaboration between tribes and local schools can have a positive impact on Native student outcomes, and enhance the quality of Indian education programs that help Native students succeed (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008).

However, we know very little about what these relationships look like between tribes and public schools in the United States, and what impact partnerships may have on Native student success. The following dissertation addresses this gap and explores the relationship between tribes and public schools in New Mexico and Oklahoma, two

of the largest states in the nation with regards to Native student enrollment in public

schools. The following chapters explore the nature, strength, and quality of relationships

between tribal and non-tribal actors, as well as the effect of collaboration on outcomes

in Indian education using a mixed methods approach. The analyses in the chapters that

follow are designed to provide a foundation for future research on tribal governance and

the role of Indian nations in the intergovernmental relations framework.

Federal Indian Policy and Indian Education in America

For more than a century, federal Indian policy and the role of the federal

government in Indian affairs has involved conflicts over goals, positions of power and

authority, self-determination, and sovereignty with tribes advocating for the right to

determine their own futures independent of outside influence (Deloria 2001; Wilkins

2007). In what is commonly referred to as the "era of self-determination," Indian

Nations in the United States today have increasingly played a more active role in the

implementation of programs and services within their own respective communities,

with several scholars referring to tribes as a "fourth player" in the intergovernmental

relations framework (Taylor 1972; Stuart1979; Champagne 1983; Aufrecht 1999; Bays

and Fouberg 2002; Mays and Taggart 2005; McClellan, Fox, and Lowe 2005; Bruyneel

2007; Hicks 2007; Harvard Project 2008). Issue areas such as Indian education have

witnessed a substantial transfer of authority from federal agencies to tribal and local

governments as the United States has moved away from a highly centralized

bureaucratic approach to providing services in Indian Country, operated largely by the

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), to a more decentralized process that allows tribal and

local officials to collaborate and apply for competitive grants to bolster education

initiatives within their own communities (Monette 1994; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002, 2006).

Such a sea change in federal Indian policy has allowed tribes greater access and influence in helping public schools meet the unique cultural and academic needs of Native students and to close persisting achievement gaps between Indian and non-Indian students. However, American Indian students in public schools continue to fall behind their non-Indian peers on several measures including retention, proficiency, and graduation, with less than a third of Native Americans continuing on to college after their senior year (Demmert 2001; Shotton 2007). Furthermore, while several Native Nations have benefited greatly from the adoption of gaming and other economic enterprises, many tribes lack the resources and infrastructure necessary to carry out and maintain their own schools, programs, and services related to education (Wilkins 2007).

As a result, tribal leaders and Indian parents have continued to rely on local and state actors to play a vital role in educating Native children (Harvard Project 2008). Today, only 47,000 (7%) Indian students attend school in federally or tribally controlled BIA schools compared to 624,000 (93%) that attend public schools across the country (Freeman and Fox 2005). Such reliance has remained the center of much conflict and debate between public schools and tribes, as American Indian parents and tribal leaders have called into question the ability of public schools to provide culturally relevant learning opportunities for Native students, and to commit fully to supporting cultural enrichment and language programs that have been shown to improve Native student outcomes in primary and secondary schools (Deloria 2001; Demmert 2001; DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008; Freeman and Fox 2005).

To overcome the challenges public schools face in providing education for Native students, a number of federal grant programs designed to not only provide resources to support Indian education initiatives, but also to facilitate greater partnerships and collaboration between tribes and public schools have been made available with the goal of improving Native student achievement (Fan 2001; Gordon and Louis 2009; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). Public school districts can apply for federal Indian education formula grants that lay the groundwork for intergovernmental collaboration with tribal communities (NCAI 2007; Sharpes 1979). These federal initiatives are also designed to improve access of American Indian groups into key decisions made in school districts that serve large numbers of Native children (Fan 2001). The extensive literature on collaboration in public administration suggests that the strength of these collaborative arrangements can have meaningful impacts on policy outcomes such as improving student achievement in public schools (Meier and O'Toole 2001, 2003). However, there is considerable disagreement over the strength of relationships between tribes and public schools in Indian education, and their overall impact on native student achievement which is the focus of the present study.

Potential Theoretical Contributions

Aside from the substantive contributions this project will make, there are also a number of theoretical contributions that merit discussion. First, Indian education provides an ideal setting in which to build and test theory in collaborative public management. This is especially true given the number of repeat interactions expected between tribes and public schools receiving federal Indian education grants, and the level of discretion enjoyed by public school officials in carrying out federal Indian

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policy objectives. Such an environment presents opportunities to explore the influence of individual values and beliefs on the collaborative behavior of public managers, and, more importantly, how attitudes towards target populations can influence the extent to which managers collaborate and involve particular (often historically disadvantaged) groups in society. More specifically, this study attempts to bridge literature on bureaucratic values and collaborative public management to better understand the actions of public administrators towards disadvantaged populations, and to explore how tribes and public schools work together (or not) to influence policy outcomes.

The second major contribution of this work is that it provides a foundation that can be used to incorporate tribes into the broader intergovernmental relations framework. Recent work has noted the serious dearth of knowledge on issues concerning Native American populations and the role of tribes in the American political system more broadly (Mays and Taggart 2005; McClellan, Fox, and Lowe 2005; Bruyneel 2007; Hicks 2007; Smith and Taggart 2010; Ronquillo 2011). This is surprising given the presence of more than 500 sovereign Native Nations in the United States each with their own language, laws, cultures, and systems of governance that make tribes a unique player in the policy process. In addition, these nations have played an increasingly active role in several policy arenas including natural resource management, tourism, economic development, and education (Evans 2011). Understanding the types of collaborative arrangements that exist between tribal and non-tribal actors lends itself well to identifying factors that are most important to building more effective and equitable partnerships.

Another advantage to researching Indian education policy is the amount of variation that exists across tribal-local contexts. As previously mentioned, Indian nations in the United States are incredibly diverse and interact to some degree with several thousand schools across the country. These schools, and the school districts they are embedded in, also vary on a number of important dimensions including capacity, urban-rural quality, organizational culture, and makeup of the student population to name a few. Such diversity across both schools and tribes provides ample opportunity in which to explore collaborative behavior and impacts on policy outcomes across a number of different settings.

In sum, this dissertation focuses on questions central to intergovernmental relations and collaborative public management, while also touching upon issues important to public management, representative bureaucracy, participatory democracy, and public policy. More importantly, this dissertation highlights the issues and challenges associated with building successful partnerships in Indian Country, and the role public managers play in helping meet the needs of Indian communities. The following chapters demonstrate the leverage researching relationships between tribes and public schools can offer existing theory in both public administration and public policy, and introduces a framework for studying indigenous issues and incorporating tribes into the broader intergovernmental relations framework.

Chapter Outline

The overarching purpose of the following investigation is to explore the nature, strength, and impact of government-to-government relationships between tribes and public schools considered to be crucial in meeting the unique cultural and academic

needs of Native children. This can be further divided into three sub-questions that compose the framework of the proposed study: (1) What is the nature of the relationship between tribes and public schools; (2) What determines the strength and quality of relationships; and (3) What types of outcomes are produced from these partnerships.

Chapter II presents the main bodies of literature in public administration and public policy that the following dissertation speaks to that serves as a foundation for each of the empirical chapters. This chapter will also demonstrate how research on Native American policy issues can contribute to theory building both within and across sub-disciplines more broadly. Aside from the substantive contributions of the dissertation to understanding issues related to Native student success in public schools, this chapter will outline and review the rich body of literature on collaborative management, intergovernmental relations, and other related bodies of work that stand to benefit from this research.

Chapter III is the first empirical chapter of the dissertation which explores the nature of the relationship between public schools and Native Nations from the perspective of both tribal officials and Indian education directors in public schools. I use a combination of interview data and responses to a unique mail survey conducted in New Mexico and Oklahoma to identify key themes concerning the state of Indian education in primary and secondary schools, perceived barriers to student success, the nature of tribal-school partnerships, and the quality and degree of collaboration between public schools and tribes. I also explore similarities and differences that exist across tribal-local contexts concerning the strength and overall perceived quality of these

relationships. Major themes that emerge from the analysis are examined to form a broad narrative of collaboration between tribes and schools.

Chapter IV explores what factors contribute to the strength and quality of government-to-government collaboration between tribes and schools using survey responses of Indian education directors paired with data from National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and various state websites. I explore two sets of factors related to collaborative behavior with Indian Nations: (1) the importance of shared values as determined by the race and tribal affiliation of public school officials; and (2) the importance of individual attitudes towards American Indian populations that may influence decisions to collaborate (or not collaborate) with tribes. I also explore whether experience, gender, and professional background influence the frequency and willingness of public school officials to collaborate and involve tribes in matters relating to Indian education policy. Other district-level factors are also considered including the percent of American Indian students in the district, whether the district is on tribal land, and overall measures of capacity and district resources which can greatly impact the ability of officials to build meaningful relationships with tribes.

Chapter V explores how collaboration between tribal communities and local education agencies impacts perceived improvements in the ability of public school districts to meet the academic and cultural needs of Native students. As mentioned earlier, American Indian students continue to fall behind other groups on such measures as retention, graduation, and college preparedness in the United States (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008), with several reports stressing the need for stronger partnerships between tribes and schools to improve the educational attainment and

retention of Native students in the public school system (Freeman and Fox 2005). This chapter attempts to empirically test this assumption and determine to what extent collaboration (or lack thereof) between tribes and schools impacts perceived improvements across two types of outcomes: (1) direct policy outcomes and (2) indirect social and process-oriented outcomes. Thus, the measure of collaboration is turned from the dependent variable of interest (as in Chapters III and IV) to a primary independent variable in explaining perceived improvements in Native student achievement, trust and mutual understanding, joint-problem solving, and cross-cultural learning.

Chapter VI provides a summary of the findings in an effort to link theory to practice. This chapter discusses the broader policy implications of the findings to issues concerning Indian education in public schools, and the value of stronger partnerships to improving Native student success. I also reconnect the findings back to the theoretical contributions of the project, and revisit an intergovernmental relations framework that incorporates tribal governments.

CHAPTER II. THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

In what ways can understanding the role of tribes in the American political system contribute to existing theory in public administration and public policy? How do tribal governments fit into the intergovernmental relations framework and what challenges are unique to this particular population? Scholars have raised these and other questions related to the study of tribal governance in the discipline (Aufrecht 1999; Ortiz 2002; Oldfield, Candler, and Johnson 2006). With more than 500 American Indian nations in the United States today each with their own unique language, laws, culture, and systems of governance, the omission of tribal governments from discussions of government-to-government relations is surprising, and offers a number of opportunities to test and expand upon existing theory in public administration and public policy (Ronquillo 2011). Over the past two decades, tribes have played an increasingly active role in the implementation of federal Indian policy both within and outside of their own communities (Deloria and Wilkins 2000). As a result, interactions between national, sub-national, and tribal actors have become more frequent across a broad range of policy areas, with some referring to Native American tribes as a "fourth player" in the intergovernmental relations framework (Bays and Fouberg 2002; Ortiz 2002; Mays and Taggart 2005; Bruyneel 2007; Hicks 2007; Harvard Project 2008). However, we know very little about the relationship between tribes and non-tribal actors, and the impact that these relationships have on policy outcomes (Ronquillo 2011).

This research attempts to address this deficiency in the literature and explores the nature and impact of collaboration between tribes and public officials in one area of

federal Indian policy that has attracted considerable attention and debate: Indian education in public schools. This dissertation draws upon multiple theories in public administration and public policy to construct a broader framework in which to study American Indian nations and their role in the federalist system. Interactions with tribal governments call into question issues of sovereignty, authority, and the importance of individual values and personal biases given the degree of discretion public managers enjoy in carrying out federal Indian policy, combined with the confusion surrounding the rights of tribes more generally. In such an environment we might expect values and beliefs of public officials to play a larger role in shaping interactions with American Indian groups. Thus, the primary focus of the following study will be on understanding collaboration and intergovernmental relations with American Indian tribes in the United States, and the factors that shape the quality and strength of these partnerships in the realm of public education.

Collaborative Public Management

Much of federal Indian policy centers on the political and legal relationship that exists between tribes and the U.S. federal government, but also between states, local communities, and a host of public, for-profit, and non-profit actors (Evans 2011). These relationships are crucial to ensuring that programs and services in Native communities are carried out in a fair, equitable, and effective manner. Given the extreme social and economic conditions that confront many Native Nations in the United States, that have been only partially alleviated by the success of Indian gaming and other economic enterprises, implementation challenges abound (Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development 2008). This is especially true in an era of self-determination

where the administration of services previously delivered by federal agencies, particularly the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), has been transferred to local communities. Nowhere is this truer than in Indian education where 9 out of 10 Native children are currently being served in public schools that are expected to coordinate and collaborate with surrounding tribal communities (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008). These partnerships and collaborative arrangements are designed to not only help serve Native students in the district, but also ensure that tribal sovereign nations have input and access into key decisions impacting their communities (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008). Indian education thus offers an ideal setting in which to observe collaboration between tribal and non-tribal actors, and the impact partnerships have on policy outcomes.

Defining "Collaboration"

Over the past several decades, studies on the nature of collaborative public management have revealed important lessons that are useful to understanding collaboration between Native Nations and public schools (O'Toole 1998; O'Toole and Meier 1999; Milward and Provan 2000; McGuire 2006). Given the ubiquitous nature of networks in the delivery of public services today (O'Toole 1997), studies on collaboration have increased in frequency and have found their way into a number of different policy domains including health and human services (e.g. Milward and Provan 2000; Provan et al. 2009), education (e.g. Hicklin et al. 2008; Gordon and Louis 2009), crisis management (i.e. Waugh and Streib 2006; Moynihan 2009), and even public utility services (Hendriks 2008).

However, what we mean by collaboration has lacked considerable conceptual

clarity in the literature that should be addressed prior to discussing its implications for

the present investigation (McGuire 2006; Agranoff 2007). Terms such as networks,

networking, collaboration, third party governance, and contract management have been

used interchangeably to describe similar but divergent phenomenon. O'Leary et al.

(2006) define collaborative public management in a special issue of *Public*

Administration Review (PAR) as "the process of facilitating and operating in multi-

organizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved or easily solved by

single organizations" (7). Furthermore, in a review of the literature on collaborative

governance, Ansell and Gash (2007) offer a more comprehensive definition, describing

collaboration as:

> *A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly*
> *engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process*
> *that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to*
> *make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets.*
> *(544)*

These rather broad definitions of collaboration demonstrate the complexity of the

subject while also providing some useful insight into what purpose cross-sector or

intergovernmental partnerships serve in improving policy and program outcomes

(Agranoff and McGuire 2003). Conversely, collaboration is more than merely the

interaction between two or more actors to solve a common problem, but is the exchange

of ideas that take place in a relationship of mutual trust and reciprocity that may be

useful in understanding tribal-school partnerships (Bardach 1998; O'Leary et al. 2006).

For purposes of this analysis, I will use a broad definition of collaboration as

any joint activity between two or more actors that is designed to address a problem that

cannot be solved – or solved easily – by a single organization. The next section

discusses what we know about the structure and purpose of these collaborative

arrangements, and how studying Indian education can contribute to existing theory.

The Purpose and Structure of Collaboration

Scholars have long debated the managerial implications of this "new"

increasingly networked environment. O'Toole (1997) goes so far as to argue that,

"Managing in this world implies significant adjustment of the conventional wisdom.

Indeed, the very notion of management may have to be modified." (47). Some scholars

have captured the essence of this "new" set of managerial competencies as managing

"upward, downward, and outward" along with more traditional concerns for personnel

management, planning, programming, and budgeting (O'Toole et al. 2005; Rainey

2009). Management in collaborative settings is argued to be quite different from

management in traditional bureaucracies in that managers rely on more hierarchical

control in the case of the latter, while in the former they must engage in trust building,

negotiating, compromise, and designing the correct institutional incentives in which to

achieve desired goals (Milward and Provan 2000; Bertelli and Smith 2009; McGuire

and Agranoff 2010).

In this vein, collaboration can take on a number of different forms depending on

the nature of the activity and the different players involved in the process (Agranoff

2006; McGuire 2006). In an article that probes the various types of collaborative

arrangements that exist between both governmental and non-governmental actors,

Agranoff (2006) makes the important distinction between collaboration that is

chartered, or made formal by some statute or law, and nonchartered, referring to those

arrangements that are informal yet equally as permanent and enduring. McGuire (2006) takes this distinction a step further and identifies three types of "collaborative context" that include intermittent, temporary (task force), and permanent coordination.[1] In each of these forms of collaboration, issues of trust, density, frequency of interaction, shared goals, and the abilities and experience of players within the network are all important to understanding the strength and quality of the collaborative effort (Lester and Krejci 2007; Moynihan 2009; Scholz et al. 2008).

Whether or not these "modes of governance" will produce successful collaboration is an empirical question that the literature has granted considerable attention. In a review of over 130 cases of collaborative governance in the United States, Ansell and Gash (2007) identify several important factors to building successful collaborative arrangements which include the presence of incentives to entice stakeholders to participate, an equal balance of power and resources among participants to build trust and mutual "buy-in" to the process, strong leadership, and strongly enforced rules of engagement to name a few. The authors also find that collaboration tends to be strongest for groups that focus on "small wins" and that engage in face-to-face communication, actively build trust, and develop shared understanding (Bardach 1998). Finally, much of the success of collaborative partnerships is argued to be contingent on prior relationships among involved parties and the degree of past conflict or cooperation (Nelson and Weschler 1998; Tett, Crowther, and O'Hara 2003). All of

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[1] The first refers to coordination that occurs between governmental and/or non-governmental actors on an infrequent basis in response to a particular situation, where for a brief period of time the participants align their efforts to accomplish a common task. The second form that collaboration can take is temporary which is understood as coordination occurring for a very specific purpose and that "disbands" when that purpose has been fulfilled such as with a task force or investigative body (McGuire 2006, 35). Permanent, or regular, coordination, according to McGuire (2006), typically involves a more formal and stable form of collaboration among multiple organizations with more extensive sharing of resources and stronger channels of communication.

these factors are argued to play a role in the success of multi-organizational partnerships.

Nonetheless, collaborative arrangements and networks typically form around what are commonly referred to as "wicked" or intractable problems (Rittel and Weber 1973; Kettl 2002). Under such conditions, collaboration and networking can reduce uncertainty in policy areas fraught with great complexity that defy easy solutions such as closing achievement gaps between Native and non-Native students. Such issues are seen as "wicked" problems because they have no clear solution and are difficult to define (O'Toole 1997).

Van Bueron, Klijn, and Koppenjan (2003) identify three types of uncertainty that exist in the policy environment surrounding such complex issues. The first is cognitive uncertainty which has to do with understanding causal relations which can be numerous, interrelated, and difficult to identify and agree upon. Another type of uncertainty is recognizing the many actors and stakeholders involved in a given issue, and understanding how each of them perceives the problem at-hand, and, more importantly, its solution. This is what Van Bueron et al. (2003) refer to as "strategic uncertainty." Strategic uncertainty is perhaps one of the greatest challenges that public managers face in attempting to build and sustain successful partnerships with actors from a variety of different backgrounds who may have conflicting and competing worldviews. Lastly, Van Bueron et al. (2003) discuss the challenge of institutional uncertainty wherein policy problems are often dealt with by a myriad of actors from different institutions and, at times, from various different overlapping and interrelated policy networks. Due to these uncertainties, some argue that decisions can only be

adequately handled by enhancing and intensifying interactions between stakeholders to help build trust and understanding to embolden collaboration.

This is especially true with regards to Indian education where scholars and practitioners have engaged in heated debate over how to improve Native student success in public schools. Contributing to this disagreement is the fact that there are often substantial differences in how public school officials and tribes understand the issues at-hand, and what they believe to be the best and most culturally sensitive solutions to addressing the Indian education crisis (i.e. cognitive and strategic uncertainty). Collaboration between tribes and schools in this instance can help reveal the preferences and goals of each actor and help reduce such uncertainty. Tribes also bring a unique insider perspective to collaborative efforts surrounding Indian education which schools can utilize to develop new and innovative solutions to improving Native student success.

However, while we have a strong understanding of the types of collaborative arrangements that exist in the inter-organizational environment and some of the factors that contribute to successful collaboration, we know much less about how specific characteristics of organizations involved in networks impact the strength and frequency of interactions with public agencies. Collaboration is essentially a two-way street, and the culture, capacity, and willingness of external groups in the collaborative "web" can greatly determine the degree to which actors from different organizations form meaningful partnerships with public organizations.

We know from the literature on collaboration that networks are essentially a system of exchange between semi-autonomous and rational actors that largely drives

who is - or is not - involved in collaborative initiatives (Kickert et al. 1997). According to O'Toole and Meier (2004), this captures the exclusionary nature of collaborative arrangements that are argued to favor the most influential of interests in the external environment. Assuming rationality, literature suggests that public managers strategically select partnerships based on expected returns (Moore 1995; Agranoff 2007; Agranoff and McGuire 2003). We might refer to such individuals using Bardach's (1998) definition of "purposive practitioners" who actively seek out opportunities in the environment that may benefit the organization in achieving its goals. Work on resource dependency theory has also been widely used in understanding who participates in collaborative arrangements, and assumes that organizational affiliations neither control nor produce enough resources to survive; thus, they are forced to acquire additional resources from their external environment (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Gazley and Brudney 2007; Gazley 2008). This often forces actors into asymmetric relationships with more powerful stakeholders possessing greater influence in collaborative partnerships (Huang and Provan 2007).

Based on these observations, we would expect public officials to interact with actors who are perceived as influential as opposed to those who hold no potential for adding value to the organization. Under this logic, we might expect schools to have stronger relationships with tribes that offer greater resources to the district that contribute to a mutually beneficial partnership based on reciprocity. Conversely, this means that tribes with fewer resources and less capacity to engage school districts may be left out of the process as the costs of involving these actors exceeds potential benefits. This issue is explored in greater depth in Chapter 3. By observing

collaboration from not only the perspective of the core agency involved but all actors in the network, we can achieve a more complete understanding of why some agencies work more closely with certain actors and not others. This dissertation contributes to better understanding of this symbiotic relationship.

Understanding Collaborative Behavior

The Role of Bureaucratic Values

Some public officials seek and exploit collaborative opportunities more so than others, and for various different reasons. But why is this the case? What determines whether public managers do (or do not) collaborate? I argue in Chapter 4 that much of the variation in collaborative behavior can be understood through the lens of bureaucratic values, especially as it relates to the inclusion of underrepresented and disadvantaged groups in service delivery networks. In regards to Indian education policy, for example, the way in which Indian nations are perceived by public school officials as either deserving or undeserving of access and involvement in decisions concerning Indian education arguably drives their decision to collaborate with Native communities. Furthermore, Indian education policy tends to be rather vague and lacks considerable oversight in which to hold public officials accountable for involving tribes in decision making. Such a policy environment allows bureaucrats to act more on personal judgment when deciding how best to approach a given situation (Krause 2010). This leaves substantial room for administrative discretion and the role of individual values to shape decisions to collaborate or not collaborate with particular stakeholders based on one's own personal beliefs. However, little work has attempted to

integrate bureaucratic values into an understanding of collaborative behavior which I attempt to do in Chapter 4.

Fortunately, a rich body of literature has developed in public administration that explores the importance of bureaucratic values in understanding policy implementation that the following dissertation builds upon. Most of this work has originated from the timeless debate over how to legitimate the power of bureaucracy within the context of democratic values (Friederich 1940; Finer 1941; Meier and O'Toole 2006). It is generally agreed that bureaucratic discretion and the central role of bureaucratic power in a democratic society is a fact of political and administrative life. On one side of the debate are those who believe that a series of legislative or external controls should be regularly employed from the top-down in order to ensure administrative responsibility (e.g. Finer 1941; Weingast and Moran 1983; Moe 1985; Wood and Waterman 1991). However, others argue that policy implementation requires substantial judgment on the part of bureaucrats in an environment marked by great uncertainty that makes strict adherence to the law problematic, and excessive use of external controls potentially undesirable in stifling administrative expertise. Bureaucratic values scholars highlight the importance of a 'bottom-up approach" to accountability that focuses on how internal controls including the presence of values, professionalism, administrative ethics, and public sentiment shape bureaucratic behavior (e.g. Friederich 1940; Frederickson 1971, 1997; Wamsely 1990).

Indian education policy in the United States contains many of these aforementioned attributes associated with the type of policy environment that supports administrative discretion and emboldens bureaucratic values. First, school officials tend

to enjoy a considerable amount of discretion in meeting the requirements of most federal Indian education grant programs intended to benefit American Indian children (see Chapter 3 for more detailed discussion). Reports on the state of Indian education frequently highlight the lack of oversight involved in holding public school officials accountable for reaching out to tribal communities and involving Indian parents (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008). This leaves substantial room for the influence of individual attitudes and biases toward Native populations to play a larger role in shaping decisions to collaborate with American Indian communities (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008). Furthermore, given the complexity of the issue surrounding how best to improve Native student outcomes in public schools, Indian education policy tends to be vague in detailing how exactly public officials should go about meeting the "unique cultural and academic needs of Native students" as discussed earlier. Finally, Indian education also provides an interesting setting in which to explore the influence of bureaucratic values on collaborative behavior in that it involves issues over race and sovereignty that sets tribes apart from any other population in the United States that few Americans fully understand.

While most of the work on the role of bureaucratic values has been largely normative in nature, one particularly useful theoretical lens in understanding collaboration between tribes and public schools is the theory of representative bureaucracy. One of the keys to understanding how either external or internal controls influence bureaucratic behavior is to first understand what exactly those values are that administrators possess (Meier and Bohte 2001). One way is by looking at both passive and active representation of the public workforce through the lens of representative

bureaucracy (Kingsely 1944; Pitkin 1967; Krislov 1981; Meier and Bohte 2001; Wilkins 2007). The central tenet of representative bureaucracy is that a public sector that reflects the diversity of interests in the community is more likely to share and respond to those interests than one that does not (Bradbury and Kellough 2008; Frederickson and Smith 2003). According to Meier (1975, 528), "If the administrative apparatus makes political decisions, and if bureaucracy as a whole has the same values as the American people as a whole, then the decisions made by the bureaucracy will be similar to the decisions made if the entire American public passed on the issues... if values are similar, rational decisions made so as to maximize these values will also be similar."

Literature on representative bureaucracy has attempted to understand how "passive" representation translates into "active" representation which has implications for studying the impact of tribal-school partnerships on Native student outcomes (Krislov 1981).[2] Passive representation is merely the extent to which the bureaucracy reflects the composition of society typically in regards to demographic characteristics such as race, gender, and social class. Active representation occurs when bureaucracy acts upon those shared values in ways that are beneficial to a particular group, and is the relationship between passive representation and policy outputs or outcomes (Meier and Stewart 1992).

Surprisingly, there has been little work until very recently on how, and when, passive representation translates to active representation, and what implications this has

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[2] Some of the earliest and most aggressive attempts by the federal government to openly encourage a more "representative" bureaucracy occurred within the realm of federal Indian policy with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 (Wilkins 2007). This act gave hiring preferences to American Indians in all "Indian Offices" broadly defined in order to establish more representative administrative institutions that reflected the needs, cultures, and values of Indian Country.

for action that is favorable towards a particular population. Chapter 4 contributes to this discussion by exploring how the race and tribal affiliation of Indian education directors influences collaborative behavior. Two conditions argued in the literature on representative bureaucracy to be vital to the passive-active link is the presence of administrative discretion and a policy area that is directly relevant to a particular population (Wilkins and Keiser 2006). These are defining characteristics of Indian education policy in public schools. Furthermore, studying Indian education in public schools also offers the unique opportunity to take passive representation a step further by not only looking at the racial composition of bureaucrats in charge of Native student programs, as most studies on representative bureaucracy do in relation to racial or gender differences, but also the importance of group affiliation. Indian education directors in public schools that are Native American also tend to be members of specific tribes. We may expect that not only sharing the racial composition of the community being served, but also more cultural and group level affiliations as well may translate to more meaningful impacts on policy outcomes and behavior.

The Influence of Attitudes and Social Constructions

Little research has attempted to incorporate literature on social construction with collaborative public management to better understand how attitudes and beliefs influence collaborative behavior, especially as it relates to disadvantaged populations. Chapter 4 also explores how attitudes towards American Indian populations shapes the extent to which Indian education directors actively reach out and collaborate with surrounding tribes in their area. This chapter attempts to bridge these two literatures to

better understand the role of social constructions in building (or not building) meaningful partnerships with Indian communities.

Literature in American Indian politics has demonstrated that the public often holds inaccurate and conflicting views of the contemporary American Indian, with little knowledge of the unique political and legal status that tribes possess in the United States (Baylor 1996). We know from the work of Schneider and Ingram (1993) that the way groups are perceived in society largely influences public policy and public perceptions of target populations. Schneider and Ingram (1993, 335) argue that social constructions are "stereotypes about particular groups of people that have been created by politics, culture, socialization, history, the media, literature, and the like." Attitudes can either be positive (i.e. "deserving") or negative (i.e. "undeserving") and can be the basis for determining the distribution of benefits and burdens to particular groups in society (Ingram et al. 2007; Schneider and Ingram 1997; Schneider and Sidney 2009). Schneider and Ingram (1997) develop a four-part typology based on the interaction between power possessed by particular groups and their positive or negative social constructions which include advantaged groups, contenders, dependents, or deviants (see figure 1). According to social construction, benefits and burdens are distributed based upon the social construction of target populations, with groups deemed by the public as "deserving" typically being the beneficiaries of public policies, while those constructed as "undeserving" often become the targets of policies that work against their interests (57).

Figure 1. Social Constructions and Political Power

Construction

	Positive	Negative
Strong	<u>Advantaged</u> Elderly Business Veterans Scientists	<u>Contenders</u> The rich Big unions Minorities Cultural elites
Weak	<u>Dependents</u> Children Mothers Disabled	<u>Deviants</u> Criminals Drug addicts Communists Flag burners Gangs

Power

Source: Schneider and Ingram (1993)

The social construction of American Indian populations in the United States can be seen as a product of both poor information as well as the influence of mass media and persisting stereotypes that have largely shaped the way many Americans perceive Native people today (Hurtado and Iverson 2001). The legal and contemporary position of American Indians and tribes in the United States is an issue that is little understood by most Americans who, according to some scholars, tend to associate American Indian issues with those of other minority populations in the United States (Ashley and Jarratt-Ziemski 1999). Scholars suggest that most Americans are largely unaware of the legal rights that tribes and Native Americans possess (Wilkins 2007). Such misunderstanding is argued to have implications for the extent to which the public views American Indians and tribes as deserving of particular rights and benefits including rights to self-governance and involvement in decisions that directly affect their communities (Hanson and Rousse 1987).

The way tribes and American Indians are socially constructed can also influence the way in which public managers orient themselves towards this particular population in implementing federal Indian policy. Chapter 4 demonstrates how attitudes and beliefs towards the deservingness of tribes and Indian parents to be involved in decisions concerning Indian education in public schools strongly drives behavior with regards to interacting and partnering with Indian communities. Instances where officials do not see any value-added from collaborating with American Indian communities may be partially driven by a lack of awareness concerning the unique political relationship between the United States and tribes. In this instance, expectations and requirements to involve tribes in program and policy decisions may be viewed with skepticism and met with non-compliance as officials see such "privileges" as being unnecessary outside of what they do for other minority and low-income student populations. Thus, we might expect that public officials with more positive attitudes towards tribes will be more likely to form meaningful partnerships with those groups.

Why Collaborate? Understanding Outcomes of Collaborative Governance

While we know much about why collaboration occurs and how collaborative processes and outputs vary, we know much less about how collaboration impacts policy outcomes. Aside from attempting to understand collaboration as it relates to Indian tribes in the implementation of Indian education policy, another major component of this project is to understand what impact such partnerships have on Native student achievement and Indian education in public schools. One of the areas said to be lacking in studies of collaborative public management are the type of outcomes produced, or not produced, in a particular policy area (Koontz and Thomas 2006; Gray 2000; Thompson,

Perry, and Miller 2008; O'Leary and Bingham 2003; Rogers and Weber 2010).

Agranoff and McGuire (2001) argue that collaborative network structures can lead to outcomes that would not happen in hierarchical settings, but do not test this theory with empirical data. Furthermore, Bardach's (1998) seminal work in collaborative public management discusses the "public value" added from interagency collaboration, but does not provide a clear path for demonstrating if and under what conditions impacts on "public value" can be expected, or how exactly to best measure gains from cross-sector collaboration. Chapter 5 contributes to this emerging aspect of the literature by demonstrating how partnerships and collaboration between tribes and local education agencies impacts perceived outcomes related to Indian education and Native student achievement.

However, it is important to note the number of different ways that collaborative governance is expected to impact the performance of public organizations (Ingraham 2005; Nicholson-Crotty, Theobald, & Nicholson-Crotty 2006). One of the more critical questions asked by Rogers and Weber (2010, 547) is whether we are indeed measuring the most important things when it comes to determining whether collaborative efforts are working effectively or not. To put it simply, what should we measure? The most common and direct measure of the effectiveness of collaborative arrangements is on specific policy objectives or outcomes such as raising student achievement in public schools or improved air quality from strong environmental networks (e.g. Moore 1995; Meier and O'Toole 2001, 2005). Others argue that we are missing a greater portion of potential benefits derived from collaborative governance that may include improved "process-oriented" outcomes in helping achieve more indirect policy goals, as well as

potential "social" outcomes such as cultivating greater trust among stakeholders from diverse backgrounds and improving social capital (Gray, 2000; Leach & Sabatier, 2005).

Several studies have shed light on this issue by demonstrating how collaboration can impact student success in primary and secondary schools. For instance, in a study of network behavior among superintendents in Texas public schools, Meier and O'Toole (2003) find evidence to suggest that network governance and collaborative public management has a positive effect on student outcomes and performance. The authors call for further systematic research on the effectiveness of management in networked or intergovernmental settings that utilize large n approaches to identify causal relationships. Studies in the education literature have also explored community and parent involvement in public schools using participatory democratic theory and the implications such interactions have on student achievement (Fan 2001; Gordon and Louis 2009; Jeynes 2003; 2007). These studies suggest mixed results regarding the influence of such groups as parent committees on decisions made in public schools, with some viewing the involvement of these actors as merely symbolic while others find meaningful impacts on decision making processes.

In light of the increasingly networked environment and interconnected nature of many contemporary policy problems, the legitimacy of such efforts will hinge on gaining a greater understanding of how, and under what conditions, collaboration impacts performance. If it can be shown empirically that government-to-government relationships either help (or hinder) the ability of public agencies to serve the unique

needs of Native students in the public school system, then that will not only contribute to theory, but practice as well.

Conclusion

While the literature concepts reviewed in this chapter speak to different theoretical and practical aspects of Indian education and borrow from different literatures, they all speak to the central concern of collaboration and intergovernmental partnerships between tribes and public schools in the United States. I draw from a number of theoretical perspectives to understand the strength of intergovernmental partnerships with tribes (Chapter 3), including a focus on how bureaucratic values and social constructions influence the collaborative behavior of public managers regarding this unique population (Chapter 4). Chapter 5 explores how such partnerships can improve Native student achievement in public schools, which addresses many concerns in the Indian education literature.

Furthermore, a common thread that runs throughout this dissertation is how we can better incorporate a discussion of tribes and tribal governance into public administration and public policy more broadly. While several scholars have called for greater attention to issues concerning tribal governance and the role of tribes in the policy process, few have actually worked to build a strong theoretical foundation in which to do so (Ronquillo 2011; Evans 2011). This dissertation attempts to build such a foundation and understand intergovernmental partnerships with Native communities in Indian education. Chapter VI discusses some of the main findings from the empirical chapters and the broader implications for building theory.

CHAPTER III. THE NATURE AND STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TRIBES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The previous chapter discussed the literature on collaborative public management and the how an investigation of Indian education policy in the United States can contribute to theory. With 9 out of 10 American Indian students served in public schools, the strength of relationships between tribes and school districts are argued to be critical in ensuring that the needs of Native students are met (Demmert 2001; Freemen and Fox 2005; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). De Voe and Darling-Churchill (2008) suggest that stronger partnerships and improved collaboration between tribes and local schools can have a positive influence on the quality of Indian education programs that contribute to Native student success. However, we know very little about what these relationships look like between tribes and public school districts, and how both school officials and tribes perceive these relationships.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the current state of Indian education and the challenges present in building relationships between Indian nations and local education agencies from the perspective of both tribal education officials and Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma school districts. I use a unique mail survey and elite semi-structured interviews to investigate how school and tribal officials view the current state of Indian education within their respective communities as well as the nature of government-to-government partnerships between tribes and public schools. This research will help contribute to our understanding of the challenges present in building stronger partnerships and better communication with Indian nations

that are seen as critical to meeting the unique educational and cultural needs of Native students.

Intergovernmental Solutions and the Indian Education Puzzle

Since the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act became law in 1975, Indian nations in the United States today have reasserted their sovereignty and increasingly played a more active role in the implementation of programs and services within their own respective communities (Wilkins 2007). Policy areas such as Indian education have witnessed a substantial transfer of authority from federal agencies to tribal and local governments as the United States has moved away from a highly centralized bureaucratic approach to providing Indian services, operated largely by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), to a more decentralized process that allows tribal officials to collaborate with local school boards and state education agencies, and to apply for competitive grants to bolster education initiatives within their own communities (Monette 1994; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002, 2006). Such a dramatic sea change has greatly altered the very landscape of Indian education and greatly enhanced the access and involvement of Native communities in the education of Native students.

Indian education in the U.S. has followed a winding and tumultuous path, beginning with the boarding school era in the 1880s to the era of self-determination today. According to Szasz (1999), "American Indians are victims of a legacy which includes economic exploitation, military conquest, political manipulation, and social disregard… education has been part and parcel of the development of that legacy" (158). The active involvement and presence of tribes in the education of Native children

has paced these developments over time. In the late 1800s in what is commonly referred to as the "Boarding School Era," Indian children were forcefully removed from their communities and educated in schools operated by the BIA (McClellan, Fox, and Lowe 2005). The goal of BIA boarding schools such as the Haskell Institute were to assimilate Indian children into Western culture with little to no tribal involvement and the mantra of "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" (Deloria 2001; Churchill 2004). By the early to mid-1900s the boarding school era had ended and responsibility for Indian education was increasingly placed in the hands of tribal and local school officials as a result of a renewed concern for cultural preservation and tribal self-determination (Carney 1999). This change greatly strengthened tribal involvement in decisions concerning the education of Native students in primary and secondary schools (McClellan, Fox, and Lowe 2005). Today, several of those very same institutions that were originally boarding schools, such as Haskell, have been transformed into tribal colleges that offer culturally based learning opportunities, and provide educational services to Indian students that are embedded in the values and beliefs of the community (Benham and Stein 2003).

However, tribally-controlled schools from kindergarten to college continue to be the exception rather than the norm as many tribes lack the resources and infrastructure necessary to carry out and maintain programs and services (Harvard Project 2008). Today, only 47,000 Native students attend school in federally or tribally controlled schools compared to 624,000 that attend public schools across the country (Freeman and Fox 2005). Such reliance has remained the center of much conflict between public school officials and tribes, as American Indian parents and tribal leaders have called

into question the ability of public schools to provide culturally relevant learning opportunities for Native students, and to commit fully to supporting cultural enrichment and language programs that have been shown to improve Indian student outcomes in primary and secondary schools (Demmert 2001; DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008; Freeman and Fox 2005).

To overcome the challenges tribes and public schools face in providing education for Native students, public schools' receive funding specifically for Indian education through a series of federal Indian education formula grants that lay the groundwork for intergovernmental collaboration (Sharpes 1979; NCAI 2007). The first source, and potentially most important, is through the Johnson O'Malley (JOM) Act which was passed in 1934 and provides financial assistance to states and local schools with 10 or more Native students to subsidize the costs of educating members of federally recognized tribes (Harvard 2008). More importantly, JOM also includes a rather unique provision that allows for the formation of "parent councils." Parent councils under JOM are designed to provide Indian parents and tribal officials with direct input into the design of Indian education programs, and to oversee the proper use of funds in the public school (Sharpes 1979). These councils are frequently overseen and guided by the tribe's Department of Education, or designated Indian education official, who help with elections and facilitate meetings between Indian parents and school officials.

Public schools also receive funding through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) that also "mandates," although with little enforcement, partnerships between tribes and public school officials (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill

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2008). There are two ways that public schools receive funding through the ESEA. The first is through Title VII which provides grants to public schools for Indian education programs and services which may include a number of initiatives such as language and cultural programs, tutoring, and after-school services. Title VII also provides funding for the hiring of Indian education coordinators/directors which play a central role in outreach to tribal communities. It is also expected that the tribe will play an active role in the development and oversight of these programs (Harvard Project 2008).

Public schools also receive grants for Native students through Title I of the ESEA, also known as Federal Impact Aid. This money is for disadvantaged students, but like all other sources of funding and grants it too requires the school to inform tribal governments of how such funds are to be used and for what purposes. Furthermore, the extensive literature on collaboration and networking in public administration suggests that the strength of these community partnerships are argued to be of high importance to the overall effectiveness of education programs in public schools (Fan 2001; Gordon and Louis 2009; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). However, there is some controversy over the degree to which parental and tribal involvement is encouraged at the public school level.

Finally, on the other "side of the fence," the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 provides funding directly to tribal governments with the goal of providing greater control over the primary and secondary education of Indian children. The Self-Determination Act includes specific provisions that foster collaborative governance by contracting education services with tribes that support the establishment of tribal Departments of Education. Such departments help foster

culturally relevant learning and facilitate communication with surrounding school districts. According to the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI 2007), there are currently 100 Indian nations out of more than 300 in the lower 48 states that have created tribal Departments of Education. These Departments serve as the "administrative backbones of contracted and compacted reservation schools, allow a Native nation to interface with public and other schools attended by their students, create and use relevant data and research, and administer student support programs and financial aid" (Harvard Project 2008).

The combined effects of these policies have had a profound impact on the way Indian education is implemented in the U.S. A once paternalistic and highly centralized system of education has over time become primarily localized, with provisions in federal Indian education formula grants that, in theory, strengthen the capacity of both public schools and tribes to work together and establish meaningful partnerships. However, we know very little about the challenges faced by tribal and public school officials in forming such collaborative arrangements.

The following exploratory analysis attempts to fill this void and explore the nature of government-to-government relationships between tribes and public schools. Within the broader construct of intergovernmental relations, I am interested in addressing several more specific questions which include: (1) What the current state of Indian education is in public school districts in Oklahoma and New Mexico; (2) How tribal officials and public school personnel perceive the relationship between tribes and public schools; (3) In what ways these perspectives are similar or divergent; (4) How tribes and schools, both formally and informally, partner and collaborate to meet Native

student needs in the public school system; (5) What the quality of these interactions are; and (6) What challenges exist in building partnerships and sustaining positive relationships with schools and tribes. By investigating each of these questions I hope to identify several emergent themes in regards to how collaboration occurs, the differences in perceptions across local and state contexts, and what factors appear to be the most important in understanding the strength and quality of these government-to-government partnerships. The next section will discuss the data, methods, and cases chosen for analysis.

<div align="center">**Data and Methods**</div>

Survey of Public School Officials

To explore the nature and strength of relationships between tribes and local public schools, I use a combination of survey data and elite semi-structured interviews with tribal education officials and state officials. The mail survey was conducted in two waves, the first in May 2011 and the second in January 2012, and included 428 Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma public schools.[3] Indian education directors were selected for the following study given their central role in Indian education in the public school system. First, Indian education directors oversee and manage Indian education programs in public school districts receiving federal Indian education grants under Title VII and JOM. As mentioned earlier, these two federal programs not only provide financial support to public school districts serving large numbers of Native students, but also accompany expectations that public schools will

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[3] Participants were chosen from the U.S. Department of Education Grant Awards Database (http://wdcrobcolp01.ed.gov/CFAPPS/grantaward/start.cfm) that provides a list of all school districts receiving federal funds for Indian education programs (Title VII), the name of each district's Indian education director, and contact information.

actively collaborate and build relationships with surrounding Indian nations. Indian education directors represent the school district in its relationship with Native communities, and play a pivotal role in building and maintaining collaborative partnerships with tribes as expected under federal Indian education grants. Thus, Indian education directors are among the most knowledgeable and active participants in the public school system with regards to managing tribal-school partnerships.

Of the 428 directors surveyed, a total of 150 responded representing approximately 35% of the entire population.[4] Directors were asked a battery of questions related to the perceived quality of relationships between public school districts and tribes, the nature of interactions with Native communities, and questions concerning each director's individual background and attitudes towards tribal involvement in decision making.

Only public school districts in New Mexico and Oklahoma receiving federal Indian education grants under Title VII and JOM were included in the following analysis. Charter, private, and tribally controlled schools have been excluded from the analysis given the focus on collaboration between tribes and state-run public school districts. Furthermore, the study only includes public school districts in New Mexico and Oklahoma that receive federal grants for Indian education programs given that these services require schools to actively involve and partner with tribes on decisions concerning Indian education. This comprises 428 of the 626 public school districts in the two states. Of these 428, New Mexico comprises a total of 32 districts receiving federal Indian education grants while Oklahoma boasts 396.

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[4] Five public school districts originally in the database were deleted given that they were not public schools and in one instance was a tribe awarded a Title VII grant. Further, a test of response bias shows no appreciable difference between those districts that responded to the survey and those who did not.

Responses to several questions are explored in the following analysis that capture both the current state of Indian education in public schools, as well as the strength and degree of tribal involvement in the public school system. First, Indian education directors were asked to evaluate the performance of their respective school districts on a range of indicators related to the education of Native American students. Directors were asked to assign a letter grade to their district for each item ranging from A, A-, B, B-, C, C-, D, D-, and F for failing. Responses were then used to construct a 9 point scale ranging from 1 to 9, with 1 representing poor performance of a school district on a particular aspect of Indian education and 9 demonstrating "outstanding" performance. Directors were asked to evaluate their school district on five measures of performance including (1) Relationships with surrounding Indian communities, (2) Ability to meet the academic needs of Native children, (3) Ability to meet the cultural needs of Native children, (4) Involvement of Indian parents in decision-making concerning Indian education programs and policy, and (5) Involvement of tribal officials in decision-making concerning Indian education programs and policy.

I also explore the degree of influence Native and non-Native groups have over decisions concerning Indian education in public school districts. Directors were asked how much influence the following individuals or groups have on Indian education programs ranging from no influence (1) to substantial influence (7): Principals, teachers, school board members, local tribes, Indian parents, Indian Parent Council, school administrators, state education officials, and federal education officials. Responses were used to construct a seven point scale ranging from 1 to 7 for each of the groups listed above.

Elite Semi-Structured Interviews with Tribal Officials

Using nonrandom purposive sampling, 10 education officials in New Mexico and Oklahoma were selected for participation in the qualitative portion of this study. Interviews were conducted face-to-face and by phone at each participant's office between November 2010 and August 2011 with tribal education officials from eight tribes that have fully operative Departments of Education and two representatives from the state. I obtained participants names using a reputational "snowball" technique in which experts in Indian education at the University of Oklahoma and participants in the interviews themselves were asked the names of other tribal education officials in the state that were deemed knowledgeable on the subject. Although a larger sample size would be ideal, due to limitations of time and access to other referred leaders, a larger and potentially more representative sample could not be attained. However, several respondents did reference the same individuals which provide a meaningful validity test of my sampling strategy.

The tribal leaders chosen for this study include a number of key actors involved in Indian education in New Mexico and Oklahoma including seven tribal Directors of Education, one Director of a Johnson O'Malley (JOM) program, and two state officials in Indian education. All tribal officials were appointed by the tribe and have served in their positions for a number of years (some as many as 10 to 15). Both state officials serve at the pleasure of the Governors in New Mexico and Oklahoma. Furthermore, all of the men and women interviewed were American Indian and registered members of federally recognized tribes. To protect their identities, the names of the participants and the tribes in which they are affiliated will remain undisclosed. The face-to-face

interviews lasted from 45 minutes to the longest being 1 hour and 45 minutes, with respondents recruited by directly contacting their offices. I used a semi-structured interview technique with open ended questions to allow participants to expand upon and share their own unique experiences and points of view (Feldmen 1995). Such approaches as open-ended interviews are especially useful when conducting research on understudied or historically underrepresented groups (Lofland and Lofland 1995), and allow for greater depth of understanding from the perspective of those directly involved in Indian education in the state.

Guided by the primary research question, respondents were asked a series of open-ended questions organized around the following four broad themes: (1) State of Indian education in public schools; (2) Relationship between tribes and public schools; (3) Issues and challenges to collaboration; and (4) "Vision" (or future expectations for Indian education). A general list of the interview questions used in the study can be found in Appendix A. The first set of questions asks respondents to describe their role within the Department, or the tribe more generally if the nation does not have a Department of Education, and the challenges that they see confronting Indian education in public schools. These questions help to initiate the conversation and build some degree of trust and understanding prior to asking some of the perhaps more controversial questions (Yin 2008). Respondents were also asked about the programs and services that they found to be the most successful in improving Native student success.

The second group of questions gets more directly at the nature of the relationship between tribes and public schools in the area. First, I asked interviewees

how they would describe their relationship with public schools in their area. Respondents were also asked about the quality of these interactions and what role was expected of public school officials and tribes in the collaborative process. Next, interviewees were asked what they see as the main factors contributing to collaboration and better communication, or lack thereof, between tribes and schools, and what challenges and barriers exist to building effective relationships. Participants were then asked who they saw as ultimately responsible for the success of Native students and the degree to which public officials are held accountable for partnering with tribes and Indian parents. Lastly, tribal officials were asked what they see for the future of Indian education and what they would like to see done differently in regards to building better relationships with public schools. In case the questions asked during the interview did not cover all of what the interviewees wanted to discuss, I also asked all officials whether there is anything that I left out that they would like to add. All in-person interviews were recorded in order to add more depth and detail to the analysis, transcribed, and analyzed using paper-and-pencil analysis.

Case Selection

New Mexico and Oklahoma are especially ideal locations for a study of tribal-local collaboration for a number of reasons. First, American Indians make up a significant portion of each state's total population with 10.9% in the case of the former and 11.7% in the case of the latter (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000; DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008). This represents the 2nd and 3rd largest states in terms of American Indian population. Both New Mexico and Oklahoma also have a rich diversity of tribal cultures in each state, with 22 tribes in the former and 37 in the latter.

More important for a study of Indian education, Native Americans make up a

substantial portion of each state's student population (see Table 1). In Oklahoma,

Native students account for roughly 18% of the public school population and 11.1% in

New Mexico (DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008; Freeman and Fox 2005). This

represents the 1st and 3rd largest in terms of Native student population as a percentage

of total public school enrollment, with New Mexico just behind Montana at 11.3%

(DeVoe and Darling-Churchill 2008). All of these characteristics suggest the high

likelihood of interactions and subsequent intergovernmental collaboration between

Indian nations and public schools, as the American Indian population represents a

sizeable stakeholder in the public school system in each state.

Table 1. Native Student Enrollment in Public Schools

Rank	State	Percent American Indian/Alaska Native Student Population
#1	Oklahoma	18.0%
#2	Montana	11.3%
#3	New Mexico	11.1%
#4	South Dakota	11.0%
#5	North Dakota	8.3%
#6	Arizona	6.2%
#7	Wyoming	3.4%
#8	Washington	2.7%
#9	Oregon	2.3%
#10	Idaho	1.6%

However, there are important differences that exist between the two states which

might help explain possible variation in perceptions among tribal officials. First,

whereas tribes in New Mexico, like most tribes elsewhere, hold title to a particular piece

of land, most tribes in Oklahoma are not land based and are identified by the Census

Bureau as "statistically designated land areas" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). As a

result, tribes and non-Indian communities share jurisdiction. This designation also has implications for the size of the "service area" that tribes in Oklahoma are responsible for covering versus those which are typically much smaller in New Mexico and other places around Indian country. "Service area" refers to the jurisdiction in which a tribe, or school district, operates in and provides educational services. Appendix B provides a visual map of the "service areas," or tribal jurisdictions, in Oklahoma, while Appendix C shows jurisdictions in New Mexico. As suggested by the maps, tribes in Oklahoma, in particular the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations have rather broad jurisdictions that often encompass several counties and dozens of public school districts. Tribes and Pueblos in New Mexico, on the other hand, have relatively smaller, land-based, jurisdictional areas that may require these nations to interact with only one or two school districts at a time (O'Brien 1993; Sando 1992). Nonetheless, while these contextual differences may not reveal themselves directly in the results of this investigation, they are important factors to take into consideration when attempting to understand such longstanding and complex relationships.

Analysis

The analysis proceeds in several steps. First, I explore the current state of Indian education in public schools and the strength of tribal-school partnerships from the unique perspective of Indian education directors in public school districts using univariate analysis and basic descriptive statistics. Next, I discuss some of the major themes to emerge from the interviews with tribal officials that offer considerable insight into the factors that shape relationships in Indian education. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the results.

The Current State of Tribal-School Relationships

Table 2 provides a summary of the results for each survey item related to current relationships with tribes and the perceived ability of public school districts to meet the unique needs of Native students and the Native community at-large. Interestingly, relationships with surrounding tribes ranked highest among all other items related to school performance in Indian education. When asked to grade their school district on the relationship with surrounding Indian nations from A to F, more than half of Indian education directors gave their school an A with another 31% of districts receiving a B. This translates to one of the highest average scores of 7.47. Other performance related measures receiving high marks from directors included the ability of public school districts to meet the academic needs of Native students and the involvement of Indian parents in decisions concerning Indian education programs and policy.

Table 2. Evaluation of School District Performance in Indian Education

Variables	A	B	C	D	F	Mean/Std.[1]
Relationships w/ Tribes	58%	31%	9%	3%	0%	7.47 (1.53)
Academic Needs	46%	43%	10%	3%	0%	7.14 (1.45)
Parental Involvement	48%	36%	12%	5%	0%	7.12 (1.88)
Cultural Needs	34%	36%	27%	4%	0%	6.60 (1.59)
Tribal Involvement	21%	37%	26%	5%	11%	5.73 (2.28)

[1]Mean responses are based on a scale from 1-9, where F = 1, D- = 2, D = 3, C- = 4, C = 5, B-= 6, B = 7, A- = 8, A = 9. Standard deviation is shown in parentheses.

However, the items that districts were perceived as performing poorly on were quite surprising. One such measure concerned the ability of public school districts to meet the cultural needs of Native students which received an average of 6.60 with roughly a third of directors assigning districts a C or lower on this dimension. From the

perspective of directors, public school districts appear to be doing better in meeting the academic needs of Native students as opposed to the more cultural needs of this unique population.

Perhaps the most unexpected result concerned the effort of school districts to encourage the involvement of tribes in decisions concerning Indian education which received the lowest average grade of all survey items analyzed. As Table 2 demonstrates, only 21% of directors gave their districts an A, 37% a B, 26% a C, and 16% a D or an F for an average score of 5.73. In fact, tribal involvement was the only measure to receive a failing grade among these measures of performance. This is somewhat surprising given that the measure to receive the highest average grade was with regards to relationships with tribes overall; however, when asked more specifically about efforts to encourage tribal involvement, directors perceived such actions in a less favorable light. It is also worth mentioning the rather substantial amount of variation on this particular aspect of Indian education policy as reflected by the standard deviation of 2.28.

So if tribal involvement appears to be suffering the most with regards to Indian education in public schools, which may also be connected to perceived deficiencies in the ability to meet the cultural needs of Native students, then which actors are perceived by Indian education directors to have the most influence over the direction of Indian education programs and policy? Figure 2 shows level of influence on Indian education programs across several groups both within and outside of the school district from the perspective of Indian education directors. Again, it appears that Native American tribes are perceived as having the least amount of influence over decisions concerning Indian

Figure 2. Degree of Influence among Native and Non-Native Groups
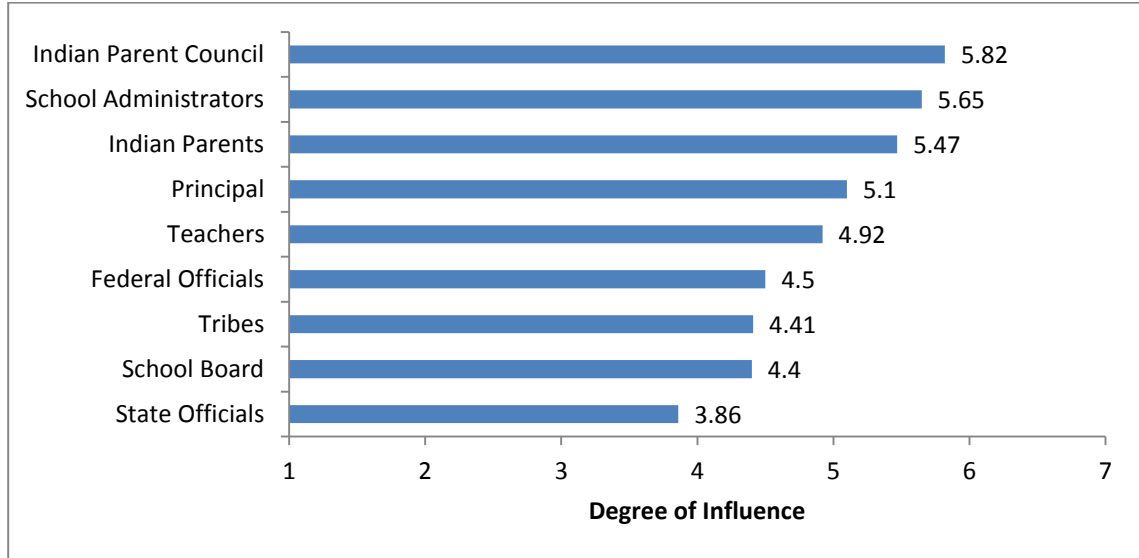
education in public schools out of all other groups, with the lone exception being the school board and state education officials. However, Indian Parent Councils as established by the JOM program are perceived on average to have the highest degree of influence over decisions concerning Indian education programs, followed closely by school administrators and Indian parents in general.

This naturally begs the question: why do tribes appear to be having difficulty gaining access into public school districts? To help address this question, the next section will explore how these relationships are perceived by tribal officials. The next step is to explore what factors might explain differences across public school districts with regards to the perceived strength and quality of relationships with tribes.

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Interviews with Tribal Officials

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The Nature and Strength of Tribal-School Relationships

Interviews with Indian education officials either affiliated with the tribes or with the state Department of Education in New Mexico and Oklahoma were quite revealing

with regard to understanding the challenges associated with building meaningful relationships with public schools. To explore the nature and strength of relationships with public schools, tribal officials were asked how they would describe their relationship with school districts in their area, and what they saw as some of the biggest challenges to building meaningful partnerships. Overall, there were considerable differences of opinion among the 10 tribal officials interviewed for this study regarding both the quality of relationships and the responsiveness of schools to the needs of parents and the community. Several officials interviewed described the relationship between their community and surrounding school districts in a positive light. For instance, according to one official, "I'm really pleased with most of the tribes that work with the schools. Most of the administrators need help and they are willing to take it in…that part between the school and the tribes are getting better each day." Another tribal Director of Education made specific mention that one or two schools were exceptional at building and maintaining partnerships within a district, but that others were less interested in "dealing" with tribal officials.

However, most tribal officials and state representatives described their relationship with surrounding districts in a much more negative tone. Two tribal officials described the relationship with public schools as especially troubled and "poor" on a number of dimensions including communication, trust, participation in policy and program decisions, responsiveness to Native student needs, and the overall receptivity of public officials to community and parental concerns. One interviewee captures the rather strained relationship with some schools in the following statement:

> *It [the relationship] is definitely lacking… the schools have a trust*
> *responsibility just like the federal government does to educate our Native*

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students and involve tribes… and its substandard. Why are we accepting it, why are we putting up with it, why aren't we saying you know what, like it or not, you have a responsibility and they're not doing it. They are just flat out not doing it!

In fact, in the case of the official quoted above, the Director of Education could only name one school (an elementary school) in which the tribe considered having a "good" relationship with and that actively sought participation from the community. To appreciate the magnitude of this response, the tribe in question has one of the most expansive service areas in the analysis spanning more than 10 school districts. Thus, to say that only one of the dozens of schools in the tribe's jurisdiction is perceived as effectively building strong and meaningful partnerships with the tribe is rather substantial.

However, from the interviews it is quite clear that there are substantial differences across schools in regards to how much participation and involvement from parents and tribes is actively sought to improve Indian education programs in public schools. This raises the question as to why some schools would be so resistant to building relationships and inviting active participation from the community in order to improve Indian education and Native student success in the first place. The education literature on community involvement provides some interesting insights into this puzzle that mirrors concerns expressed by tribal officials. Studies suggest that parent councils and mandated community involvement that involve collaboration between parents, community leaders, and school officials into the decision making processes of public schools can lead to what is referred to as "protective politics" (Lewis and Nakagawa 1995; Malen 1999). With protective politics, school officials see participation as more of a threat to existing internal operations of the organization more so than an asset, with

concerns over "intrusion" by "outsiders" that may reveal deficiencies in the organization and lead to scrutiny of existing policies that officials fear they may not be able to overcome.

Thus, according to Malen (1999), schools will manage such threats through "ceremonial exchanges" that reinforce rather than collaboratively change control over school policy. Tribal officials expressed similar concerns surrounding the school's fear of being held accountable for the use of Indian education funds, "power and privilege", and resistance to change. One tribal official captures this issue in the following:

> *It's sometimes territorial and they sometimes don't want you to be a part of a decision or really know what they're doing because you are going to know what they're not doing… and I can see where it would be territorial because you have committed so much of your time to ensure that a program does what it does. So for someone to come in and question that can be hard to take so I do understand that and respect that, but at the same time we have to do it for our kids… it's not for us it's for them.*

Another official expressed similar concerns when she stated:

> *They (public schools) are required to have not only parental participation and input, but tribal… They can spend that money how they want, they can pay their electric bill with it, but only if they can prove that Indian students are getting equal education across the board, and that Indian parents, community, and tribal leaders/tribal officials had input into the whole curriculum of the school. People don't know that. And schools probably don't want us to know that!*

Furthermore, in line with Malen's (1999) observation concerning ceremonial exchanges, interviewees also depicted collaboration and Indian parent meetings as a means of "appeasement" and as being "trivial" with concerns that what was discussed in council meetings between the tribes and schools would not be actively enforced and implemented when they "walked away from the table". Another official argued that one strategy schools employ is to make all program and budgeting decisions concerning

Indian education prior to talking with Indian parents and the tribes, and simply using the councils as a rubber stamp for approval after the fact. This is perceived as defeating the purpose of collaborative governance and demonstrates very little interest on the part of some school officials for the input of tribes in the decision making process.

To further illustrate some of the tension between tribes and schools included in the study, several officials discussed the issue of direct non-compliance with federal mandates to hold open and public meetings. According to officials interviewed, there are several instances where the tribe is not even notified of the parent council meetings in order to provide input and oversight which they are required to have. One tribal official noted the severity of this issue in one particular instance where only one parent received notice of the meeting and Indian education funds were used inappropriately to hire a math teacher for the entire student body. However, tribal officials did recognize the counterargument that there is a serious collective action problem in motivating parents to be involved and attend such meetings on a regular basis. Nonetheless, it is clear from the perception of tribal officials that the integrity of the process to establish formal relationships between tribes and schools is being seriously questioned in New Mexico and Oklahoma.

However, while tribal officials have expressed deep frustration with current relations, there is also the fear of "rocking the boat" too much to the point of being "shut out" of the schools. One tribal official interviewed stated:

> *I do my best to be more involved but at the same time respect the school system. Because that is part of where... it's kind of the fine line because you don't want to be a threat to them and you don't want them to think that you are trying to make them out to be the bad guys. You know, that's where it's really hard.*

The JOM Director interviewed in the present study who has arguably the most direct interaction with public school officials on a daily basis described specific instances where public schools in his rather large service area have had confrontations with the tribe over the misuse of funds and lack of communication, and eventually dropped all federal grants related to Indian education thus directly severing its legal obligations with the tribe. While it appears that such extreme measures are rare, the Native students in those schools are ultimately the ones who suffer, according to the JOM Director, as the funds to support culturally relevant programs and financial assistance for parents are lost. Thus, while several interviewees implied that they wanted to "knock the door down" and hold schools accountable for poor performance and poor communication with the community, they also realized that they must maintain a degree of composure if they want to maintain continued access and involvement in the school system.

There were also noticeable differences between states with regards to the strength of relationships with public schools. Tribal education officials in New Mexico, for instance, demonstrated higher concern for the overall quality of collaboration with local school districts than their counterparts in Oklahoma. When discussing the possibility of "size matters" in regards to the ability of tribes to effectively communicate and collaborate with public school officials, tribal leaders in Oklahoma suggested that the sheer number of districts, and the mix of non-Indian and Indian children across counties that composed their "jurisdiction," made it virtually impossible for them to monitor the behavior of all officials within the schools, much less to expect a concerted effort on behalf of public school officials in maintaining meaningful connections with the tribe. Furthermore, another Director of Education argued that,

given this extensive service area, the tribe had no authority to dictate the policies of surrounding public school districts, even in times of great disagreement.

In sum, a survey of opinions concerning tribal-school relationships presented in this section reveals interesting differences across schools within tribal service areas in both the quality and nature of partnerships with tribes. Compliance and the inability to compel "bad" schools to meet their obligations to Indian parents and the community at-large appear to be serious issues among tribal leaders. As suggested by the perceptions of these tribal officials, some schools are more willing to involve tribes in decision making processes than others, and actively seek information to better meet the unique needs of Native students. The next section explores some of the main themes that emerged surrounding why these differences across schools exist and what factors appear to be most crucial to building stronger and more durable relationships with tribes from the perspective of tribal officials.

Theme 1: Values and Beliefs of Education Officials Matter

The first and perhaps most dominant theme to emerge from the interviews was the importance of values and beliefs in the collaborative process. Nearly all tribal officials agreed that the values and beliefs of education officials responsible for Indian education greatly determine the quality and substance of tribal-school relationships. According to one tribal Education Director:

> *It comes down to that person doing that program at that school, if they don't want you there, they want to shut you out, they can shut you out. So I think it would have to do with the individuals that are running these programs… We need someone visible from the community, someone Indian.*

Furthermore, the level of involvement encouraged by public school officials appears to greatly depend upon whether these individuals believe such interactions are important to improving Native student outcomes, or if they believed that such matters were largely dependent on factors such as family life and poverty that are largely outside of their control. Thus, depending on how officials perceive the problems and solutions to improving Indian education, or whether they feel that it is in their control at all, is perceived by tribal officials as greatly impacting the will of district officials to take partnerships seriously.

Still, others argue that public school officials do not encourage participation and exert the extra effort necessary to build better relationships with tribes because they simply either do not understand or appreciate the unique responsibility they have to Indian Nations as part of the trust relationship, or because of the underlying presence of prejudice or bias they have toward American Indian populations more generally. Amongst almost all the tribal officials interviewed, there was general consensus that misunderstanding, stereotypes, and ignorance on the part of school officials concerning the sovereignty of tribes, and general awareness of the legal responsibilities they have to partner with tribal officials presented a real and constant challenge to building better and stronger relationships. One tribal official captures the essence of this obstacle well in the following:

> *It's kind of that mentality of 'get over it' that's nationwide… 'why are we doing this? Why do we have to do this? Get over it already, you know, it's been so many years. Why do they get special treatment?' Well read your history book and find out why, you know what I mean? Or read some treaties and find out why. Educate yourself and find out why.*

This Director of Education also noted the response of many school officials when told that they must actively involve tribes is usually one of surprise and skepticism. This is a constant struggle that several officials identified as a difficult barrier to overcome in making school officials realize why they should be concerned about building better relationships with tribes as teachers, school principals, and superintendents greatly undervalue or don't understand the reasons for such action. Furthermore, this lack of knowledge about tribes even within the proximity of the schools effects interactions in the classroom as well between teachers and Native children that may negatively impact the ability of schools to meet the academic and cultural needs of Native students.

Theme 2: Qualifications and Experience of Education Officials Matter

Aside from the individual values and beliefs influencing the nature and quality of relationships between tribes and public schools, the specific qualifications, quality, and experience of public managers responsible for Indian education also determines the quality of intergovernmental relationships according to tribal officials. Studies on public management have highlighted the importance of managerial quality, background, and skill as a primary determinant of the success of education programs (i.e. Meier et al. 2006). According to tribal education officials, the strongest relationships with schools typically come from those with full-time and highly qualified Indian education coordinators. One concern that several tribal officials expressed is the lack of experienced and well educated Indian education directors in public schools. Several officials lamented the fact that in many schools, Indian education directors had little to

no experience working with Native students and only had a high school diploma.

According to the JOM Director:

> *If the school actually has a full-time Indian education coordinator, we have a real good relationship with them... Now, the ones we have trouble with are the ones where they just kind of have a teacher do it, or somebody to do the paperwork or a secretary does it. That's where you lose contact and communication.*

Tribal officials interviewed also expressed frustration over the fact that tribes had little to no say over the selection of Indian education directors which creates further tension in the collaborative process and deteriorates trust between tribes and schools. Further, in some instances turnover of Indian education directors is high, and some are only part-time employees which limits the ability of officials to build meaningful relationships with tribes and fully commit to the success of Indian education programs.

Secondly, having an Indian education director who is Native American was also seen as an important and crucial variable to the success of Indian education programs at schools, and in building meaningful relationships with tribes. The importance of race in managing public programs, especially those directed towards underrepresented groups in society, is highlighted in much of the literature on representative bureaucracy as being an important consideration in service delivery (Keiser, Wilkins, Holland, and Meier 2002; Meier 1993). Unfortunately this is rarely the case, as many schools are said to either ignore the issue of race, or find it more convenient to place a teacher or the principal in charge of Indian education programs to satisfy federal grant requirements. Having someone who is Indian to represent the school in building relationships is seen as an important factor to establishing trust and increasing buy-in of tribes in the collaborative process.

Theme 3: Characteristics of the Schools and Districts Matter

Aside from the individual characteristics of public school officials, a third theme to emerge from the interview data concerned how particular characteristics of the school districts themselves influenced the quality of relationships with tribes. One characteristic discussed is the percent of Native American students in primary and secondary schools. Three respondents mentioned that the size of the Native student population at a given school is a primary indicator of the priority schools give to Indian education amongst other competing concerns. Not surprisingly, it is seen by tribal officials as largely a financial incentive as schools receive federal funds based upon the number of Native students in attendance. According to the JOM Director:

> *What it comes down to is, say we have good cooperation with these schools that I just mentioned because they have a large Native American population. The ones where you don't have good communication are the ones where there's not very many so it's a low priority… Say you're talking about schools that have about 500 kids and 15 are Native American or 20 or something like that, you know. Maybe they only get $3,000 JOM money… They're not really interested. It's just not enough money to fool with!*

Thus, size not only effects the attention Native students receive within the school, according to the interviewees, but also the resources districts invest in building partnerships with tribes.

District capacity and resources also emerged as an important determinant of the strength of relationships with tribes. Schools, and tribes, naturally vary considerably in the number of staff they can recruit and the resources that they have under their command. Schools in poorer and more rural areas who are struggling to simply keep the lights on are probably not going to be in a position to invest scarce resources in collaborative partnerships with surrounding Native communities. Furthermore, more

affluent districts can arguably afford better and more qualified staff, and provide Indian

education directors with the resources they need to be successful.

Finally, another theme that emerged from the interviews concerning particular

qualities of the schools that influenced relationships was the overall culture of the

organization. This was a factor that came up frequently across several tribal officials

that concerns the overall positive or negative atmosphere of some schools that either

encourages or discourages participation. For instance, one tribal director described her

personal experience in the following way:

> *When I've went out to that school in particular they kind of watch me... I*
> *feel uncomfortable. And I've told the Principal or Superintendent, 'the*
> *majority of schools I go into are so welcoming to me as far as I'm there*
> *trying to provide services for my tribal members even if it's just my tribal*
> *members,' and I said, 'but when I come here I feel like people don't want*
> *me here. It's like there's something to hide!'*

Along with such environments impacting the perception of tribal officials, such

negative environments were also said to effect Native student learning and student

retention that showed up on test scores and attendance rates. Such questions as whether

Native children, parents, and tribal officials feel "comfortable" and welcome at schools

is what building relationships with schools is all about. Stronger partnerships between

tribes and school districts are seen by tribal officials as having the potential to change

such negative environments and organizational cultures into ones of mutual

understanding and trust that the literature suggests is critical to successful collaboration

(Gray 2000; Kettl 2002; Thomson et al. 2008; Rogers and Weber 2010).

Theme 4: Reciprocity and Tribal Resources Matter

Up until this point, the main focus of what explains differences in relationships

across schools and tribes has focused largely on public schools. However, one of the

more revealing observations culled from the interview data concerned the role that reciprocity played in providing schools with an incentive to actively partner with tribes and invite access into Indian education programs and policy. In one interview in particular, the tribe attributed their strong relationship with public schools in the area to their ability to invest directly in the district and provide financial support that benefited all students, Native and non-Native alike. Such actions were seen by the tribal official as giving back to the schools and creating an incentive for districts to make Indian education a higher priority. According to one official:

> *We really support the schools, so they like us too. If you help them then they like you… We've helped build libraries, we've helped build IT labs, we bought the Marquee signs, weights for weight rooms. I know last year, we spent a lot of money matching school funds for playground equipment. I know of several schools that got like $20,000 bucks per school.*

Thus, tribes that are better able to invest their own resources into surrounding school districts appear to be in better positions to build strong and sustainable partnerships, and as a result earn more access into Indian education programs and influence key decisions than tribes with fewer resources. This speaks to the issue of "selective activation" discussed in the literature (Kickert et al. 1997). Based on the view of networks as systems of exchange and the theory of mutual dependency, we might expect schools to build stronger relationships with more influential stakeholders that have more resources to offer the district (Agranoff 2007; Agranoff and McGuire 2003; Moore 2005).

However, there appears to be some debate as to whether tribes should be expected to make such contributions to public schools, especially when considering that schools already receive federal dollars for Indian education in the form of JOM, Title VII, and Impact Aid. Some tribal officials interviewed perceived such actions as

extortion from the viewpoint that public schools have a legal responsibility to actively involve tribes in decision making regardless of whether the tribe is able to give back to the school. On the other hand, one state representative interviewed saw it as a positive means of investing in better relationships that will help not only Indian students but all students in the public school system. Such actions are seen as a way to build trust between school districts and tribes, but which naturally benefits what O'Toole and Meier (2004) refer to as the "haves" within a network over the "have-nots".

A final factor that emerged within this theme of tribal resources is the importance of tribal Departments of Education in fostering meaningful partnerships with schools. Given that all participants in this study operated formal Departments of Education, the officials interviewed provided interesting insight into how the tribe's department was changing the lives of Native students and helping gain access to surrounding schools to help improve Indian education and retention. Departments of Education provide the formal mechanism within a tribe that serves as the primary point of contact in which to network with surrounding school officials that may be difficult otherwise.

Theme 5: Oversight and Accountability Matters

The lack of accountability and oversight into the actions and behaviors of schools was a consistent theme across all interviews. Without serious oversight and enforcement of stipulations inherent in federal legislation that accompany expectations to collaborate and involve tribes in decisions concerning Indian education, such prevailing factors as individual values and beliefs will continue to dictate the degree to which public schools either invite or discourage participation. Another concern

expressed by tribal officials was the fact that without active participation from tribes in the selection of Indian education coordinators who oversee Indian education programs, these individuals will likely serve the interests of superintendents and school board members than they will the broader Native community. One official captures this frustration in the following:

> *Are they [Indian education coordinators] really going to stand up for the rights of the Indian students and go against the grain to argue with the superintendent of the school board? No! Who hired them? No. The school boards hire the superintendents and principals. Is a superintendent and principal that goes into a school and really cares about Indian students going to go against the grain and say, 'you know these kids are not getting equal opportunity.' They'll be out of there in a second.*

However, in terms of accountability several officials stated that tribes have taken matters into their own hands to oversee district activities as part of their existing partnerships and collaborative efforts. Where state and federal oversight of school districts with regards to Indian education and collaboration is lacking, tribes appear to be struggling to engage non-responsive school districts. However, tribes in New Mexico and Oklahoma appear to be making up for this deficiency in external accountability by taking matters into their own hands in a number of ways.

Conclusion

The interviews and survey responses portray a very complex and dynamic picture of government-to-government relationships between tribes and public schools in New Mexico and Oklahoma. While Indian education directors in public schools perceive the relationship between tribes and their districts rather positively, it would appear that with regards to outreach and efforts to actively involve tribes in decisions

concerning Indian education, that districts are perceived to be falling behind.

Furthermore, there are substantial differences among school districts concerning the degree of influence tribal groups have on the direction of Indian education programs in light of other internal and external interests. Interviews with tribal leaders suggest that some schools are doing exceptionally well at partnering and collaborating with tribes while others view such efforts with skepticism. Major themes to emerge from the analysis that was argued to explain these differences included the individual preferences of public officials overseeing Indian education programs, the quality and experience of school officials, various characteristics of the school district including size of Native enrollment, reciprocity and resources, and the presence of oversight and accountability mechanisms.

CHAPTER IV. THE ROLE OF VALUES AND BELIEFS IN THE

COLLABORATIVE PROCESS

The previous chapter explored the nature of relationships between tribes and public schools and revealed several important lessons to understanding what drives these relationships. The following chapter explores what factors drive the collaborative behavior of public school officials towards American Indian tribes with a particular focus on the role of values and beliefs in the collaborative process. Surprisingly, much of the literature on collaboration has tended to focus less on understanding why public managers do (or do not) collaborate with stakeholders in the external environment, and more on the structure and effectiveness of networks (McGuire 2006; Milward and Provan 2000; O'Toole 1998; O'Toole and Meier 1999). Furthermore, even less work on collaborative behavior has attempted to understand the role of values and beliefs in the collaborative process which I argue is essential to understanding collaboration with underrepresented groups such as American Indian populations. Indian education provides an ideal setting in which to address these gaps in the literature by viewing collaboration between tribes and public schools through the lens of bureaucratic values.

I explore intergovernmental collaboration between tribes and public schools based on quantitative data from an original survey of Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma public schools. The following chapter is divided into four parts. The first section discusses the literature on collaborative public management and introduces the different ways in which representative bureaucracy and social construction theory can contribute to an understanding of collaborative behavior. I then introduce the key research questions and hypotheses that motivate the present

investigation, as well as the data and methods used in the analysis. I discuss the impact

of values and beliefs on collaborative behavior, and how these partnerships are

perceived by American Indian stakeholders. I conclude with a discussion of the broader

theoretical and practical implications of the findings.

Collaborative Public Management and Bureaucratic Values

Collaborative Public Management

Literature on collaborative public management has developed into a rich body of

knowledge over the past several decades and has explored collaboration across a broad

range of policy areas including health and human services (e.g. Milward et al. 2009),

education (e.g. Hicklin et al. 2008; Gordon and Louis 2009), crisis management (i.e.

Waugh and Streib 2006; Moynihan 2009), and even public utility services (Hendriks

2008). Public managers play a critical role in building, sustaining, and managing

networks of actors that scholars argue requires a different set of tools in the managerial

toolbox (O'Toole 1997). Exploring what drives collaboration and what factors underlie

collaborative behavior has important implications for understanding issues of equity and

policy legitimacy in the eyes of stakeholders. This is especially true with regards to

Indian education where school districts that receive federal dollars for Indian education

programs are expected to collaborate with Native communities (Lomawaima and

McCarty 2002, 2006).

Surprisingly, a majority of work on collaborative public management has tended

to focus less on what motivates public managers to collaborate, and more on the

structure and effectiveness of networks (Bardach 1998; Milward and Provan 2000;

Moynihan 2005). For example, Milward and Provan's (2000) work on community

mental health networks finds that inter-organizational arrangements are more effective when integrated around a powerful core agency than more decentralized structures. Moreover, Meier and O'Toole's (2001; 2003; 2005) formal model of management has found positive impacts of networking behavior on student performance in Texas public schools. In this instance, networking behavior is shown to increase the impact of resources and reduce the influence of constraints on organizations, helping them achieve goals more effectively and efficiently than they would alone (Meier and O'Toole 2003).

Given this wealth of knowledge on collaboration, it is somewhat surprising that we know so little about what drives the collaborative behavior of public officials. The existing literature on collaborative behavior has tended to explore how various incentives and disincentives motivate or discourage public managers from engaging actors in the external environment (Scharpf 1978; McGuire 2006; Fleishman 2009). Resource dependency theory has been particularly influential in this area of the literature and assumes that public organizations neither command nor control enough resources to survive on their own (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Gazley and Brudney 2007; Gazley 2008). As a result, public managers must pursue additional resources in the external environment in order to effectively meet the goals of the organization. This often forces actors into asymmetric relationships with more influential affiliations that control a greater share of resources having more influence in collaborative arrangements (Fleishman 2009). Thus, we would expect managers to interact with actors who are perceived as influential as opposed to those who hold no potential for adding value to the organization.

Other studies have explored deterrents to collaboration, focusing largely on the influence of high transaction costs in discouraging managers from engaging certain actors in the external environment (Williamson 1975; Ferris and Graddy 1991). According to Williamson (1981), transaction costs are the "comparative costs of planning, adapting, and monitoring task completion under alternative governing structures" (pp. 552–553).The primary logic of transaction cost theory in relation to contracting and collaboration is that the motivation and rationale for entering into cooperative, inter-organizational arrangements is to reduce transaction costs associated with providing a particular service traditionally administered within the organization (Williamson 1985; Lavery 1999). Studies have explored how the relative difficulty of doing business with a potential organization or stakeholder can drive managerial decisions to collaborate or not collaborate (Kickert et al. 1997). Thus, as transaction costs rise, a manager is less likely to involve the actor in decision making and collaborative arrangements. Furthermore, to reduce the threat of opportunism, organizations must identify actors they can trust in a network. If organizations can identify these participants, they can essentially lower the transaction costs associated with collaboration and begin to build meaningful partnerships.

While a focus on transaction costs and mutual dependence has shed considerable light on why public managers do (or do not) collaborate, little systematic research on collaborative public management has focused on the role of values and beliefs in shaping the collaborative behavior of public officials. I argue that this is a critical missing piece in the collaborative management puzzle. According to Aldrich (1979), similarity in values and beliefs makes formation of intergovernmental partnerships

stronger and more stable. Common belief systems which are composed of norms,

values, and common worldviews are what Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, 27) refers

to as the "principal glue" that binds actors and stakeholders in a network. This logic can

be applied to understanding how similarities in values and beliefs may work to

strengthen collaborative partnerships between tribes and public schools, and help meet

complex and challenging social problems that cannot be solved, or solved easily, by a

single organization (Agranoff and McGuire 2003, 7). Indian education provides an

ideal setting in which to address this gap in the literature, which is the purpose of the

following investigation.

Bureaucratic Values and Representative Bureaucracy

Fortunately, a rich body of knowledge has developed in the bureaucratic values

literature that provides a useful framework for understanding the role of values and

beliefs in the collaborative process. Literature on bureaucratic values has largely

developed independently of work on collaborative public management, and deals with

the inherent political nature of bureaucracy and what factors drive bureaucratic behavior

(e.g. Pitkin 1967; Frederickson 1971; Wamsely 1990; Meier and O'Toole 2006).

Understanding what values public officials possess is a critical component to

understanding policy actions and behavior including decisions to collaborate. As Meier

and Krause (2003) argue, studies of public organizations tend to treat bureaucracy as a

mysterious "black box" with little understanding of the processes and values inside.

Admittedly, public administration has struggled to fully account for and capture how

bureaucratic values influence the behavior of public officials, and even less work has

explored how values impact collaborative behavior in particular with little cross-

pollination between the literature on bureaucratic values and collaborative governance. I argue that we can use Indian education policy as an ideal setting in which to bridge these two literatures and view the collaborative behavior of public managers through the lens of bureaucratic values.

One area of the literature that is especially useful for such a task is the theory of representative bureaucracy which has experienced a flurry of scholarship over the past several decades (Kingsely 1944; Pitkin 1967; Krislov 1981; Meier and Bohte 2001; Wilkins 2007). According to representative bureaucracy, a public sector that reflects the diversity of interests in the community is more likely to behave in ways that are beneficial to those interests (Krislov 1981). This logic captures the difference between two types of representation: passive and active (Mosher 1968). Passive representation is concerned with the extent to which the public sector has the same demographic origins as the population it serves with regards to race, ethnicity, gender, and social class to name a few (Keiser 2010). It is assumed that individuals within these groups share the same values and beliefs as one another through socialization and similar life experiences. Active representation, on the other hand, occurs when bureaucrats use their discretion to act on these shared values in ways that are beneficial to a particular population. Demonstrating the translation from passive representation (do officials resemble the demographic composition of the population) to active representation (do officials act on these values in regards to bureaucratic behavior) has been the primary challenge of representative bureaucracy (Meier and O'Toole 2006). In short, proponents of representative bureaucracy argue that the "individual characteristics of bureaucrats

influence their values, attitudes, and role orientations, which in turn influence their behavior" (Keiser 2010, 716).

The link between passive and active representation has been met with mixed evidence and has tended to focus primarily on issues of race and gender. Earlier work by Meier and Stewart (1991), for instance, finds evidence that Latino representation is related to fewer discriminatory policies towards Latino students and higher academic performance. A similar relationship is found in regards to higher numbers of African American teachers and the number of African American students placed in gifted classes (Meier and Stewart 1992). However, a connection between gender and policy outputs has been less consistent, with some effects of representation witnessed in more "gendered" policy areas such as child support (Wilkins and Keiser 2006).

While not a traditional test of representative bureaucracy, which has tended to focus on how the composition of public organizations in terms of race or gender translates to specific policy outcomes, the theory does provide a useful framework for understanding how the values of public managers influences their behavior with respect to building (or not building) partnerships with tribes in Indian education. Based on these observations we may expect the following:

> H_{1a}: *Indian education directors that are American Indian will demonstrate*
>
> *higher levels of collaboration with Indian tribes than non-Indian directors.*

Aside from direct effects of descriptive representation, there are a number of mediating conditions that studies have found to be influential. Of particular relevance to a study of Indian education is the issue of intersectionality in the theory of representative bureaucracy (Keiser 2010). This refers to the fact that bureaucrats, like

all people, possess multiple identities that arise from their gender, race, ethnicity, or other characteristics that may have different implications for shaping behavior (Gay and Tate 1998; Keiser et al. 2002). With this in mind, public managers in schools may not only share a similar racial identity with Native stakeholders, but also a group identity that may, in fact, be more salient with regards to behavior. Most work in representative bureaucracy has tended to focus solely on racial identity or gender, with little work on the possibility of multiple identities. American Indian populations can take representative bureaucracy a step further by considering the intersection of both racial and ethnic identity given that American Indians are also members of distinct cultural groups based on their tribal affiliation. In fact, one common misconception of American Indians and tribal communities is that they all share the exact same values and beliefs when there are substantial differences across the more than 500 Indian nations in the U.S. each with their own culture, customs, laws, and worldviews (Wilkins 2007). This presents an opportunity to explore how different "identities" have different implications for bureaucratic behavior in the translation from passive to active representation. Based on this observation, I hypothesize the following:

> H_{1b}: *Officials that are American Indian and members of the tribes in*
>
> *their service area will collaborate at higher levels than officials who are*
>
> *members of tribes outside the community, or not American Indian at all.*

Studying the effects of representation in Indian education also provides an ideal setting in which to expand and build upon existing theory in representative bureaucracy. First, few studies in representative bureaucracy have focused on American Indian populations, with most studies focusing instead on African American and Hispanic

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populations (Meier and Stewart 1992; Selden 1997; Meier and O'Toole 2006). Second, most tests of representative bureaucracy tend to focus on representation at lower levels of the organization including street-level bureaucrats (e.g. Keiser et al. 2002; Meier and O'Toole 2006), with little work focusing on representation at middle to upper levels of the hierarchy (e.g. Brudney, Herbert, and Wright 2000). Seldon (2006) argues that bureaucrats at higher levels of the organization have more authority to directly affect implementation. We might expect the same level of discretion amongst public managers who oversee Indian education programs in public schools, and who also determine the degree to which tribes will be involved in the decision making process. Finally, a focus on Indian education provides an ideal setting in which to explore multiple degrees of representation as discussed earlier that focuses on not only race, but group affiliation as well.

Attitudes, Beliefs, and Collaborative Behavior

It is also possible that the degree to which public managers interact with stakeholders in the external environment is driven by their individual attitudes and biases towards particular groups. As with the influence of shared values on collaboration, little research in collaborative public management has explored how individual attitudes towards actors in the external environment influence collaborative behavior. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that the way groups are socially constructed in society can influence policy action and behavior towards these target populations. According to Schneider and Ingram (1993, 335), social constructions are "stereotypes about particular groups of people that have been created by politics, culture, socialization, history, the media, literature, and the like." Social constructions

can either be positive (i.e. "deserving") or negative (i.e. "undeserving") and can be the basis for determining the distribution of benefits and burdens to particular groups in society (Ingram et al. 2007; Schneider and Sidney 2009). Groups deemed by the public as "deserving" are typically seen as the beneficiaries of public policies, while those constructed as "undeserving" often become the targets of policies that work against their interests (57).

Literature on social constructions and public policy has largely focused on policy designs and the importance of second order effects on levels of political participation among target populations (Nicholson-Crotty and Meier 2005). According to Ingram and Schneider (2005), public policies send powerful messages to groups that, over time, become institutionalized and engrained in the political psyche. The disproportionate treatment of particular groups in society can greatly impact their identity, political mobilization, and participation level in the political system (see also Soss 2000). As a result, not only can social constructions influence the actions and behavior of bureaucrats towards particular groups in society, but these social constructions might also impact the participation of particular groups as well (Ingram et al. 2007).

We can use this as a useful lens in which to understand how attitudes towards target populations such as tribes can influence the extent to which public managers actively seek out and build meaningful partnerships with these particular stakeholders. This has implications for bridging collaborative public management and social construction theory in new ways to expand our understanding of what factors shape managerial behavior and, more importantly, what this means for access among

historically disadvantaged populations in policy implementation. This is especially true concerning American Indian populations and Indian education. While public school officials are expected to collaborate with tribes given their unique status in the American political system, many individuals may not understand or recognize these rights as legitimate and view American Indian populations as they would other minority groups (Baylor 1996). In other words, tribal officials may not be viewed by public managers as deserving of special treatment or additional access to decision making based simply on their racial or ethnic background. Such individuals will act on these beliefs by simply directing time and resources to other endeavors deemed more important and collaborate less with tribal governments. Based on these observations, I hypothesize the following:

> *H_2: More positive attitudes towards tribes (i.e. tribes deserve to be involved in decisions concerning Indian education) will be associated with higher levels of collaboration than more negative attitudes towards tribes (i.e. tribes do not deserve to be involved in decisions concerning Indian education).*

Other Potential Factors Influencing Collaborative Behavior

Individual Characteristics

Aside from individual values and beliefs influencing collaboration between tribes and public schools, other individual level characteristics may also matter. First, studies have highlighted managerial experience as being an important factor in understanding management of the external environment (i.e. Meier et al. 2006). Relationships within a network take a substantial amount of time to develop in order to

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build trust and understanding among participants. Partnerships are argued to be stronger where there is more stability in the network, and when stakeholders have more frequent interactions over an extended period of time (Kickert et al. 1997). We may expect that public officials with more experience working with American Indian communities in their service area may have more frequent interactions and stronger partnerships with tribes than those with little to no experience. Other background characteristics may also be influential including differences in the level of education among public officials, gender, and whether the position is full-time or part-time.

School District Characteristics

It is also important to take into account other characteristics of the school districts themselves that might directly or indirectly influence the degree to which directors interact with American Indian communities. One of the more important conditions to consider is the size of the Native student population that may vary substantially across school districts. We might expect school districts that are more "native" with regards to the number Native students enrolled in public schools to place a higher priority on Indian education among other concerns, and dedicate more time and resources to building partnerships with tribes. A final consideration to take into account is the influence of organizational capacity and resources that may influence the extent to which public officials can build meaningful partnerships with surrounding tribal communities. We might expect that school districts with more resources may be in a better position to engage in collaborative partnerships outside the organization, than those with greater budgetary constraints.

Stakeholder Characteristics and Reciprocity

Another important factor to take into account in understanding collaborative behavior is not only characteristics of public agencies, but also characteristics of external stakeholders as well that may directly affect decisions to collaborate. Typically in collaborative settings, public managers actively seek out partners that can help meet organizational goals that would otherwise not be possible by one organization alone (Bardach 1998). Kickert et al. (1997) refer to this as "selective activation" wherein collaborative managers strategically select who to bring into networks based upon the expected utility of their participation. Stakeholders that have more to offer in regards to value-added to public organizations are more likely to be "activated" in network settings (O'Leary and Bingham 2009). Furthermore, according to Meier and O'Toole (2004), "because those who are better off are more likely to organize and press demands, it should come as no surprise that managerial networking will benefit the haves rather than the have-nots."

Partnerships between tribes and public schools offer an interesting opportunity to explore such nuances in collaborative governance given the substantial amount of variation that exists across tribes in regards to social and economic condition. We might expect public officials to collaborate less with tribes that have a higher percentage of need within their communities as determined by levels of poverty and unemployment than tribes that have greater resources and more stability within their nation. This gets at the dual nature of the collaborative process that is important to account for with regards to intergovernmental collaboration.

Data and Methods

To test these hypotheses, I use data from an original mail survey of 428 Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma public schools as discussed in the previous chapter. With regards to collaboration, Indian education directors play the important role of "gatekeeper" in determining tribal involvement in decisions concerning Indian education in public schools that places them at the very center of intergovernmental collaboration. Of the 428 directors surveyed, a total of 150 responded representing approximately 35% of the entire population.

Survey responses were then paired with secondary data collected from a number of sources for each school district in the dataset for the most recent year available (2009). Enrollment data and financial characteristics for each school district were drawn from the U.S. Department of Education's Elementary/Secondary Information System database (USDE 2011). Community characteristics including poverty within each district were collected from the New Mexico Public Education Department (NMPED) website as well as the Office of Accountability in Oklahoma.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is collaboration with American Indian nations. Indian education directors were asked how often they interact with tribal officials and staff with responses ranging from never, yearly, quarterly, weekly, and daily. A six point scale was constructed based on these categories ranging from 0 representing no collaboration to 5 representing the highest level of collaboration. The term "collaboration" has taken on a number of meanings in the collaborative management literature, with the approach used here being a common measure in studies

of networking behavior (Meier and O'Toole 1999; Meier and O'Toole 2001; Meier and O'Toole 2007). For purposes of this study, respondents were presented with the following definition of collaboration: "Any joint activity (both formal and informal) between public schools and tribes that seeks mutually beneficial action to achieve common goals such as improving Indian education programs and the educational attainment of Native students." However, whereas other studies in the collaboration literature have focused on interactions with a multitude of stakeholders in the external environment, the present study focuses on collaboration with only one primary stakeholder of interest, tribal governments.

Figure 3 presents the percent of respondents that fall into each of these categories with several points worth mentioning. First, as Figure 3 illustrates, there is a fair amount of variability across public school districts in regards to the frequency of interaction with tribal officials and staff, with most directors interacting on either a yearly (36%), quarterly (20%), or monthly (29%) basis. However, appreciate the fact that all public school districts in the analysis are expected to collaborate with tribal governments, yet there still exists substantial differences across Indian education directors with regards to the extent to which they actively engage tribal officials, with 9% reporting that they never collaborate. This begs the question of what explains this variation across school districts in regards to collaboration, which I argue can be partially understood by the presence of individual values and beliefs that drive collaborative behavior.

Figure 3. Levels of Collaboration with American Indian Tribes
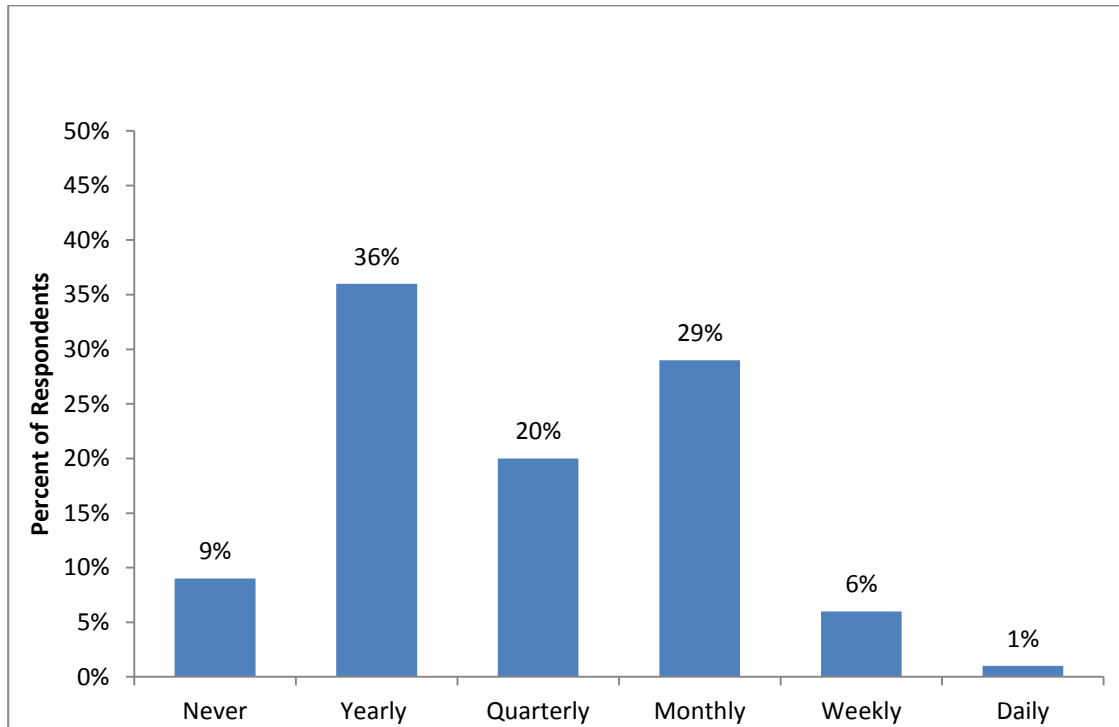
Primary Independent Variables

Table 3 provides descriptive statistics for all variables included in the analysis. To measure the importance of shared values, the first set of primary independent variables considers the race and tribal affiliation of Indian education directors in public schools. Respondents were asked a series of three questions: (1) whether they are a member of a federally recognized tribe; (2) which tribe they are a member of; and (3) which tribes are in their service area. Responses were then matched to tribes in the director's service area to create two binary variables. The first is a binary variable for Indian education directors who are American Indian but not members of tribes in the service area (1="non-affiliated", 0 =others), while the second binary variable represents directors who are both American Indian and members of the tribes within their respective service area (1 ="affiliated", 0=others). Non-Indian directors serve as the

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean	Std.	Range
Collaboration	1.90	1.14	0 - 5
American Indian ("non-affiliated")	0.08	-	0 - 1
American Indian ("affiliated")	0.41	-	0 - 1
Attitudes Index	4.66	1.33	1 - 7
Experience (years)	8.56	7.53	0 - 37
Education	5.43	1.16	2 - 7
Female	0.48	-	0 - 1
Full Time	0.84	-	0 - 1
Total Native Enrollment (100's)	3.98	8.68	0.14- 100
Percent State Aid	58.97	8.79	27 - 75
Tribal-District Overlap	0.43	-	0 - 1
District Poverty	23.38	7.45	6 - 48

reference group. The expectation is that Indian education officials who share both a racial and group identity with tribes in their service area will demonstrate higher levels of collaboration than either Native directors from outside the community, or non-Indians.

The next primary independent variable in the analysis captures the influence of individual attitudes towards the involvement of tribal groups in Indian education programs. Directors were asked to respond to three statements related to the deservedness of tribes to be involved in decisions concerning Indian education ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Responses to these three questions were then averaged to construct an index ranging from 1 reflecting a more negative attitude toward tribal involvement in decision making, to 7 representing a more positive attitude

toward tribes.[5] The three survey items used to construct this index have a Cronbach Alpha of .76 suggesting moderate to high internal consistency.

Control Variables

Several control variables are also included in the analysis. First, I control for the experience of Indian education directors that may have an appreciable effect on collaborative behavior. Managerial experience is based on the number of years a director has been in his or her current position in the school district, with the expectation that Indian education directors who have more experience will demonstrate higher levels of collaboration with tribes. I also consider several other background and demographic characteristics including education (1 – some high school to 7 – doctoral degree), gender (1=female, 0=male), and whether the position is full-time (1=full-time, 0=part-time) which may have implications for the capacity of public officials to build meaningful partnerships with Indian communities.

I also take into account district level characteristics that may influence intergovernmental collaboration. I control for the total number of Native students enrolled in the district with the expectation that Indian education and collaboration with tribes will be a higher priority in local education agencies that are essentially "more native."[6] I also include a control variable for whether the school district overlaps with a tribal jurisdiction (1=district overlaps with tribal jurisdiction, 0=district does not overlap). Economic and social conditions within the school district may also influence

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[5] Respondents were asked whether they strongly disagreed to strongly agreed to the following three statements: "Schools have a responsibility to collaborate and involve tribes in decisions concerning Indian education," "Tribes should have a say in the implementation and design of Indian education programs in public schools," and finally, "Tribes and Indian parents have a legal and moral right to be involved in decisions concerning Indian education in public schools."

[6] As shown by the standard deviation for native student enrollment, there are several cases with extreme values in the analysis. None of these cases had an appreciable effect on the models.

partnerships with tribes. To control for this I include a measure of district poverty with the expectation that it will be negatively associated with levels of collaboration.

Empirical Analysis

To explore the impact of values and beliefs on intergovernmental collaboration with tribes, I use Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression that incorporates the three primary independent variables and seven control variables. I also use Ordered Logistic Regression given that the dependent variable is based on ordinal level data. The results of these two approaches were largely similar (see appendix D) so for ease of interpretation I will show the results of the OLS regression analysis.

Exploring Intergovernmental Collaboration with Tribes

Table 4 shows the results of the multivariate analysis predicting intergovernmental collaboration between tribes and public schools. The results provide mixed support for each of the three hypotheses, especially with regards to the relationship between shared values and collaborative behavior. Overall, the model as specified explains 27% of the variation in collaborative behavior suggesting very modest model-fit. Nonetheless, this suggests that more than a third of the variation across districts can be explained by values, attitudes, and other individual and district level characteristics included in the models.

As Table 4 demonstrates, there is mixed evidence to support the first set of hypotheses regarding the impact of representation on collaborative behavior. First, there appears to be an interesting distinction between directors who share either a racial

Table 4. Exploring Factors Related to Collaborative Behavior with American

Indian Nations in New Mexico and Oklahoma

DV= Collaboration	Coefficient	Std. Error
American Indian (outsider)	0.213	0.35
American Indian (insider)	0.497**	0.21
Attitudes Index	0.285***	0.07
Experience (years)	0.029**	0.01
Education	0.132	0.08
Female	-0.361**	0.19
Full Time	0.224	0.26
Native Enrollment (100s)	0.007	0.01
Percent State Aid	0.002	0.01
Tribal-District Overlap	0.442**	0.21
District Poverty	-0.020	0.02
Constant	-0.468	0.81
Observations	120	
F-Statistics	5.06***	
Adjusted R^2	0.27	

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$,*** $p < .01$

identity or tribal affiliation with the surrounding Native communities in their service

area. As reflected in Table 4, directors who are American Indian but not members of the

tribes in their service area have no appreciable difference in collaborative behavior as

compared to non-Indian directors, a finding that runs contrary to hypothesis 1_a.

However, there is a rather substantial and significant difference in collaborative activity

among directors who reflect the distribution of both racial and distinct cultural values of

the community, with American Indian directors who are members of the tribes in their service area demonstrating higher levels of collaborative activity (.50) as compared to their non-Indian counterparts, a point I will return to shortly.

With regards to the impact of attitudes on collaborative behavior, the results offer strong support for the second hypothesis. Directors who have more positive attitudes towards tribes demonstrate higher levels of collaborative activity with tribal officials and staff. Thus, the degree to which Indian education officials in public schools believe that tribes should, and have a right to be, involved in the internal affairs of public schools as it relates to Indian education have a significantly higher level of collaboration with tribal governments. Simply put, attitudes towards target populations, in this instance tribes, appear to have a meaningful impact on behavior.

Since the following study is a first look at what factors impact collaboration with tribes, it is important to talk briefly about some of the control variables in the analysis. As Table 4 demonstrates, the degree to which public officials collaborate with tribal governments is partially driven by the number of years a director has been in his or her current position. For each additional year of service, there is a positive and significant increase in collaborative activity (.03) with surrounding Indian communities controlling for all other factors. Gender is also significant with females showing substantially lower levels of interaction with American Indian groups; a finding that eludes satisfactory explanation. Surprisingly, there is no significant relationship between the number of American Indian students and collaborative behavior, though it is in the expected direction suggesting that directors in school districts that are more "native" have more frequent interactions with tribal communities than those who are in

school districts with fewer Native students. Finally, another important predictor of collaborative behavior with tribal governments has to do with proximity as determined by tribal-district overlap. Table 4 demonstrates a significant and positive relationship between whether a school district is located within a tribe's jurisdiction and the number of interactions between Indian education directors and tribal officials.

To take a closer look at how social constructions of tribes impact collaborative behavior, Figure 4 provides a clearer illustration of the relationship between attitudes towards tribal involvement in public school districts (as represented by the x-axis), and the extent to which public managers actively engage tribal stakeholders (as shown on the y-axis) holding all other factors at their mean. As shown, there is a rather steep positive slope in levels of collaboration as directors' move from a more negative to a more positive social construction of tribes as deserving to be involved in decisions concerning Indian education. Furthermore, these are not trivial differences, with directors at the lowest end of the attitudes index interacting only once a year with tribes while those at the highest point of the index interact on a quarterly to monthly basis. Clearly, individual biases towards these groups have an impact on actual levels of collaboration.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, this finding is supported in interviews with tribal leaders who were asked what they saw as some of the greatest challenges in collaborating with public school officials in the area. According to one tribal leader, "It's kind of that mentality of 'get over it' that's nationwide… 'why are we doing this? Why do we have to do this? Get over it already, you know, it's been so many years.

Figure 4. The Impact of Attitudes on Collaborative Behavior
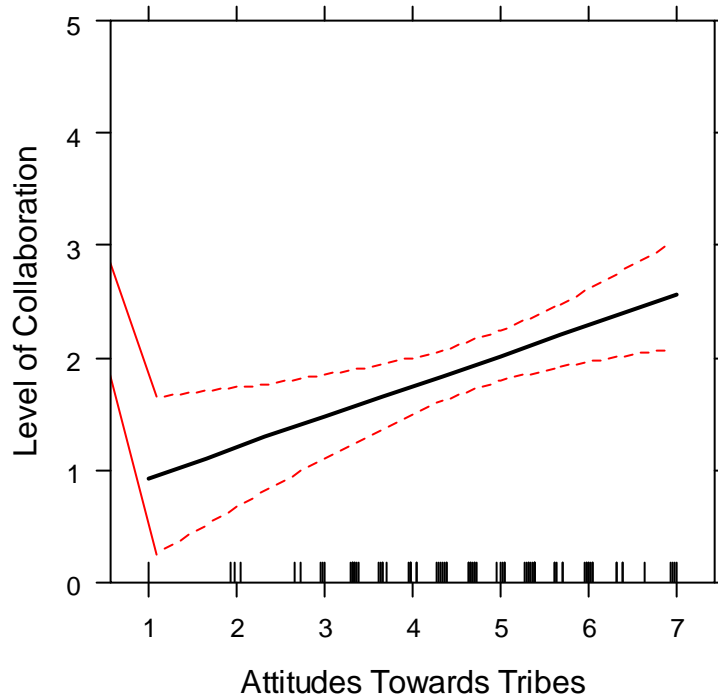
Why do they get special treatment?' Well read your history book and find out why, you know what I mean or read some treaties and find out why. Educate yourself and find out why. " This quote demonstrates an inherent disconnect between the intentions and motivations behind Indian education policy that are rooted in a deep historical relationship between tribes and the federal government, and the individual beliefs and attitudes of school officials on the ground that may not understand why they must partner with tribes in the first place. This has profound implications for the access, involvement, and influence of tribal communities in the education of Native children in the public school system that is partially explained by the individual biases of directors responsible for overseeing Indian education programs. Furthermore, this suggests that while all Indian education directors are mandated to collaborate with tribes in their

service area under federal law, there still exists substantial variation in the extent to which this is actually the case that can be understood by focusing on the personal biases of public officials. In short, attitudes influence bureaucratic behavior, sometimes to a large degree.

Figure 5 provides a clearer picture of how race and tribal affiliation influence the collaborative behavior of Indian education directors controlling for all other factors in the analysis. According to the theory of representative bureaucracy, we would expect directors who are American Indian regardless of tribal affiliation to collaborate at higher levels with tribes than their non-Indian counterparts. However, as Figure 5 demonstrates, there is very little difference in collaborative behavior between these two groups which runs contrary to original expectations.

Figure 5. The Impact of Race and Tribal Affiliation on Collaborative Behavior
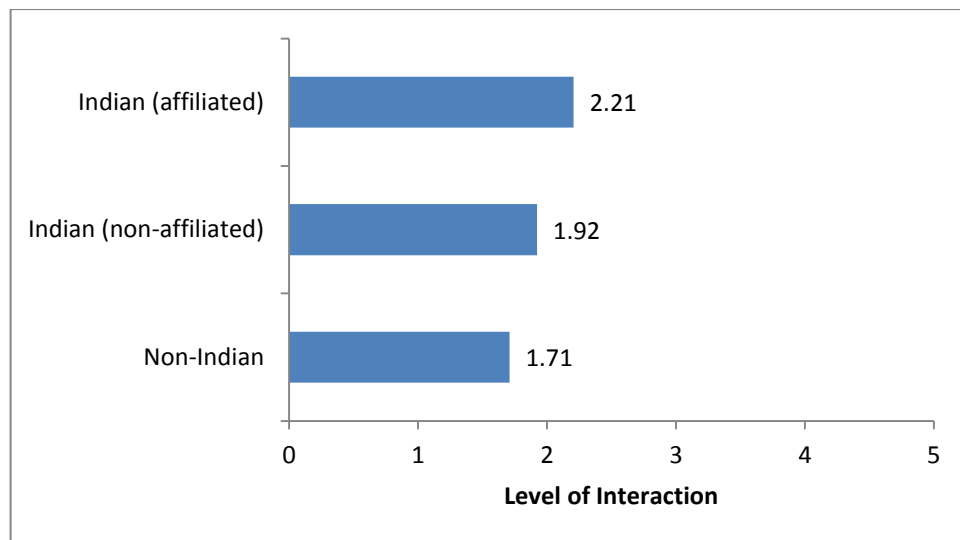
Note: Point estimates controlling for individual and district level factors

Where we do see the effects of shared values on collaborative behavior is when we take the analysis a step further and consider the extent to which directors reflect the values of specific groups in the community with regards to shared tribal affiliation. As

Figure 5 illustrates, directors who share both an Indian and tribal identity demonstrate higher levels of collaboration with tribes than directors from outside the community (including both Indian and non-Indian directors) by a non-trivial amount. As a result, while most studies in representative bureaucracy have traditionally used race as a proxy for values, what appears to be more important in understanding the connection between passive (shared values) and active representation (collaborative behavior) is when we look below the surface of racial identity and begin to consider the numerous differences that exist within these Census defined classifications. Whose interests are represented among a racial group appears to be the more relevant question when attempting to understand the relationship between passive and active representation that the literature on representative bureaucracy has thus far been unable to address.

This distinction between race and co-ethnic/group identity depicted in Figure 5 also reflects a common criticism in much of the American Indian politics literature concerning the treatment of Native populations as a homogenous group (Deloria 1973). A common misconception is the belief that American Indian populations share the same values, preferences, beliefs, and worldview, when in reality there are vast differences across the more than 500 Native nations all of which have their own unique cultures, customs, laws, language, and systems of governance that makes each tribe unique with regards to the values they possess and the challenges that face their communities (Wilkins 2007). "Outsiders," including both Indian directors from tribes outside the community and non-Indian directors, must learn these not so subtle differences that may have important implications for establishing a foundation of trust between school officials and tribes that can directly affect partnerships and mutual buy-in to the

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collaborative process. Establishing such trust may take more time for directors coming from outside these communities who have not been socialized properly. However, while the analysis can show that these important differences exist based on the identity and values of public school officials, it doesn't help us understand the causal mechanisms that drive the relationship between co-ethnic identity and behavior.

Conclusion

The results of this chapter demonstrate that collaborative behavior is just as much driven by a rational desire to add value to the organization in meeting program and policy goals, as it is influenced by the individual values and beliefs of public managers. American Indian communities have struggled to gain access to key decision making positions both in education and other policy areas. These findings shed new light on what influences the access of tribal stakeholders in decision making processes in public education. As suggested in the representative bureaucracy literature, having officials who reflect the values of the communities served also has important implications for how stakeholders view the legitimacy of policymaking that can impact these stakeholders' willingness to collaborate from the perspective of tribes. This would suggest that if school districts desire to build meaningful partnerships with surrounding Indian communities, they may want to consider hiring directors who are not only American Indian, but more importantly who share the values of the groups in the service area.

This chapter also attempted to bridge literature on bureaucratic values and collaborative public management in new ways. Using representative bureaucracy and social construction theory to view collaborative behavior through the lens of values and

beliefs opens new avenues of theoretical development in these areas. The findings also

suggest that the use of such demographic characteristics as race as a proxy for shared

values may be inaccurate, and overlooks deeper and more fine grained differences

among groups.

CHAPTER V. THE IMPACT OF COLLABORATION ON INDIAN
EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The previous two chapters explored the nature of collaboration between tribes and public school districts, and identified several key factors that predict the strength of these government-to-government partnerships with special attention paid to the importance of shared values and beliefs. But how do collaborative arrangements translate into actual policy outcomes? What types of outcomes are produced from collaborative partnerships with tribal governments in Indian education, and which appear to matter most with regards to collaboration? More specifically, how can tribal-local partnerships impact perceived improvements in Native student success as well as other more indirect consequences of collaboration such as building trust and joint-problem solving capacities?

The following chapter takes our story full circle and explores the perceived impact of collaboration on both direct and indirect outcomes including the ability of public schools to meet the unique cultural and academic needs of Native students and the fostering of trust and mutual understanding among tribes and schools. The chapter is divided into several parts. The first section surveys the existing literature on Native student success and the expected outcomes of collaborative governance including challenges associated with measurement in this area. The next section introduces the data and methods followed by a discussion of the results assessing the impact of collaboration across a number of measures of performance in Indian education. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the larger implications of the analysis in advancing our understanding of collaboration and impacts on policy outcomes.

The State of Indian Education in Public Schools

Numerous studies have highlighted the challenges that face primary and secondary schools with regards to Indian education and native student success (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2003; Freemen and Fox 2005; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). To say that the performance of our nation's K-12 schools for Native students is in a state of disrepair is perhaps an understatement. As previously mentioned, performance and persistence rates are the lowest among Native American students compared to all other populations in the public school system. Reports suggest that American Indian students are 237 percent more likely to drop out of school by their senior year in secondary education and 207 percent more likely to be expelled as compared to Caucasian students (National Caucus of Native American State Legislators (NCNASL) 2008). In fact, according to a study by Education Trust (2001), out of every 100 American Indian kindergartners in public schools, only 71 will graduate from high school compared to 94 of white kindergartners. Furthermore, only 30 American Indian kindergartners will complete at least some college and 7 will attain a bachelor's degree.

Native American students also fall behind non-Native students on various other indicators important to national assessments of student performance including reading and math proficiency that can have a direct impact on college readiness. Figure 6 shows the average scores by race on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) tests in public schools, which has long been considered the standard for assessing large-scale educational progress in the United States. The average scores reported for 2007 demonstrate the rather substantial achievement gap that exists between Native and non-Native students who perform well below national averages on both reading and math.

Figure 6. 2007 National Assessment of Education Progress on Reading and Math in Grade 8
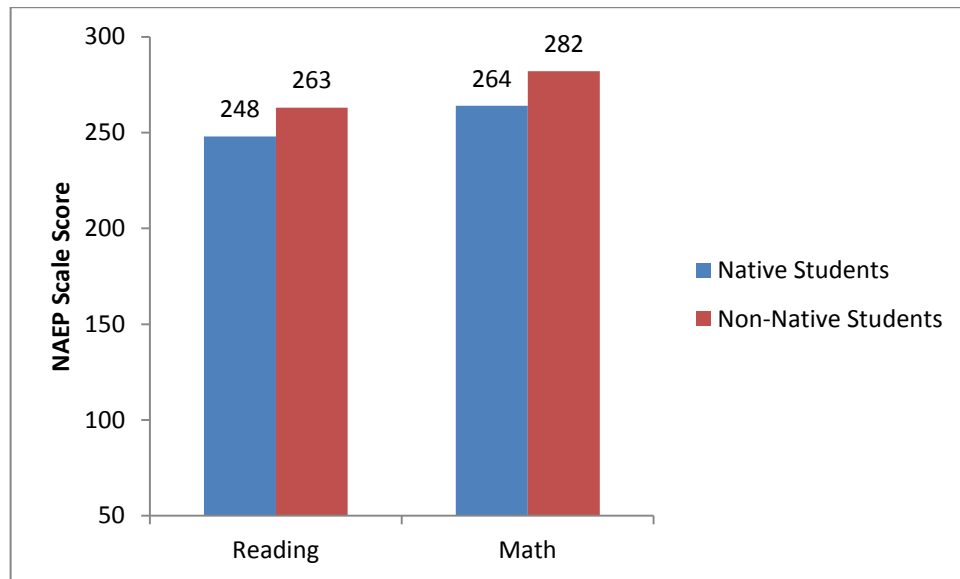
Source: NAEP Data Explorer, 2007.

In 2007, the average score for American Indian/Alaskan Native students in grade eight reading on the NAEP according to Figure 6 was 248 compared to a national average for non-Native students of 263. A similar gap can be seen with regards to scores on math proficiency with a difference of 18 points between Native American and all other eighth graders in public schools. Such achievement gaps can have a substantial impact on the readiness of Native American students for higher education and the ability to pursue opportunities for rewarding careers.

A number of factors contribute to this achievement gap including the grinding effects of poverty that persist in many Native communities, low self-esteem among Native students in educational environments that lack cultural relevancy, and other social and individual factors that serve as barriers to success (Freeman and Fox 2005). One of the primary contributing factors discussed at length in the literature is the fact that American Indian and Alaskan Native students are simply not prepared to learn

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when they walk through the doors of their school (NCNASL 2008). In addition, poor economic conditions, lack of adequate health care, and other factors in many Native communities create challenges that contribute to these disparities in the education system.

Closing this achievement gap and improving Indian education and Native student success is of key importance to federal, state, and tribal officials as 9 in 10 Native American students are enrolled in public schools across the nation. Scholars and practitioners have referred to such distressing conditions and widening achievement gaps between Native and non-Native students as a "quiet crisis" in the public school system (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2003). With a majority of Native students enrolled in public schools, it is important for school districts to find new and innovative ways to meet the unique cultural and academic needs of Native students. Many argue that greater collaboration between tribes and public schools can have a positive impact on Native student success and overall academic achievement. More specifically, tribal-school partnerships can help local education agencies improve the overall educational experience of Native students through the joint creation of language and other cultural enrichment programs that stand to benefit all children in primary and secondary education.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the federal government has responded to this need for greater involvement from members of tribal communities through the creation of various federal grants. Such policies include the Johnson O'Malley (JOM) Act of 1934 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. Grant programs under each of these laws provide financial assistance to states and local

school districts to subsidize the costs of educating Native students and supporting the development of various cultural programs. More importantly, however, these grants include mechanisms that encourage collaboration and coordination of efforts between state public school districts and Indian Nations with the expectation that joint-problem solving and representation of the Native community will lead to positive impacts on Native student success (NCAI 2007; Sharpes 1979). Schools that receive Indian education grants are expected to actively involve members of the Native community in decisions concerning Indian education in the district, which as Chapter 3 and 4 demonstrated, varies substantially across school districts. However, our understanding of how greater collaboration between tribes and public school districts translates into actual outcomes in Indian education policy remains greatly limited. A rich body of literature has explored the impacts of collaboration in public administration that suggest some possible avenues to explore with regards to Native student success.

Understanding the Outcomes of Collaboration

In the past decade, students of collaborative governance and networks have thrown down the gauntlet and issued calls for greater attention paid to understanding the outcomes of collaborative arrangements (Innes and Booher 1999; Gray 2000; O'Leary and Bingham 2003; Koontz and Thomas 2006; Thompson, Perry, and Miller 2008). These calls are premised on the belief that collaborative network structures can lead to outcomes that would not happen in hierarchical settings (Agranoff and McGuire 2001). Furthermore, Rogers and Weber (2010), argue that, "we need to think harder about, and pay more attention to the kinds of outcomes being produced, or not produced, by such new governance efforts" (546).

Several scholars have answered this call, demonstrating the complexity involved in linking collaborative processes to actual outcomes (Gray 2000; Kettl 2002; Meier and O'Toole 2003; Nicholson-Crotty, Theobald, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Thomson et al. 2008). The biggest questions from these efforts are how we should measure outcomes and what outcomes should be measured? Given the complexity of the policy problems networks are intended to solve that cannot be solved easily by a single organization (Leach & Sabatier, 2005), it should come as no surprise that such difficulties exist with regards to what outcomes should be considered in an evaluation of the benefits attributable to collaboration (Ingraham, 2005; Nicholson-Crotty, Theobald, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Bardach (1998) argues that we should focus on the idea of added "public value" in collaborative arrangements, which is a product of making use of each participant's strengths while also attempting overcome inherent weaknesses that help to collectively achieve goals. However, Bardach (1998) does not provide a clear path for demonstrating if and under what conditions impacts on "public value" can be expected or how best to measure gains from cross-sector collaboration.

Others have focused on direct substantive impacts of collaboration on policy outcomes, which might include a focus on improved environmental quality (Emerson 2009), arrest rates in law enforcement (Nicholson-Crotty and O'Toole 2004), or student achievement (Hicklin, O'Toole, Meier 2008) which is directly relevant to expected impacts of collaboration in Indian education. Perhaps most referenced for its contribution to understanding the substantive impacts of collaborative governance is the work of Meier and O'Toole (2001; 2003; 2005) who focus on the impact of networking behavior on student success in Texas public school districts. Meier and O'Toole (2003)

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find evidence to suggest that network governance and collaborative public management has a positive effect on student test scores. In this instance, networking behavior is shown to increase the impact of resources and reduce the influence of constraints on organizations, helping them achieve goals more effectively and efficiently than they would alone (Meier and O'Toole 2003).

Studies in the education literature have explored similar effects with regards to community and parent involvement (Fan 2001; Gordon and Louis 2009; Jeynes 2003; 2007). These studies suggest mixed results regarding the influence of such groups as parent committees on program decisions and outcomes in public schools, with some viewing the involvement of these individuals as merely symbolic while others find meaningful impacts in other areas such as improved decision making processes and overall capacity (Gordon and Louis 2009). Scholars in these areas call for more systematic research on the effectiveness of community partnerships using large n approaches to identify important causal relationships.

However, more recent work suggests that a focus on only direct substantive impacts of collaboration, such as improved water quality or declining dropout rates in public schools, misses the larger picture in determining the effectiveness of collaborative arrangements that can lead to incomplete evaluations of their success (Gray 2000; Kettl 2002; Thomson et al. 2008; Rogers and Weber 2010). Rogers and Weber (2010) argue that scholars should cast a wider net with regards to how they evaluate the performance of networks. The authors suggest a stronger focus on the ways partnerships can help improve the capacity of actors to solve difficult problems and the development and application of innovative strategies to collective decision making.

Furthermore, Bingham and colleagues (2003) warn against labeling any collaborative arrangement a "success or failure" without properly evaluating the full range of possible outcomes which may include more subtle qualities such as improved trust and decline of conflict among stakeholders. Building from these concerns, scholars have distinguished between two types of collaborative effects including "process" outcomes which Gray (2000) describes as the improved functions of a multi-organizational arrangement such as getting semi-autonomous actors to make jointly agreed upon and binding decisions (see also Thomson et al. 2006), and "social" outcomes which include such positive effects on network participants as improved social capital, creation of shared meaning, and increased trust among participants (Leach & Sabatier 2005; Lubell and Fulton 2008). Both sets of outcomes are argued to be at the very core of any effective network.

Along similar lines, Innes and Booher (1999) distinguish between three types of possible outcomes of collaborative governance including first-, second-, and third-order effects that has been especially influential in the literature on collaborative outcomes. Innes and Booher (1999) describe first-order effects as those that are immediate and clearly a result of the partnership which might include the creation of social, political, and intellectual capital, high quality agreements, and other innovative strategies to solving problems. Elusive "second- and third-order consequences" as Innes and Booher (1999) refer to them are those effects that consist of new norms of interaction, relationships, and practices that develop over a longer period of time and are more indirect in nature. Second- and third-order effects include outgrowths of collaboration that extend beyond substantive impacts such as joint learning, collective problem

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solving and greater problem solving capacity, stronger and more stable partnerships, increased trust among participants, and changes in perceptions (Bryson et al. 2006). These "higher order" consequences of collaboration can be just as important as direct impacts on policy outcomes as they provide the foundation for long term growth and innovation within a collaborative network of actors (Kettl 2002; Koontz and Thomas 2006).

While this debate continues, scholars have made considerable progress in untangling and exploring how collaborative governance contributes to improved outcomes in a number of ways that capture both direct and indirect effects. However, while considerable work has outlined the numerous types of outcomes that may emerge from collaborative arrangements, little research has systematically explored which appear to be most influenced by actual collaborative behavior. In the following chapter, I consider the impact of collaboration on outcomes spanning both substantive policy outcomes and social/process-oriented effects based on the perceptions of Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma public schools. I explore what perceived impacts of collaboration appear to be present with regards to tribal-school partnerships, and how collaborative behavior influences these perceptions. I explore not only the perceived impacts of collaboration on direct measures of performance such as Native student success, but also on second- and third-order effects of collaboration including trust, mutual understanding, and cross-cultural learning that act as the more indirect ways tribal-local partnerships add "public value." I expect that higher levels of collaboration will positively influence perceptions equally across all types of potential impacts.

Data and Findings

To explore how collaboration influences perceptions of impacts on such things as trust, learning, and student achievement, I use data from a mail survey of Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma public schools. These survey data are then paired with district-level data drawn from the U.S. Department of Education's Elementary/Secondary Information System database and New Mexico and Oklahoma state websites.

As detailed in the previous section, measuring outcomes of collaborative governance are both numerous and diverse which present unique challenges in capturing the full scope of effects. I use eleven measures of potential outcomes of collaboration as shown in Table 5. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with several statements related to perceived impacts of partnerships with surrounding tribal communities ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). These perceptual measures included the impact of collaboration with tribes on the ability of public schools to meet the academic and cultural needs of Native students, improving and strengthening Indian education programs, building trust and strengthening partnerships with Native stakeholders, and promoting joint problem solving and cross-cultural learning between tribes and schools. This eclectic set of measures are designed to capture both the direct substantive impacts on policy outcomes discussed at length in the literature as well as social and process-oriented effects as represented by trust and comprehensive problem solving capacity.

Table 5. Eleven Collaboration Outcome Variables Operationalized

Outcome	Question: *Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements. In general, current levels of collaboration with the Indian community:*
Educational development	Aid in the school's ability to improve the educational development of Native students.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Student cultural needs	Improves the school's ability to meet the unique cultural needs of Native students.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Student academic needs	Improves the school's ability to meet the academic needs of Native students.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Program implementation	Improve program implementation more generally.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Service to community	Improve our ability to serve tribal communities and Indian parents.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Trust	Help build trust between school officials and tribes.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Partnerships	Strengthen partnerships between tribes and public schools.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Indian education programs	Strengthen Indian education programs offered by the school.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Teacher effectiveness	Improve teachers' overall performance in regards to working with Native students in the classroom.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Joint problem solving	Promote comprehensive and collaborative problem solving with local tribes.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
Cross-Cultural Learning	Promote cross-cultural learning and understanding between tribes and schools.
	Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The analysis proceeds in essentially three steps. First, I begin by exploring where Indian education directors perceive the greatest returns or benefits of collaboration with Indian communities, followed by an exploration of how these attitudes are structured (or not structured) that may reveal important insight into the way that public officials categorize expected returns on large investments in tribal-school

partnerships. The final step in the analysis investigates how collaborative behavior influences the perception of Indian education directors concerning outcomes, comparing both direct substantive impacts and second-and third-order consequences of collaboration.

Perceived Outcomes of Collaboration

In what areas of Indian education do school officials perceive the greatest impacts of collaboration with Indian nations? Figure 7 shows the mean responses on each of the eleven perceptual measures of collaborative outcomes. Overall, attitudes towards the value added of tribal-school partnerships tend to be positive while there are several notable differences that emerge across types of outcomes. As demonstrated by the graph, the greatest perceived impact of collaboration with tribes appears to be with regards to improving Indian education programs in public schools, an example of a more direct substantive impact. This is not surprising when considering the literature on Indian education that stresses the importance of tribal-school partnerships in strengthening academic and cultural programs that serve as the primary building blocks to improving Native student achievement in public schools (Fan 2001; Gordon and Louis 2009; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002).

Along similar lines, the perceived benefits of collaboration between tribes and public schools appears to be most promising with regards to building a strong cultural environment for Native students which is also consistent with the literature on Indian education that stresses the need for greater cultural integration in public schools (Shotton 2007). In fact, when examining the distribution of responses, approximately 40% of respondents said they agreed or strongly agreed that partnerships with

Figure 7. Mean Differences in Perceived Impacts of Collaboration
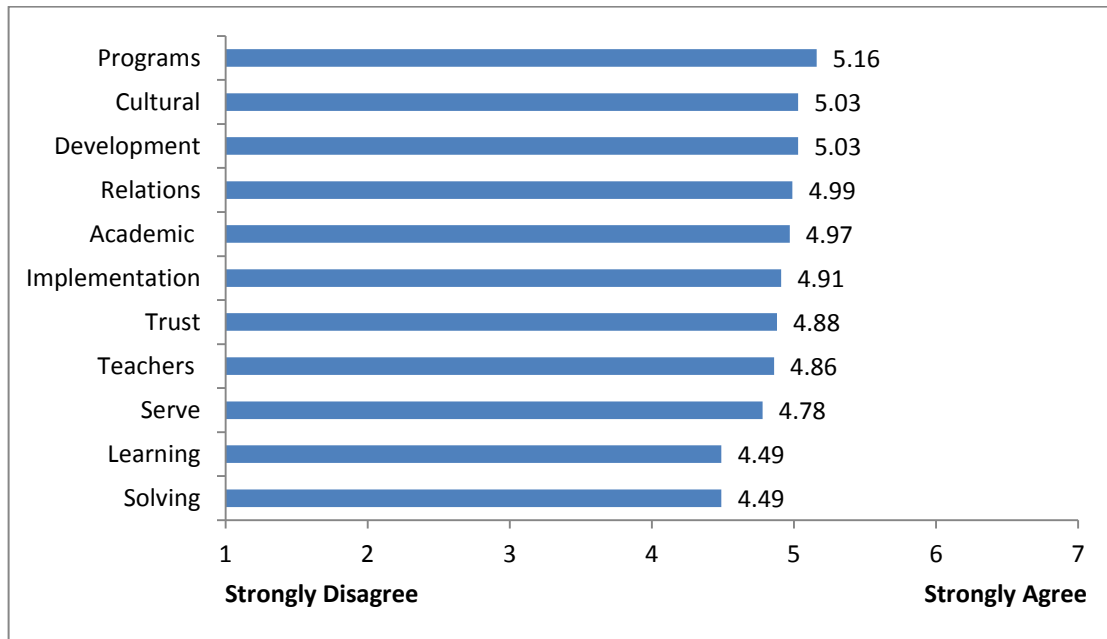
surrounding tribes improved their ability to meet the unique cultural needs of Native American students served in the district. Indian education directors' also ranked educational development (5.03), improved stakeholder partnerships (4.99), and, to a lesser extent, the improved ability to meet the academic needs of Native children (as opposed to cultural needs) relatively high with regards to perceived outcomes of collaborative arrangements. It should be noted that all but one of these measures reflect more substantive impacts on policy outcomes discussed in the literature (Ingraham, 2005; Nicholson-Crotty, Theobald, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006).

However, such elements of collaborative outcomes as improved program implementation (4.91), trust between school officials and tribes (4.88), improved teacher performance in working with Native students in the classroom, (4.86) and ability to serve the broader Native community (4.78), while still slightly more positive, ranked lower than most other items. Perhaps unexpectedly, the perceived ability of

intergovernmental collaboration to promote cross-cultural learning (4.49) and joint-problem solving between tribes and public schools (4.49) appeared to receive the least support among Indian education directors, suggesting the presence of greater barriers with regards to this particular set of outcomes.

Mapping the Dimensions of Collaborative Outcomes

The previous section presented descriptive statistics demonstrating where Indian education directors perceive the greatest impacts of collaboration on Indian education and partnerships that suggested some structure to the way public officials think about collaborative outcomes. There are several potential ways that respondents may think about the impacts of collaboration. First, we might expect that respondents think about the impacts of collaboration along a single dimension, with impacts ranging from student achievement to problem solving being treated as a similar issue. On the other hand, it might also be the case that public schools officials, Indian education directors in particular, may perceive improvements attributable to partnerships with tribes in a more sophisticated fashion that may reveal multiple dimensions of collaboration more along the lines of first-, second-, and third-order effects as discussed in the literature (Innes and Booher 1999; Leach & Sabatier, 2005; Lubell, 2005). It is also possible that Indian education directors have little structure at all with regards to how they perceive impacts of partnerships, with responses largely random in nature.

To explore this issue further, I use factor analysis to investigate how many dimensions (factors) emerge in perceived outcomes. Two factors emerge with eigenvalues above 4.0 (see Appendix D for factor loadings). As captured in Figure 8 which plots the loadings of the 11 survey items using principal-component analysis with

Figure 8. Factor Loadings of Perceptual Impact Measures
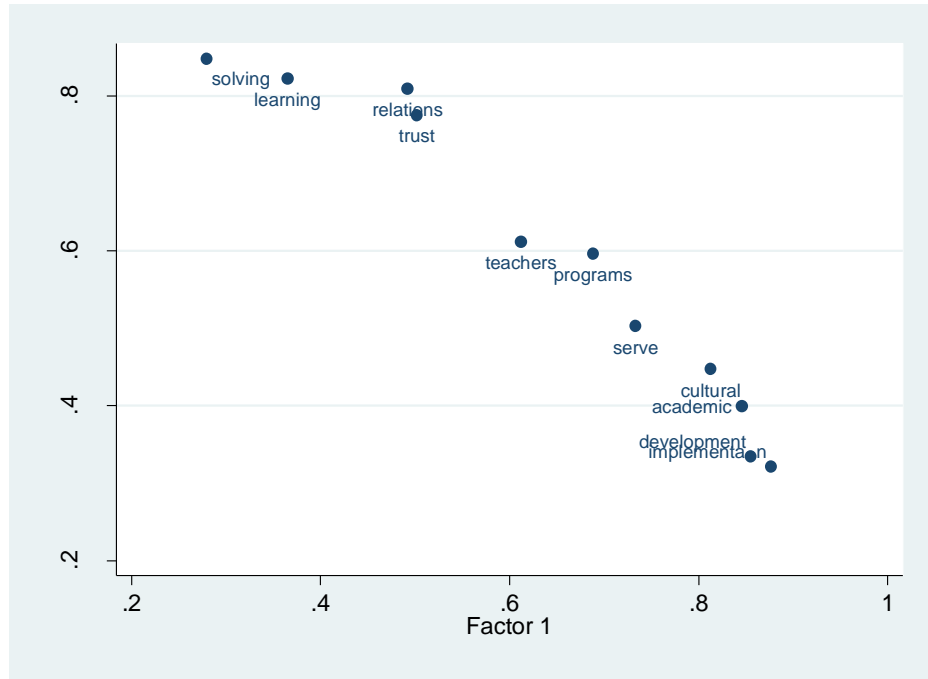
varimax rotation, it is clear that perceived outcomes of collaboration fall rather cleanly

on one factor related to student achievement and Indian education programs (i.e.

substantive effects and policy outcomes), and another representing more process

oriented and social outcomes of collaboration (i.e. second- and third- order effects). As

demonstrated by the graph, collaborative outcomes related to meeting the cultural and

academic needs of Native students, improving education development, and the

implementation of Indian education programs load relatively high on factor 1 as

represented by the x-axis, while questions related to more indirect impacts of

collaboration, or second- and third-order effects, load fairly well on the second factor as

represented by the y-axis. Three outcome measures related to improving teacher

effectiveness, strengthened programs, and the ability to serve the broader Native

community did not load neatly on any of the factors suggesting that these particular

variables capture somewhat distinct and unrelated concepts.

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These two dimensions of outcomes follow directly with categories of

collaborative impacts found in the literature concerning first-, second-, and third-order

effects (Innes and Booher 1999; Gray 2000; Leach & Sabatier, 2005; Lubell, 2005;

Bryson 2006). More importantly, this reveals the sophisticated and structured way in

which Indian education directors think about and classify the potential outcomes of

collaborative partnerships which may have different implications for understanding the

impact of collaborative behavior. Using these two dimensions to organize different

types of outcomes, the next step in the analysis demonstrates how actual collaborative

behavior influences perceptions across these two classes of impacts.

Exploring the Impact of Collaboration on Perceived Outcomes

Next, I explore how collaboration influences perceptions of policy and program

outcomes discussed in the previous sections. Based on the literature, we might expect

that greater interaction with tribal communities will influence perceptions of outcomes

in positive ways including improvements in Native student achievement, ability of the

school to meet the needs of Native students (both academic and cultural), and greater

trust and problem solving capacities among schools and tribes. However, these impacts

may differ when considering the various types of outcomes that are suggested to be an

important outgrowth of collaborative partnerships such as those demonstrated in the

factor analysis related to substantive policy outcomes versus process-oriented and social

outcomes.

To explore this relationship, I focus on eight measures of collaborative

outcomes. Based on those survey items captured in the two dimensions of collaborative

effects shown in Figure 8 which include direct substantive impacts (i.e. educational

development, ability to meet academic and cultural needs, and program

implementation), and indirect effects on more long term values including trust, joint

problem solving, stronger partnerships, and cross-cultural learning.[7] The primary

independent variable in the analysis is collaboration as measured on a 0 to 5 scale

ranging from no interactions with tribes (0) to weekly (5). As discussed in Chapter 4,

while this is a rather blunt instrument with regards to collaboration, it is the most direct

measure of behavior that has been widely used in the networking and collaboration

literature (i.e. Meier and O'Toole 2003; Hicklin, O'Toole, Meier 2008). Thus, whereas

collaboration was treated as the dependent variable of interest in the previous chapter,

we now focus on it as a primary independent variable in predicting perceived outcomes

of tribal-district partnerships.

Several additional control variables are also included in the analysis and

summarized in Table 6. First, I include several measures of district level characteristics

including student-teacher ratio, percent of students who are American Indian in the

district, and whether the district is in a Census defined rural area. I also consider the

impact of several individual level characteristics of Indian education directors including

age, gender, and the perceived strength of the district's existing or preexisting

relationships with surrounding tribal communities.[8] I use Ordinary Least Squares (OLS)

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[7] The three measures excluded from the final analysis included the impact of collaboration on serving tribal communities, improved effectiveness of teachers in the classroom, and strengthening Indian education programs. Collaboration had a positive and significant impact on two of the three variables at a liberal .10 level of significance.

[8] The latter control variable was included to control for differences across school districts in the strength of existing (and pre-existing) relationships with tribal communities that may have a meaningful and independent effect on perceived outcomes outside of individual level collaborative behavior. This is a survey item used in Chapter 3 which asks Indian education directors to grade the performance of their school district with regards to their relationship with surrounding Indian communities.

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for Control Variables Predicting Outcomes

Variables	Mean	Std.	Range
Student-Teacher Ratio	14.40	1.84	8 - 18
Teacher Experience	13.28	2.57	5 - 24
Percent American Indian	34.87	19.91	3 - 91
Rural District	0.69	-	0 - 1
Age	52.75	9.13	31 - 78
Female	0.48	-	0 - 1
Strength of Relationships	7.41	1.54	2 - 9

regression to predict perceived outcomes of collaboration across each of the eight

dependent variables.

Table 7 summarizes the results of the analysis concerning the impact of

collaboration on perceived policy outcomes and second- and third-order effects.

Overall, collaboration has a positive impact on most of the outcomes measures, with six

of the eight coefficients significant and in the expected direction. However, the overall

fit of the models is rather poor and range from an adjusted R-Square of .08 to .20.[9]

Upon closer inspection, the results in Table 7 reveal several interesting

observations. First, there appears to be an important difference in the impact of

collaboration across the two dimensions of outcomes. According to Table 7, the

impacts of collaboration would appear to be most prominent with regards to actual

policy outcomes which include effects related to the educational development of Native

students in the public school system, the ability of schools to meet the cultural and

academic needs of Native students, and implementation of programs and policy more

generally. In fact, all four of the measures related to direct impacts on Indian education

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[9] An omitted variable test reveals little concern for the potential that there are important variables missing
from the models.

Table 7. The Impact of Collaboration on Perceptual Outcomes

	Substantive Policy Outcomes				Process-Oriented and Social Outcomes			
	Educational Development	Cultural Needs	Academic Needs	Programs	Trust	Relationships	Problem Solving	Cross-Cultural Learning
Collaboration	0.326***	0.245**	0.272***	0.232*	0.278**	0.316***	0.086	0.179
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Student/Teacher	-0.002	-0.033	-0.034	-0.048	-0.135*	-0.148**	-0.016	-0.025
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Experience	0.047	0.014	0.041	0.029	0.094*	0.090*	0.128**	0.101*
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Percent Indian	-0.005	-0.006	-0.011	-0.008	-0.012*	-0.012*	-0.005	-0.008
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Rural District	-0.099	-0.42	-0.084	-0.161	-0.145	-0.355	-0.056	0.123
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.31)
Age	0.011	0.001	0.014	0.018	0.000	-0.005	-0.019	-0.001
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Gender	-0.183	-0.223	0.049	-0.195	0.174	0.078	0.115	-0.132
	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.27)
District Relat.	0.178*	0.234**	0.237***	0.245**	0.304***	0.324***	0.404***	0.403***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Constant	2.233	3.690**	2.318	2.52	3.275**	3.903**	1.071	0.777
	(1.59)	(1.59)	(1.69)	(1.70)	(1.62)	(1.55)	(1.68)	(1.68)
Observations	122	121	122	121	121	121	121	121
Adjusted R²	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.15	0.20	0.14	0.16

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < .01$

in public schools were significant and positive suggesting the particularly strong influence of interactions with tribes on perceived improvements in meeting the needs of Native students. Thus, higher levels of collaboration with surrounding tribes translated to greater perceptions of direct substantive policy outcomes as expected. Each of these areas are discussed at length in the Indian education literature as being primary areas where collaboration and partnerships between school officials and tribes are argued to benefit the greatest (Demmert 2001; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Freemen and Fox 2005).

However, there appears to be a different story developing with regards to the impact of collaboration on second- and third-order consequences of partnerships where we see mixed results. Surprisingly, collaboration is significant on only two of the four measures related to process-oriented and social outcomes of tribal-school partnerships suggesting the more limited impact of collaboration on this particular dimension. We see that, according to Table 7, there is a significant and positive relationship between higher levels of collaboration and perceived improvements in the level of trust between the district and surrounding indigenous communities which is consistent with existing literature (Kettl 2002). The results also suggest that greater collaboration leads to perceptions that tribal-school partnerships are growing stronger and more stable, with an increase of .32 for every 1 unit increase in collaborative behavior.

Yet, there appear to be several aspects of process oriented and social outcomes that higher levels of collaboration with tribes have little effect. For instance, with regards to perceived improvements in comprehensive and collaborative problem solving, collaboration appears to have no significant impact on perceptions; a finding

that runs contrary to expectations. Furthermore, collaboration also has no significant impact on perceptions towards improved cross-cultural learning and mutual understanding between tribes and schools which might also be expected as a result of more frequent interactions between these diverse stakeholders. This naturally begs the question of what could explain such differences in impacts. Overall, it would appear that collaboration is having the greatest effect in influencing the perceptions of Indian education directors on actual policy outcomes such as improved student achievement and educational development as opposed to more long term social outcomes such as cross-cultural learning and joint-problem solving.

Looking to the control variables may offer some explanations concerning what other factors might help predict perceptions of these more indirect effects. First, there are few control variables that appear have any appreciable effect on the dependent variables in the analysis.[10] Perhaps the most influential predictor of perceived outcomes in the models other than collaborative behavior is the strength of district relationships with surrounding tribes. Directors were asked to grade their district's relationship with surrounding Native communities on a scale from one representing a failing grade to 9 representing exceptional performance. This self-reported measure is significant and positive in all eight models spanning both direct impacts on the school's ability to meet the academic and cultural needs of Native students, and second- and third- order effects including trust, problem solving, and better partnerships between tribes and schools. In fact, when comparing the size of coefficients across each of the perceived outcomes measures, strength of district relationships has the greatest impact on the more process-

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[10] To test for potential multicollinearity in the model I used Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) analysis which revealed no problems in the analysis.

oriented and social outcomes of collaboration especially as it relates to both joint-problem solving and promoting cross-cultural learning and mutual understanding between tribes and schools. This finding is consistent with the literature which argues that much of the success of collaborative partnerships is contingent on prior relationships among involved parties and the degree of past conflict or cooperation (Tett, Crowther, and O'Hara 2003). In this instance, it proves to be especially influential in garnering trust and cross-cultural understanding among tribes and school officials.

Other control variables in the analysis also emerge with regards to this second dimension of perceived collaborative outcomes. In particular, district level characteristics such as student/teacher ratio, average experience of teachers in the district, and percent American Indian are significant predictors of perceptual outcomes related to trust, strength of partnerships, and comprehensive problem solving abilities.

Conclusion

In summary, collaboration can and does have an impact on perceived policy outcomes associated with the ability of public schools to meet the academic and cultural needs of Native students from the perspective of Indian education directors. There are also perceived improvements to Indian education programs including Title VII and Johnson O'Malley (JOM) that are intended to support the educational development and achievement of Native students. However, on more process-oriented and social outgrowths of collaborative arrangements such as comprehensive problem solving and cross-cultural learning, the presence of more macro level factors such as the strength of relationships between tribes and the school district appear to have a greater impact on perceptions than individual level interactions. This is not meant to undermine the

importance of collaboration in leading to real change between networked actors, only that it may have more immediate and observable effects on perceptions concerning direct outcomes involving student achievement and the quality and strength of Indian education programs than more long term effects between actors.

There also appears to be considerable structure to the way in which public managers think about and weigh the different types of outcomes that may be expected from collaboration. These span two dimensions including direct policy outcomes and what Innes and Booher (1999) refer to as second- and third-order effects of collaborative arrangements. More research needs to be done on how these different dimensions of impacts are influenced by different types of network structures and collaborative activities, as well as the different personalities and players involved in collaborative partnerships. Also comparing how perceptual impacts translate to actual outcomes such as improved retention and graduation rates would be especially revealing in understanding the perceived benefits of collaboration.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

Something's going to have to happen on the state and national level for public schools to get serious about Indian education… Or when we start pulling our kids out of their schools into our own schools because they aren't doing their job then that might be a wakeup call… It would be a big fight, but something needs to happen.

The role of American Indian nations in the implementation of public policy in the United States is an important and greatly understudied area in political science. Since the 1970s, the more than 500 Indian nations that compose the heart of Indian Country have played an increasingly active role in the policy process, and have strengthened their rights to determine their community's own futures independent of outside influence. These nations have their own unique cultures, customs, laws, and systems of governance which make their role in the American political system unique among other groups. Given the sovereign status of these nations, tribal governments have exhaustively fought for their rights to govern the affairs of their citizens and to participate in decision making that directly affects their communities across a number of policy areas ranging from water rights to Indian gaming.

Indian education is no substitute to this continued fight for rights and involvement. The education of Native American students has experienced dramatic change over the past century of federal Indian policy with an increasingly active presence of American Indian tribes in the public school system. Today, more than 90% of American Indian students attend public schools. Unfortunately, of these students, less than half will graduate and fewer than a third will continue on to college with some referring to the poor performance of public schools to serve Native students as a "quiet crisis" in the public school system. Scholars argue that greater involvement and stronger

partnerships between tribes and public schools can have a positive impact on Native student success. Such interactions are argued to also improve trust and communication between tribal groups and public officials that can work to strengthen existing Indian education programs in public schools that have been shown to improve the educational achievement of Native students. The federal government has taken several steps towards this goal with the adoption of several federal Indian education grants that are designed to enhance state and local officials' ability to meet the unique cultural and academic needs of Native students and encourage public officials to collaborate with American Indian communities.

However, we know very little about what these relationships look like between tribes and public agencies in the United States, and more importantly, what effect they may have on the ability of public officials to serve Native American communities. This dissertation is a first step towards understanding intergovernmental collaboration between tribes and public officials by focusing on partnerships with Native communities in Indian education policy. This dissertation set out to accomplish two broad goals: (1) to use Indian education policy to explore the nature of government-to-government relationships with tribes and identify what factors influence the strength of such partnerships; and (2) to determine what impacts such collaboration has on both substantive policy outcomes concerning Native student success in public schools and process-oriented impacts on trust, mutual understanding, and joint-problem solving.

Implications for Theory

Collaboration and Intergovernmental Relations

This research has great implications for expanding the way we think about the intergovernmental relations framework and who is involved in the implementation of public policy in the United States. As discussed in earlier chapters, tribes have played an increasingly active role in the policy process, especially since the 1970s and the era of self-determination (Evans 2011). Some scholars have called for greater attention paid to the influence of tribes in such areas as resource management, economic development, and Indian education, with many referring to tribes as essentially a fourth player in the intergovernmental relations framework (Jarding 2004).

However, our understanding of the role of tribes in the policy process and their relationship with federal, state, and local officials remains rather limited and unclear (Ronquillo 2011). This dissertation is a first step towards incorporating tribal governments into this discussion of intergovernmental and collaborative relationships in the area of Indian education. Chapter 3 explored the nature and strength of tribal-school partnerships in New Mexico and Oklahoma, and discussed some of the primary factors that influence the quality of these relationships from the perspective of tribal leaders. Based on the rankings of Indian education directors, public school districts performed the worst on their ability to build meaningful relationships with surrounding tribal governments, and to reach out to the broader Native American community. Furthermore, tribes were seen as having the least amount of influence on average compared to other groups including school administrators, principals, teachers, and Indian parents over the direction of Indian education programs. However, Chapters 3

and 4 demonstrate that there is substantial variation across school districts with regards to the degree to which tribes are involved in decision making concerning Indian education programs, and the extent to which Indian education directors actively collaborate with tribal groups.

Several challenges to building meaningful partnerships between public schools and tribes emerged from the interview data with tribal leaders that helps explain the variation across districts with regards to the strength of tribal-local relationships. Some of the major themes discussed in Chapter 3 include the importance of experienced and skilled management in the district who possess an understanding of the needs of Native students and the tribal communities more generally, as well as the presence (or lack thereof) of oversight mechanisms in which to hold public officials accountable for reaching out and actively building meaningful relationships with tribes. Resources and reciprocity also appear to be critically important to the strength of relationships between tribes and schools. Native Nations with a greater capacity to invest resources in local public school districts reported having stronger relationships with school officials, which supports much of the literature on collaboration and selective activation. This puts tribes with greater resources and better socioeconomic conditions at a great advantage with regards to gaining access to Indian education policy decisions in public schools, while those communities who may be less fortunate may experience greater barriers to involvement.

One of the more prominent themes in Chapter 3, however, had to do with the importance of individual values and beliefs of public school officials in determining the strength of tribal-school partnerships. Indian education directors serve as the primary

"gatekeeper" to access and involvement in public schools. The attitude of public school officials towards the rights of tribes was argued to have major implications for the representation and involvement of Indian Nations in decision making within public schools. Furthermore, Chapter 4 demonstrated the substantial variation that exists across Indian education directors in Oklahoma and New Mexico public schools with regards to collaboration with Native American groups. One of the main predictors of an official's overall level of collaboration was the importance of their individual values, beliefs, and attitudes towards tribal involvement. Thus, Chapter 3 suggested and Chapter 4 confirmed that shared values as determined by race and ethnicity of directors greatly influence the collaborative behavior of public school officials. In addition, the way in which directors socially constructed Native groups as either deserving or undeserving of access and involvement in decisions concerning Indian education greatly influenced levels of collaboration with American Indian tribes.

Values, Beliefs, and Collaborative Behavior

This research makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of how values and beliefs influence collaboration and collaborative behavior of public officials that has received little attention in the literature. Most research on collaboration has tended to focus primarily on either the structure of networks or their overall effectiveness with little attention to why public managers do (or do not) collaborate in the first place (Bardach 1998; Milward and Provan 2000; Moynihan 2005). What research has explored what motivates actors to enter into collaborative arrangements has tended to focus largely on the importance of transaction costs and mutual

dependence, with networks viewed largely as systems of exchange from a purely rational perspective.

Chapter 4 demonstrates how values and beliefs of public officials can also greatly shape overall collaborative behavior, and attempts to bridge literature on bureaucratic values and collaborative public management. I argue that we can use Indian education as an ideal setting in which to explore collaborative behavior through the lens of bureaucratic values using primarily representative bureaucracy and social construction theory. The results suggest that Indian education directors who share a common set of values with American Indian communities collaborate more with these groups than those who come from outside these communities.

However, there is an important distinction between values as traditionally measured in the representative bureaucracy literature based on race, and those measured at the group level based on tribal affiliation. Directors who are American Indian and members of the tribes in their service area demonstrated higher levels of collaboration with tribal officials than both American Indian directors from outside these communities, and non-Indian officials. Beyond demonstrating the importance of shared values on collaborative behavior, the results in Chapter 4 suggest a major revision to the way we think about race as a proxy for shared values in the representative bureaucracy literature. American Indians in particular may identify both as part of a racial group *and* as members of distinct sovereign nations each with their own unique cultures, values, and social norms that make them an extremely heterogeneous and diverse population that defies neat and tidy Census definitions of identity. Thus, going beyond race and looking at representation at the group level may be a more meaningful measure of

representation when attempting to understand impacts on outcomes and behavior in public policy.

This research also attempts to understand collaborative behavior based on the social construction of Native populations. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, attitudes towards the rights of tribes to be involved in decision making within public school districts has a significant impact on decisions to collaborate with these groups. Furthermore, the impact of attitudes on behavior is certainly not trivial by any means. For instance, more negative attitudes towards tribal involvement translates to substantially lower levels of collaboration, with directors interacting with tribes on only an annual basis, while directors with more positive social constructions of these groups tended to collaborate on a quarterly or monthly basis. Such differences suggest the importance of understanding how social constructions of target populations can determine the extent to which public officials actively involve and build meaningful partnerships with potentially disadvantaged populations.

Collaboration with American Indian communities also has an impact on a range of possible outcomes in Indian education. Chapter 5 demonstrates that the greatest impacts of collaborative arrangements are perceived by Indian education directors to be in the area of substantive policy outcomes including improved Indian education programs within the district, an improved ability of public schools to meet the unique cultural and academic needs of Native students, and overall educational development of Native students. However, collaboration with Native communities has less of an effect on more process-oriented and social outcomes including joint-problem solving and cross-cultural learning between tribal and school officials. What matters more with

regards to collaborative outcomes that the literature refers to as second- and third-order effects of collaboration is the quality and strength of relationships at the district level that has a positive impact on these more indirect and social effects.

Implications for Practice

Accountability, Oversight, and Tribal-Local Partnerships

The results of this study suggest that the strength and quality of intergovernmental partnerships with Native Nations stands to make meaningful improvements to the success and cultural development of Native students in public schools. The lessons learned from this dissertation are relevant to a broad range of actors involved in Indian education including state legislators, local school officials, tribal leaders and administrators, Native students and parents, federal education officials, and the broader education community. Given the sovereign status of tribes that predates the founding of the United States and is recognized in numerous treaties, Supreme Court decisions, and other government actions, Native Nations are argued to have a moral and legal right to be involved in decisions concerning their communities including the education of Native students in state-run public schools (Wilkins 2007). However, in practice many practitioners and public officials may be unaware of this unique status that sets Native American stakeholders apart from other actors in an agencies environment. Such misunderstandings as to the rights of tribes in areas ranging from water rights to Indian education have caused substantial friction between tribes and local officials and placed significant strain on relationships that threaten meaningful collaboration as demonstrated in Chapter 3.

This reality has real implications with tribal governments seriously considering other options outside of enrolling Native students in the public school system. When tribal officials were asked what they saw for the future of Indian education and their relationship with local public schools, a majority of officials interviewed suggested that the outlook was not promising unless major change occurred at either the state or the federal level in regards to increased oversight and enforcement of Title VII and JOM provisions requiring greater access for tribes. The responses of tribal officials in regards to what they see for the future of Indian education in the public school system reflects Hirschman's (1970) theory of exit, voice, and, to a lesser extent, loyalty. In regards to voice, several respondents argued that they were prepared to "knock down the doors" of the public schools and demand greater attention paid to Native student needs and active participation in building meaningful partnerships with tribes. Furthermore, tribal officials' insinuated that they would not just voice their frustration at the school level, but also take the fight directly to the state legislature where real change was perceived to be possible.

But perhaps the strongest and most consistent call across interview participants was for what would be the equivalent of exit from the public school system. Tribes appear to be taking seriously the possibility of establishing their own tribally controlled schools for a number of reasons including frustration over the unwillingness of schools to build relationships, perceived abuse of funds, and outright neglect of Native student needs that is seen as contributing to the 50 to 60% dropout rate that plagues most Indian communities.

Understanding the strength and quality of partnerships in Indian education is also important in carrying out the original intentions of the law, including holding local public school officials accountable for using Indian education funds responsibly, reaching out and involving members of the Native American community, and effectively designing programs to meet the cultural and academic needs of Native students. In a time of fiscal constraint and threats to existing federal programs including education, it is important that public agencies that receive funds for the purpose of Indian education are utilizing these resources efficiently and effectively. However, without the proper oversight and accountability mechanisms in place at both the local, state, and federal level, abuses or waste of federal funds may go largely unnoticed. Furthermore, stronger partnerships with tribal communities can help strengthen existing federally sponsored programs in public schools than would not be possible if school districts acted alone. Under such conditions, these programs may have a greater effect on improving Native student success when combined with the cultural, intellectual, and financial resources of surrounding tribal communities.

Improving Native Student Success

Not surprisingly, perhaps the greatest practical implication of this research has to do with improving the success of Native American students in the public school system. To say that the performance of our nation's K-12 schools with regards to Native students is in need of improvement is perhaps an understatement. As previously mentioned, performance and persistence rates are the lowest among Native American students compared to all other groups in the public school system. As mentioned in Chapter 5, reports suggest that American Indian students are 237 percent more likely to

dropout of school and 207 percent more likely to be expelled as compared to their white student counterparts (National Caucus of Native American State Legislators 2008). In fact, according to a study by The Education Trust (2001), out of every 100 American Indian Kindergartners in public schools, only 71 will graduate from high school compared to 94 of white kindergartners. Furthermore, only 30 American Indian kindergartners will complete at least some college and 7 will attain a bachelor's degree.

Many argue that greater involvement of tribes in public schools can have a positive impact on Native student success and overall academic and cultural development. Chapter 5 explores the perceived impacts of tribal-school partnerships on Native student outcomes using survey data of Indian education directors in New Mexico and Oklahoma school districts. This chapter revealed several important points. First, collaboration was seen as having a meaningful impact on Native student academic achievement and overall education development as argued by Indian education scholars in anecdotal and qualitative studies as being vitally important. Second, while collaboration has a positive impact on less substantive impacts such as building trust and stronger partnerships, outcomes on improved joint-problem solving and mutual understanding of the needs of the school and Native community appear to be contingent on the broader relationship at the district level with tribal communities. Understanding the conditions in which partnerships between tribes and schools can help Native students reach their full potential and strengthen the quality of relationships with Native communities will be highly relevant to policymakers in attempting to address the persisting achievement gap between Native and non-Native students.

Equally important to sustaining meaningful partnerships will be having the right person for the job in overseeing Indian education programs. Personnel policies requiring affirmative action take on new significance in light of the findings in Chapter 4 concerning the importance of race and tribal affiliation. If the goal is to truly influence the behavior and actions of bureaucrats in ways that are congruent with the interests of the community being served, it may not be enough to have someone who simply mirrors the racial demographic of a particular population. What is more important is that an individual, or individuals, understands and reflect the interests and values of a particular group, which in the arena of Indian education policy would be someone who is from the specific tribe or tribes being represented. More research in this area is needed to fully understand and appreciate the implications of this type of passive representation on policy outcomes and behavior.

Limitations and Areas for Future Research

While this dissertation advances our understanding of some of the challenges associated with tribal-local relationships, there are several limitations that call for future research in this area. First is the issue of generalizability. While New Mexico and Oklahoma provide an interesting and revealing setting in which to study intergovernmental collaboration between tribes and public schools, it is important to ask whether the experience of these two states are representative of tribal-local partnerships in other parts of the country. Is the New Mexico and Oklahoma experience unique with regards to collaboration with tribal governments? It is widely acknowledged that tribes differ greatly not only amongst themselves, but also across states and regions that may have important implications for understanding variations in the types and qualities of

intergovernmental partnerships. It is also the case that political and policy environments differ dramatically across states that may have important implications for the nature of relationships with tribal governments in their regions. States may also differ in their relationship with tribal governments that is deeply embedded in each regions unique culture and history that is not captured in this analysis. A national study of tribal-school partnerships would be a logical next step in examining these important variations.

This research also raises the question of whether the same factors that are suggested to matter with regards to intergovernmental partnerships in Indian education apply to other areas of federal Indian policy where tribal and non-tribal actors collaborate as well. For instance, would race and tribal affiliation matter the same way with regards to collaboration in areas such as Indian health or watershed management? Do the same challenges and barriers to tribal-school partnerships exist in areas such as economic development or law enforcement, or do these policy areas offer a unique set of challenges? I would argue that the lessons learned from the following analysis are applicable to other areas of federal Indian policy, but that future research would benefit by understanding some of the unique aspects of these particular issue areas that may present a host of testable hypotheses.

Third, while both sides are represented to some extent, most of this story is told from the perspective of public school districts as the driving force behind collaboration with Indian nations. But might characteristics, cultures, and behaviors of Indian nations also drive the strength of partnerships with public school districts serving a large number of Native students? Future research will want to explore in greater detail how characteristics of tribal stakeholders also influences the nature, quality, and strength of

partnerships with local, state, or federal officials to develop a more complete understanding of how tribes fit into the intergovernmental framework. Tribes vary greatly with regards to culture, governance, and socioeconomic status that are bound to be critical variables in understanding tribal-local partnerships that are not captured to the fullest extent in this study. Future research will want to explore how certain characteristics of both tribes and local governments "match" to form the most ideal conditions for strong and lasting partnerships that have real potential to improve policy outcomes for all interested parties.

Another limitation of this research has to do with the way in which collaboration is conceptualized and measured. This has been an ongoing debate in the literature on collaboration that Indian education policy can make important contributions to, especially as it relates to the involvement of underrepresented groups in service delivery networks. One limitation of the present research is the use of a very basic, though direct, measure of collaboration based on the degree of interaction reported by Indian education directors. While this is a popular measure in work on networking behavior (Meier and O'Toole 2003), it does not take into account various types of collaboration that take place between tribes and public schools that may be more or less meaningful in understanding both the strength of partnerships, and their impact on improving Native student success. Along similar lines, future research on the outcomes of collaboration in Indian education policy should consider both the perceptual impacts of collaboration on student outcomes, as well as the actual impacts on such indicators as attendance among Native students, suspension rates, drop out, and graduation. By focusing on direct measures of outcomes, we gain a greater sense of how such

partnerships are helping close the persisting achievement gap between Native and non-Native students in the public school system. It may also contribute to our understanding of what conditions and types of collaborative arrangements have the greatest impact on Indian education programs and Native student success more generally.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, more work is needed on understanding how values and beliefs shape the decisions of public managers to collaborate (or not collaborate) with particular stakeholders in the external environment. Chapter 4 provided an example of how we can use theories of representative bureaucracy and social construction to better understand what motivates collaborative behavior among public officials. Public administration scholars have arguably struggled to understand and measure the importance of values in the administrative process that may have substantial implications for understanding different policy outcomes and the involvement, or exclusion, of particular groups in decision making (Meier and Krause 2003). While race may be a useful proxy for values as commonly used in representative bureaucracy, there may be "better" and more direct measures of values and beliefs that have yet to be considered in the literature on collaboration. These may include political ideology, partisanship, or even cultural worldview that has recently gained substantial ground in public policy and public opinion in predicting policy attitudes and beliefs (e.g. Jenkins-Smith and Herron 2009).

Furthermore, more work needs to be done on expanding the way scholars conceptualize and measure representation and social values in representative bureaucracy that stand to produce new and exciting avenues for future research. Understanding how variations within racial groups with regards to identity impact

policy actions and behavior in ways that are beneficial to particular groups may provide a more complete picture of how passive representation translates into active representation in particular policy areas. I believe that the relationship between tribal affiliation and collaborative behavior observed in Chapter 4 could easily apply to other populations with just as much diversity such as Hispanic or African American communities. A simple focus on Census defined racial categories as a measure of values blinds us from the reality that there are intergroup differences that may go unnoticed without careful consideration.

Overall, this dissertation is an important first step towards understanding the nature of collaboration with tribes, and incorporating Indian nations into a discussion of intergovernmental relations. It also raises important questions concerning the influence of individual values, beliefs, and personal biases in the collaborative process that has implications for the involvement of historically underrepresented groups in policy decisions that affect their communities. Tribal governments possess a unique set of rights as sovereign nations that set them apart from other groups that schools and public agencies typically interact with on a daily basis. Understanding and embracing these rights may be an important first step in strengthening partnerships with Native American communities, and collectively designing policies and programs that may have a greater impact on the lives of Native students.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview Guide for Tribal Officials

<u>I. General Information</u>

1. Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your position in the tribe?

2. From your personal experience and professional career, what do you see as some of the biggest challenges confronting Indian education and native student success in public schools today?

3. Please describe the current state of Indian education in your nation. What programs or initiatives have you found to be the most successful in serving native students?

<u>II. Describing Government-to-Government Relationship</u>

1. Please tell me a little bit about your tribe's relationship with local schools in the area.

2. In what ways does your tribe communicate or collaborate with public schools? [How does this occur and in what capacity?]

3. How would you describe the quality of these interactions?

4. How much authority, or influence, would you say your tribe has in setting standards and policy in Indian education at the school, district, or state level?

<u>III. Exploring Why</u>

1. What factors do you see as responsible for the current state of your tribe's relationship with public schools?

2. Would you say that Indian education is a priority in schools in your area?

3. Do you feel that officials in public schools are held properly accountable for meeting the unique educational and culturally related needs of native students?

IV. Reflections and Deeper Meaning

1. What role would you like to see tribes play in the education of native children in the future?

2. What does "self-education" mean for you and your nation, and what can tribes do to strengthen and preserve it?

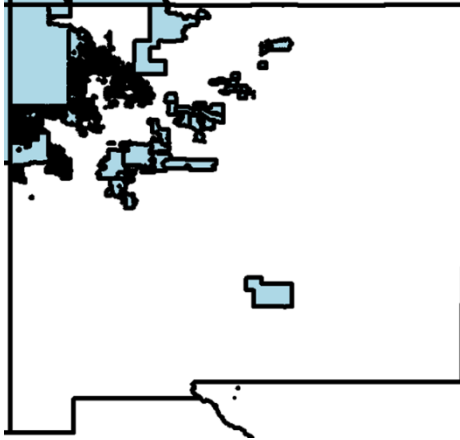3. Is there anything else I may have left out or did not ask that you would like to add?

Appendix B

Map of Tribal Jurisdictions (or service areas) in Oklahoma
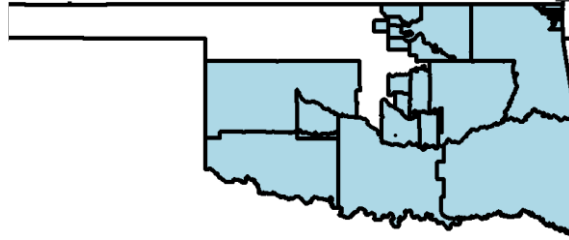
Appendix C

Map of the Tribes and Pueblos in New Mexico

Appendix D

Exploring Factors Related to Collaborative Behavior with American Indian

Nations in New Mexico and Oklahoma using Ordered Logistic Regression

DV= Collaboration	Coefficient	Std. Error
American Indian (outsider)	0.434	0.66
American Indian (insider)	1.023**	0.43
Attitudes Index	0.557***	0.14
Experience (years)	0.060**	0.03
Education	0.331*	0.18
Female	-0.603	0.37
Full Time	0.508	0.51
Native Enrollment (100s)	0.012	0.02
Percent State Aid	0.008	0.02
Tribal-District Overlap	0.896**	.41
District Poverty	-0.041	0.03
Observations	120	
LR Chi^2	4.22***	
Adjusted R^2	0.14	

[a]p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01 ,*** p < .001

Appendix E

Factor Loadings for Eleven Measures of Collaborative Outcomes

Variable	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
development	0.8554	0.3346	0.1563
Cultural	0.8126	0.4475	0.1393
Academic	0.8459	0.3996	0.1248
implementation	0.8769	0.3215	0.1276
Serve	0.7334	0.503	0.2091
Trust	0.5019	0.7754	0.1469
Relations	0.4918	0.8093	0.1032
Programs	0.6886	0.5966	0.1699
Teachers	0.6121	0.612	0.2509
Solving	0.2799	0.8482	0.2022
Learning	0.3651	0.8227	0.1898