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Gambling with their Lives:

American Indians and the Casinos

by Irl Carter

American Indian writer Gerald Vizenor relates the story of Naanabozho, the trickster who seeks to gain control of the world and to free the victims of Gichi Nita Ataaged, the great gambler. The great gambler says,

> I seek no one to come and gamble with me but they that would gamble. Seek me and whoever enters my lodge must gamble. Remember, there is but one forfeit...and that forfeit is life.... Now we will play.
> (*Summer in the Spring*, Nodin Press, 1981)

True to his nature, Naanabozho wins by a trick, and the tables are turned. Now the great gambler is at risk.

Indian casino gambling is a nation-wide phenomenon. About 130 Indian gambling facilities operate in thirty-three states. A New Mexico tribe plans to build a professional bicycle racing facility. The White Mountain Apaches have a dog racing track. Connecticut's Pequots, described by columnist William Safire as "the Bingo kings of the Northeast," opened a new $50 million casino last year, providing 2,300 jobs in an economically distressed region and adding $40 million to the local economy. More than twenty-five of these Indian operations are casinos, and half of them are in Minnesota.

The gambling operations have been

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Table 1. Casinos in Minnesota, June 1992

Reservations	Name	Year Opened	Number Employed	Video Machines	Blackjack Tables	Location
Chippewa						
Bois Forte	Fortune Bay	1986	141	200	15	Lake Vermillion
Fond du Lac	Big Bucks	1991	245	300	16	Cloquet
Fond du Lac	Fond du Luth	1986	267	150	16	Duluth
Grand Portage	Grand Portage Casino-Lodge	1990	140	159	6	Grand Portage
Leech Lake	Leech Lake Palace	1989		350	22	Cass Lake
Leech Lake	Northern Lights	1990	540	300	8	Walker
Mille Lacs	Grand Casino Mille Lacs	1991	900	700+	36	Onamia
Mille Lacs	Grand Casion Hinckley	1992		1,450	52	Hinckley
Red Lake	Lake of the Woods	1991	68	250	5	Warroad
White Earth	Shooting Star	1992				Mahnomen
Sioux (Dakota)						
Lower Sioux	Jackpot Junction	1984	990	1,100+	45	Morton
Prairie Island	Treasure Island	1983	986	650	35	Red Wing
Shakopee Mdewakanton	Little Six	1982	1,200	450+	42	Prior Lake
Shakopee Mdewakanton	Mystic Lake	1992	1,500	1,100	76	Prior Lake
Upper Sioux	Firefly Creek	1990	120	550	38	Granite Falls

Sources: Minnesota Planning; Minnesota Indian Gaming Association; Attorney General, State of Minnesota; *Saint Paul Pioneer Press; Star Tribune.*

highly publicized by television and newspapers. NBC's "Today" show taped a segment at the Mille Lacs reservation in October 1991. Safire attacked Indian gambling in May 1991:

> ...I respect American Indians, and do not want to see them isolated and despised as America's new class of professional croupiers on tax-free islands of false dreams. (*New York Times*, 30 May 1991)

Indian casino gambling is controversial within reservations, also. As a result of a dispute over gambling on the Mohawk reservation, two Indians were killed, and others fled from their homes. The debate is non-violent in Minnesota, but no less important. Leonard Prescott, former tribal chair of the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux, former chair of the National Indian Gaming Association, and now head of Little Six, which also operates the Mystic Lake Casino, believes the Shakopee gambling operations have enhanced the tribes' "quality of life," but Jim Northrup, Jr., poet and short story writer, and a member of the Fond du Lac Chippewa reservation, expresses doubts and wonders if the tribes will survive or, in the end, even profit from gambling.

The Legal Underpinning

According to a United States Supreme Court decision in 1835, Indian tribes are "domestic, dependent nations," similar to foreign nations. In most respects, tribes are not subject to state control even though tribal members are, individually, citizens of the state and the United States. The 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (P.L. 100-497), attempted to balance the rights of the states and the tribes in relation to gambling. It specified that: a) tribes and states must enter compacts which specify the types of gambling permitted; and states must negotiate compacts if tribes request it; b) tribes can conduct any form of gambling that is legal in the state; c) states can prohibit any type of Indian gambling only by prohibiting all gambling of that type by anyone; and d) states must be allowed to audit gambling facilities.

All eleven of Minnesota's reservations operate gambling facilities, under compacts signed between the tribes and the state. Each tribe has negotiated two compacts, one for blackjack and one for video machines. The Minnesota compacts make up twenty-two of the thirty-two compacts which exist in the United States.

Some tribes, like Minnesota's Redwood Falls Lower Sioux, enlarged the law to include bingo games which closely resembled blackjack. The issue was resolved by a landmark federal district court decision in 1990; the games are legal. Roulette and craps are not legal in Minnesota, so cannot be played on reservations. Reservations across the country are allowed to pool their bingo bets into the Megabingo that resembles a national lottery.

The National Indian Gaming Association, created under the 1988 act, oversees Indian gambling interests and provides technical assistance to tribes. Its first convention and trade show, held in Bloomington in July 1991, was attended by representatives from about sixty reservations and by gambling equipment manufacturers. Leonard Prescott, then head of the Shakopee reservation, was the association's first chair.

Casino Operations in Minnesota

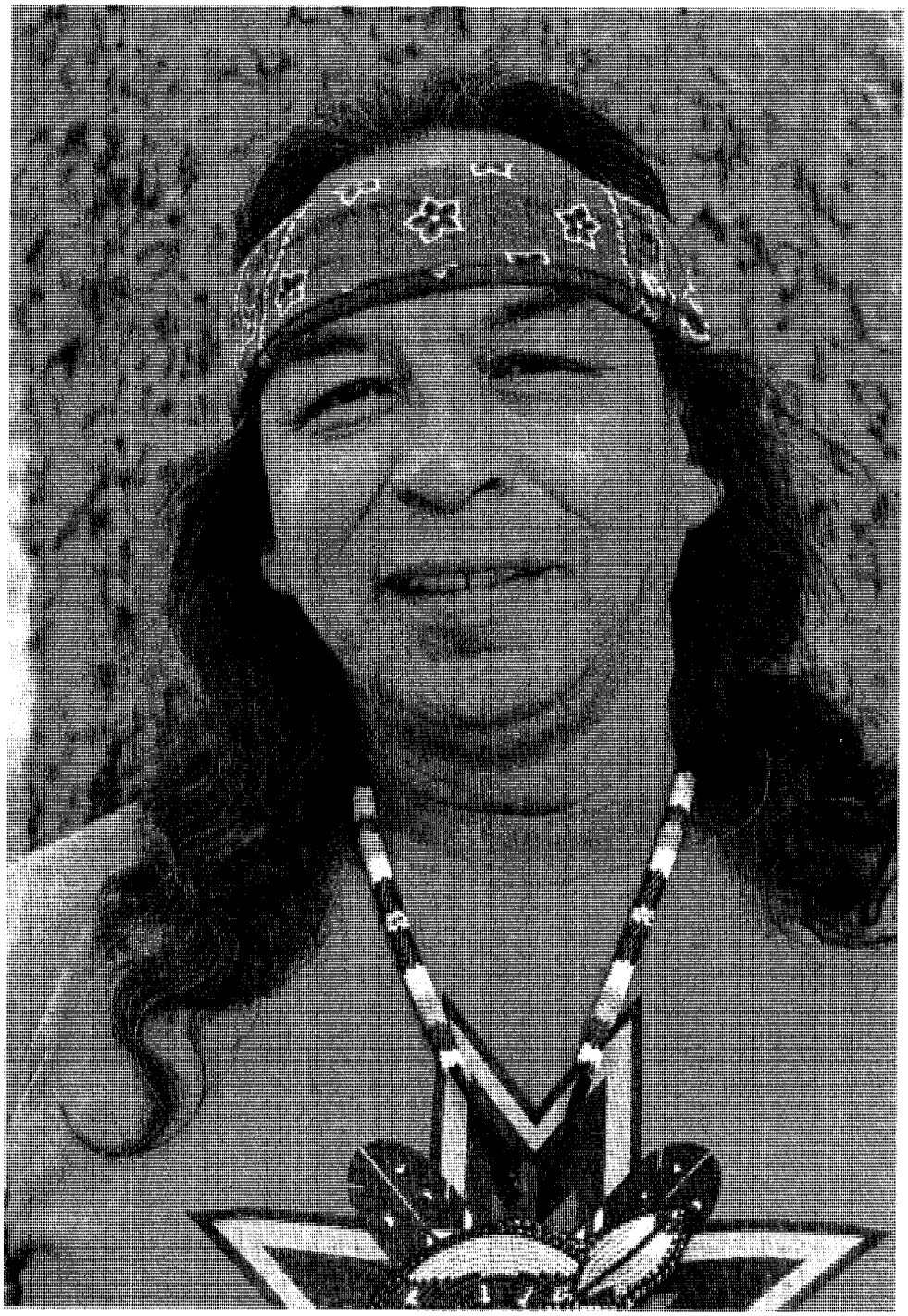
In Minnesota casino gambling has shown exponential growth. Total proceeds from casino gambling in Minnesota may reach $1 billion in 1992. Three major new casinos opened in May 1992: the Shakopee community's Mystic Lake, the Mille Lacs band's Grand Casino Hinckley, and White Earth's Shooting Star. This brings the total number of casinos in Minnesota to fifteen (Table 1). In addition, Fortune Bay, Fond du Luth, Grand Portage, Northern Lights, Grand Casino Mille Lacs, and Treasure Island all underwent major expansions recently or will soon.

Cover photo: Leonard Prescott, member of the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux community says: "As late as eight years ago, my people...were living in poverty not more than 30 minutes from downtown Minneapolis. But now we have another resource: gaming...our Little Six Bingo Hall and Casino have eliminated poverty in less than a decade. We have adequate transportation. We are developing strong social and educational programs. And, I might note with pride, we contribute to the surrounding towns and cities, hospitals, schools and charities. We do not have to look to the federal government or the state for economic and social support."

The Lower Sioux reservation, near Morton, advertises its Jackpot Junction as the largest casino operation between Las Vegas and Atlantic City. This was the first true casino among Minnesota's reservations. About 25,000 gamblers a week arrive on tour packages from fourteen states within a 500-mile radius, typically for a two-night stay. Gross revenues exceed $50 million per year. The casino became a twenty-four-hour, seven-days-a-week operation in the spring of 1990 and tripled its size in 1991. It provides dining and live entertainment by nationally known performers, a motel, convention facilities, gas station, and grocery store. It is Redwood county's largest employer, and publishes *Players Choice*, a magazine promoting tourism and businesses in the region.

Other casinos offer a variety of attractions in addition to gambling. These include gift shops, restaurants, convention facilities, hotels, motels, and recreational vehicle parks. An unusual arrangement is the Fond du Luth casino in downtown Duluth, operated as a partnership between the Fond du Lac band and the City of Duluth. It showed a net profit of nearly $1 million in 1990 and after an expansion in 1991 was estimated to clear $3.2 million in 1991. After its $1.8 million debt is retired, 25.5 percent of the profits will go to the tribe, 24.5 percent to the city, and 50 percent to the casino's managing commission.

According to the Minnesota Indian Gaming Association study, about 70 percent of casino proceeds come from video machines, 20 percent from blackjack, and 3 or 4 percent from concessions. Casinos also offer bingo, keno, and pull tabs. Reported casino revenues are only estimates because tribes and casinos are reluctant to discuss them and there are no state or federal figures available.



Jim Northrup, Jr., member of the Fond du Lac Chippewa community says: "Gambling is everywhere. It isn't even called gambling anymore, it is called Indian gaming. It is up to us as tribal members to decide how to deal with this new opportunity, this new challenge, the new problems. ....Is Indian gambling going to do what assimilation, relocation, acculturation, termination couldn't? Is gambling going to change us from generous people into greedy, money-centered dark imitations of white people?"

Running the Casinos

Many tribes across the nation contracted with private gambling firms to set up and manage their gaming operations. Several of these firms took the lion's share of the profits and left outstanding debts. Tribes had no choice but to ask for federal assistance. Management firms are now scrutinized by federal and state agencies before contracts are approved.

Three patterns of management seem to have emerged. In the first, gambling firms set up new casinos or expand existing operations, often assist in financing, and retain a percentage of the profits (typically 40 percent) for five years. One example is Grand Casinos, Inc., a non-Indian firm that manages the Mille Lacs facilities. The firm went public in 1991 with a highly popular stock offering and is expanding its operations to tribes in Wisconsin and Iowa, reporting first quarter earnings approaching $1 million after taxes. Other examples are GMT Management Co. (which operated Jackpot Junction) and Gaming World (which manages White Earth's Shooting Star Casino).

A second pattern is to allow gambling firms to assist in setting up a casino, but then step out so the tribe can run operations. Page and Associates, of Prior Lake, helped to develop Little Six. It prefers to help tribes with start-ups, train Indian staff to manage the casinos, then continue as consultants. Other firms, of Indian origin, have operated in Minnesota in a similar fashion, including PanAmerica Gaming, which was formed by the Seminoles, the first tribe with gaming facilities, and the Navajos' Thunderbird Amusement.

The third pattern, one that is just emerging, is for the reservation itself to set up and run the casino from the beginning. The Fond du Lac tribe is doing this with their new casino under construction on Interstate 35 near the reservation. This may become the pattern of the future for casino operations.

Where Does the Money Go?

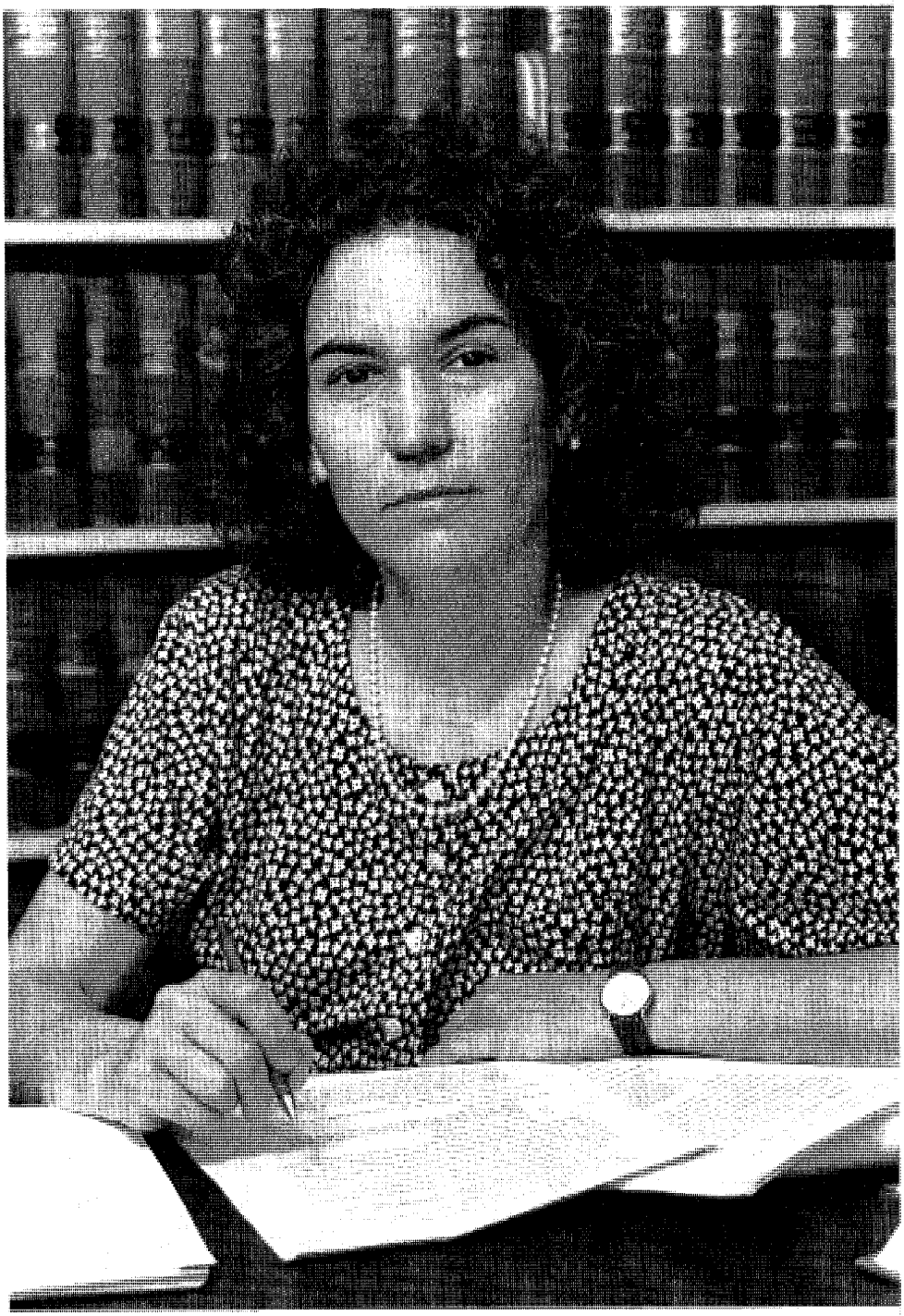
Gambling proceeds have offset severe federal cutbacks by the Reagan-Bush administration. Rita Keshena, attorney for Wisconsin's Menominee tribe, said, "We are not going into business to preserve our values or save our culture. We do it to make money. The question is, what is a tribe going to do with that money?" Of an estimated $750 million gross receipts in 1991, the six largest Indian casino operations in Minnesota netted $143 million. After $89 million in expenses were paid, $54 million remained to invest in economic development, to provide services through local governments and social agencies, or to distribute to individual tribal members.

Economic development has included expanding as well as building new casinos, but most of Minnesota's tribes have also used gambling proceeds to invest in non-gambling ventures. The Shakopee Sioux bought a company that manufactures maintenance equipment for recreational facilities, and is developing a recycling business. The Grand Portage Chippewa operate a wood chip plant that sells materials for paper, pulp and waferboard. John Campbell, Treasure Island's public relations director, said:

> There's been hundreds of years of poverty and unemployment on Indian reservations, but casino gambling is giving tribal members a sense of pride and self-respect.... The business world is beginning to look at us in a different light. Local banks are actually starting to court us.... Finally, we're allowed the opportunity to grow as a people. (article by Tom Gorzycki in *Casino* 1, 1991)

But Leonard Prescott sounded a note of caution:

> Our newfound prosperity has allowed us to consider diversification opportunities. We do not see gaming as an economic tool for decades to come; we believe, as the gaming industry grows in the United States, competition will increase also...we view gaming as a strictly temporary—ten years, perhaps—window of opportunity. (*Star Tribune*, 22 June 1991)



Anita Fineday, member of the White Earth Chippewa community, is concerned about the effects of gambling on Indian youth, and wonders how many won't pursue higher education or training because they are attracted to relatively high-paying, glitzy casino jobs. She worries that the long-term cost in lost education and lack of vision—may outweigh the monetary benefits coming to the tribe from games.

Providing services through local governments and social agencies has meant that between 1987 and 1991 AFDC payments in four non-urban counties with Indian casinos decreased by 16 percent while statewide payments increased 15 percent. Prairie Island earmarks some revenue from its Treasure Island casino for social agencies in Dakota and Goodhue counties that serve children, elderly, and handicapped persons. Campbell said that the reservation was paying back the organizations that had helped the tribe in the past.

Funds from Little Six allow the Shakopee Sioux to provide free health care, dental care, child care, tuition, books, and expenses in post-secondary institutions. The tribe funds a social service department that deals with drug dependency and mental health needs, along with other problems. It funds an extra police officer for the city of Prior Lake. In addition, the tribe funds a medical center, tribal court, and a twenty-three-unit housing project. The tribe has invested jointly with the community of Prior Lake in a $2 million water and sewer plant and has helped to meet school needs. The

tribe voluntarily pays $20,000 a year to Prior Lake in lieu of taxes. It has given more than $1 million to social programs in the Twin Cities area, including support for an appearance by the American Indian Dance Theater, and it has established a $50,000 scholarship fund at Augsburg College for American Indian students.

The Mille Lacs band funded a Christmas party to promote family unity and created a reservation police force. Profits will be invested in infrastructure, including water purification, a water tower, sewage treatment, housing, school, health clinic, day care, paving of roads, buying additional land, and helping members establish businesses. The Fond du Lac tribe plans to replace its school building, and in its new facility on Interstate 35, will include an arts and crafts center and a nature center. It will provide training funds for Indian staff.

Payments distributed to tribal members are subject to federal taxes under the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. The Shakopee Sioux reportedly distribute about $4,000 per month to members. The Lower Sioux tribe makes payments to about a quarter of their members, selected on the basis of length of residence on the reservation. Payments are reported as $1,750 per month. About sixty Lower Sioux members excluded from payments have signed petitions challenging the distribution and have filed a class-action suit in the United States District Court. The Mille Lacs band chose not to distribute its gambling proceeds.

Creating Jobs

A study commissioned by the Minnesota Indian Gaming Association and conducted by KPMG Peat Marwick, an international accounting firm, found that by early 1992 the six largest casinos have collectively become the twentieth largest employer in Minnesota, employing nearly 5,000 people. The study reported that 80 percent of the jobs are held by non-Indians, nearly all from nearby communities. In addition, the casino operations have created nearly 6,000 non-casino jobs. These six Indian casinos paid about $32 million in salaries, wages, payroll taxes, and benefits in 1991.

The manager of Jackpot Junction in Redwood Falls reported zero unemployment on the reservation in 1991. Casino positions include waitresses, money counters, concession staff, video clerks, and licensed security guards. Some community colleges, and the American Indian Occupation and Industrialization Center in Minneapolis provide courses for casino employment, for example, blackjack dealing. About forty persons who recently completed this course are employed at Little Six and another 500 are expected to be employed in Minnesota casinos.

The Conflict Over Regulation

In 1986, the federal government "cracked down" on tribal bingo, requiring that all contracts with outside management must be reviewed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Roger Jourdain, former chair of the Red Lake band, filed suit against the federal government, claiming that this violated tribal self-determination, self-government, treaty rights, and aboriginal rights to control the use of tribal resources. When the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) was passed in 1988, Jerome Skolnick, Berkeley law professor, viewed it as a balancing act—balancing state concern about organized crime, federal interest in tribal self-sufficiency, and tribal interest in self-government. The Supreme Court, he said, was weighing social values, not aboriginal or treaty rights. Skolnick called the IGRA a "wild card." Under it, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the United States Solicitor General's office review tribal contracts for legality and economic feasiblility, but do not regulate gambling.

Last December, Minnesota Attorney General Humphrey called for a moratorium on additional gambling, in part because the fifteen state regulators are overburdened by an industry which generates $2 billion per year. The portion that occurs on Indian lands is overseen by three of these regulators. Both Indian and non-Indian officials point to pressure from well-financed manufacturers of gambling machines to expand gambling in the state, but the 1992 Minnesota legislature took no action toward expansion.

A major concern is the threat that organized crime may become involved in Indian gambling. Reporter Susan Stanich stated in a series of articles in the *Duluth News-Tribune* in 1991 that there were contacts between White Earth tribal authorities and a gaming equipment corporation connected to a "mob" family based in New Jersey. She stated that the "mob" is heavily involved in the manufacture of gaming equipment. Former Red Lake chair Roger Jourdain, in a 1988 letter to Minnesota congressman William Frenzel, stated his concern that the Mafia would penetrate Indian gambling and that the Mafia had pressured key congressional leaders to support the act.

Attorney General Humphrey sees no evidence of organized crime in Minnesota's operations, but fears that "dirty money" might be involved in new projects. Humphrey proposes greater federal and state control over Indian gambling operations and creation of a federal-state enforcement team. Leonard Prescott believes such fear is groundless. In an editorial in *USA Today* (6 February 1992), he suggested that non-Indian gambling interests were clouding the issue by questioning tribes' competence, and asked that the media report more accurately the success of tribes in preventing corruption.

During the debate on the IGRA, Senator John McClain stated that in fifteen years of Indian gaming there had never been one proven case of organized crime activity. Former Secretary of the Interior Morris Udall, who had introduced an Indian gaming law in 1984, said: "Where is the abuse with Indian bingo? Where is the evidence of organized crime?" Representative Gerry Sikorski of Minnesota agreed. "Why do we feel we can invade Indian sovereignty whenever it is inconvenient to respect it?"

The Effects of Gambling on Tribal Traditions and Families

Debate continues within tribes about the legitimacy of gambling as an Indian enterprise. Former Fond du Lac chair William Houle commented, "Gaming has always been part of our culture, and now it is an integral part of our economy as well." On the same reservation, Jim Northrup, Jr. asked:

> Is Indian gaming changing us as a people? What legacy are we leaving our children? The ability to spot a winning pattern in bingo? The best kind of dauber to use? When to stand or hit in blackjack? The woods are still important to our culture. It is important to know the difference between a basswood and a maple. There are fewer Indians in the woods since bingo and casinos came around.

Anita Fineday, former tribal attorney for the Leech Lake and Mille Lacs reservations, notes that attendance at tribal ceremonies on the Mille Lacs reservation has declined. Will the visibility of large amounts of money threaten the traditional values of non-materialism and of sharing that mark Indian cultures? Will capitalist profit motives erase traditional communal values? Northrup cautions:

> On a tribal level, we must build a reputation for honesty. It's almost a contradiction of terms but we must be honest gamblers. At Fond du Lac the latest expansion of gambling is self-financed, no outside investors. Honesty lures customers.

New gambling corporations may not observe tribal traditions. Politically, tribal leaders may be unable to "just say no" to the gambling bonanza. The gambling operations may increasingly resemble corporate behavior, particularly where there is outside management.

In the past, the position of tribal chair has not always been seen as powerful and desirable. With the influx of gambling proceeds, power and control of money are crucial to the future of the tribe, and are attractive to some members. Conflict is likely to occur between some tribal leaders and those who favor more expenditures for social and educational programs. Fineday noted that in recent reservation elections, tribal officials were being challenged by members who are involved in tribal education programs. Myron Ellis, chair of the

Minnesota Indian Gaming Association, had four opponents in his race for a seat on the Leech Lake tribal council.

Use of gambling proceeds has become a volatile issue. There may be strong pressure to show immediate results, while investments in the future, like housing and education, may not show up for several years. Though distribution of cash payments to tribal members may not be the wisest long-term investment, should the tribe be paternalistic, making decisions for its members? This would appear to conflict with traditional, non-directive tribal norms. There is also the question of how dependent Indians should become on gambling proceeds. Northrop says:

> I've heard Indian gambling is now called the new buffalo. History should teach us that depending on one source of subsistence is dangerous. Look what happened to the old buffalo. Thousands of buffalo were killed for their tongues or hides. I hope the new buffalo doesn't follow the old buffalo....
>
> On a personal level we must learn to live with the gambling. If grandma and grandpa are at the bingo hall every night, they can't be at home teaching the little ones. Who will teach them the old stories, the language, the respect for the land, the spirituality that makes us strong?

In one reported incident at Treasure Island, parents left their small children unattended in their car for several hours while gambling, and police and social service staff were called in. The casino at Mille Lacs is adjacent to the health clinic and the high school. The casino parking lot is filled with gamblers' tour buses and cars. Liquor is not allowed inside the casino, but drinking is visible in the parking lot. While some casinos prohibit liquor on the premises, others do not. Grand Casino Hinckley differs from Mille Lacs by selling liquor on its premises, apparently because it is not located on the reservation.

The extent of gambling addiction among Indian families is unknown. Betty St. George, of the Minnesota Council on Compulsive Gambling, reported only one Indian treated for compulsive gambling among the half-dozen programs funded by a current appropriation of $1.4 million from the state legislature. St. George recently attended a national conference on problem gambling, and reported that researchers have little information about effects on Indians. Dr. Henry Lessieur, Department of Sociology and Anthropology at St. John's University, and editor of the *Journal of Gambling Studies*, confirms that there are no studies of problem gambling among American Indians. Michael Aastved, consultant to the state department of mental health, reported that while the department is studying the impact of casinos on small communities and townspeople, no study of effects on tribes has yet been undertaken.

Prospects for the Future

The "gambling cycle" may end. Prescott cited a consultant's study, saying that gambling experiences a twenty-year life cycle, and Minnesota's reservations are in the middle of that cycle. William Eadington, Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada-Reno, agreed: "Indian gaming will not survive twenty-five years." He concluded the "window of opportunity" would be open for about ten years. If gambling sharply declines, the reservations' heavy investment in facilities might become a barrier to further economic development, absorbing the tribe's resources.

While reservations are held in trust by the federal government rather than owned by the tribes, Indians' traditional ties to their land could be fatally threatened should tribal property or future income be viewed as collateral in loan defaults. Control of the use of these lands, and the casinos themselves, could perhaps be placed in receivers' hands. The risks involved in Indian gambling also include the possibility that Indians might lose their favored status as casino operators. Indian casinos are at present a virtual monopoly, but a monopoly that could be lost if a state legislature decides to let non-Indians share the action.

On the other hand, gambling does offer promises to the Indian community. While questions remain about the legitimacy and usefulness of training for employment in casinos, jobs are scarce and no other choice is apparent for many Indians seeking employment. Some business skills that are aquired in the casinos may be transferable to other employment.

Even more promising is diversification into other enterprises. This could provide long-term employment and stability, contributing to tribal self-respect and self-determination. This would support the maintenance of the tribal way of life by those who wish to remain traditional, while allowing others the freedom to maintain modern lifestyles.

While Indian gambling may have begun elsewhere, it is Minnesota's tribes that have aggressively developed it into the most far-reaching innovation in Indian affairs since the national reforms of the 1930s. The innovation has been largely self-directed. Federal and state regulation has followed the tribes' initiatives. Clearly casino employment is removing families from welfare rolls. But even more important, it is creating changes in community development which profoundly affect the reservations, surrounding communities, and the entire state.

The risk of these changes is borne by the tribes, their members, and Indian youth. The dangers to tribal integrity and traditions are real. Minnesota's non-Indian population is affected, but the tribes have the most to lose, as well as the most to gain.

A Note about Sources. A wide variety of sources were used for this article. In addition to those noted in the text, other major sources include:

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Irl Carter is an associate professor in the University of Minnesota's School of Social Work. He was formerly dean of the School of Social Development at the University of Minnesota-Duluth. He has conducted research on incest in American Indian families, the Indian Child Welfare Act, and social and economic development among native peoples of Canada, the United States, Australia, and Jamaica.

This study was supported by an interactive research grant from CURA and the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs, University of Minnesota. Interactive research grants have been created to encourage University faculty to carry out research projects that involve significant issues of public policy for the state and that include interaction with community groups, agencies, or organizations in Minnesota. These grants are available to regular faculty members at the University of Minnesota and are awarded annually on a competitive basis.

Nonprofits and the Corporate Grants Economy in the Twin Cities, 1980-1989

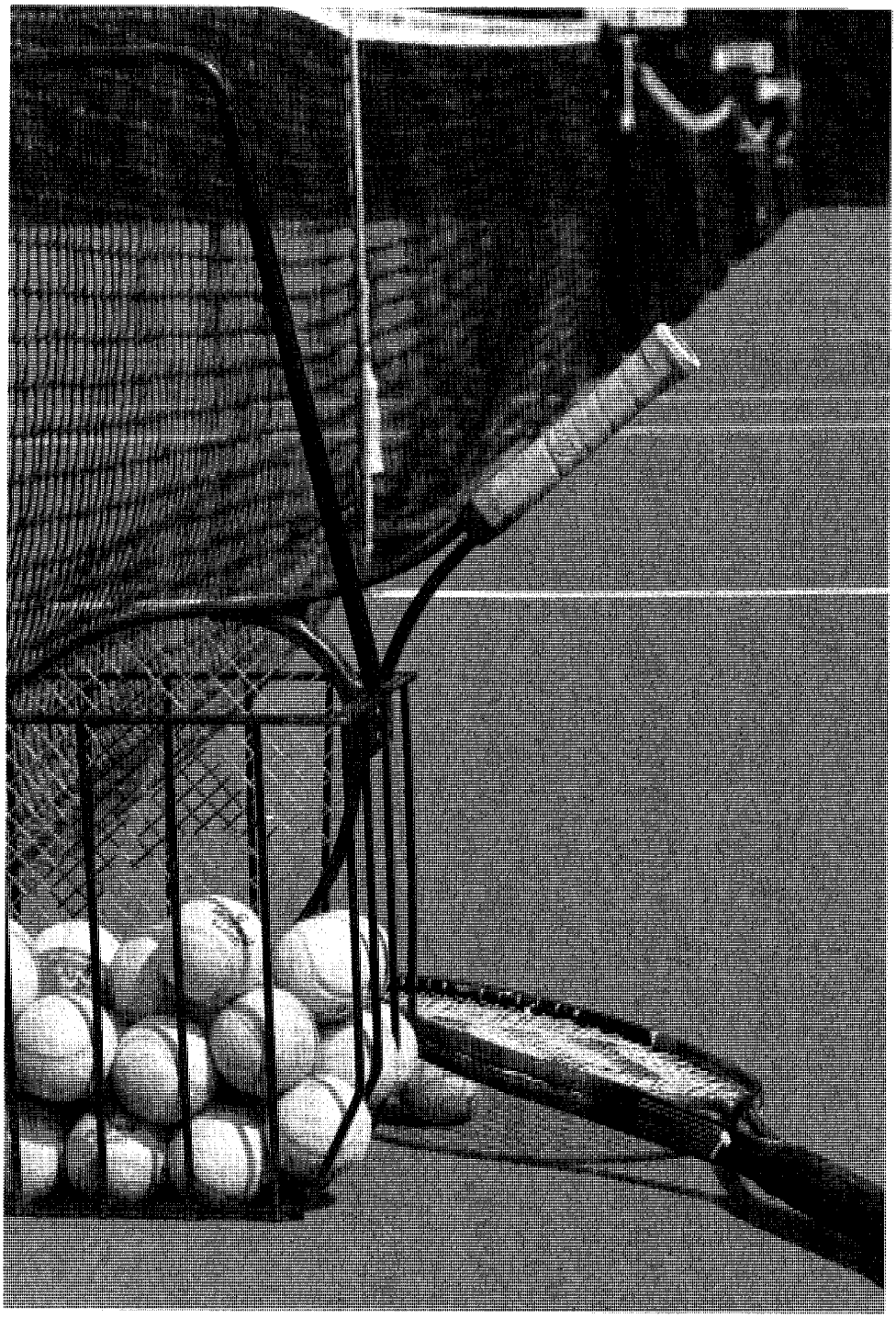
by Joseph Galaskiewicz

The 1980s seemed to be difficult years for nonprofit organizations and corporate philanthropy. A recession, state funding shortfalls, scandals, homelessness, cutbacks in federal spending, changes in the tax codes, restructuring of corporations and the economy, roller coaster profits, and foreign competition were just a few of the many challenges faced by nonprofits and corporations. Our research has documented changes in this sector of the Twin Cities over the past decade and focused on the funding patterns of public charity organizations and changes in corporate giving.

In June 1991 we issued a preliminary report to the community: *Corporate-Nonprofit Linkages in Minneapolis-St. Paul: Findings from a Longitudinal Study—1980-1988.* This report was a follow-up to a report prepared in 1982 and distributed to the Twin Cities nonprofit and funding community. In the original report we presented a snapshot of various aspects of the 1980-81 Twin Cities corporate grants economy: basic characteristics of a sample of public charities headquartered in the Twin Cities and a brief profile of company giving programs in the Twin Cities area. Since that report we have returned to the field twice. In 1984 and 1985 my research assistants and I surveyed the panel of nonprofits we had originally surveyed in 1980 and 1981 as well as a new sample of public charities which was representative of that period. In 1988 and 1989 we surveyed the original panel a third time, surveyed a third cross-section of nonprofits, and surveyed company giving staffs and chief executive officers in publicly-held corporations headquartered in the Twin Cities. Altogether about 800 people were interviewed or surveyed in this most recent effort.

Nonprofits: A Roller Coaster Ride

Comparing the organizations in the three sample surveys, it's safe to say that the nonprofit sector in 1988 was not the same as in 1980 or 1984. In the first place, there was remarkable growth. The number of charitable organizations increased modestly between 1980 and 1984 (from 1,601 to 1,951) and then surged between 1984 and 1988 (from 1,951 to 2,735). That is an overall increase of 70.8 percent between 1980 and 1988. Second, nonprofits in 1988 had a much different agenda than in 1980. The



Between 1984 and 1988 the number of small, expressive, voluntary associations swelled. The largest increases were in cultural and recreational organizations, like the tennis club pictured here. Groups like these are oriented to the special interests of their members.

percentage engaged in health and welfare services was less, while the percentage engaged in cultural and recreational activities increased (Figure 1). Third, the "average" organization was larger in 1988 than in 1980 or 1984—whether measured in terms of operating expenditures or employment. And, fourth, employment and expenditures were more concentrated in the largest organizations in 1988.

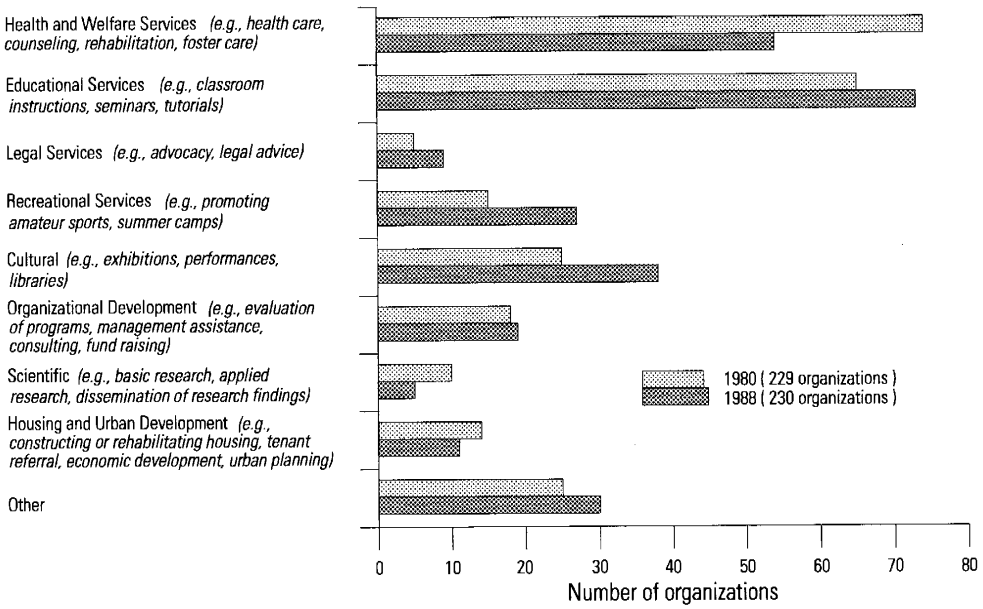
While the average organization was larger in 1988, there was not a proportionate increase in all revenue streams. Comparing 1984 to 1980, giving from foundations, businesses, individuals, and federated fund drives was greater in constant dollars in 1984 (Table 1). Revenues from government grants and contracts and from program services were about the same. And, contrary to what some had expected, revenues from the sale of unrelated services were actually less in 1984 than in 1980.

Comparing 1988 to 1984, the average donation from individuals, foundations and businesses was less—in fact, approaching 1980 levels. Also, nonprofits in 1988 received considerably less from government than in 1980 or 1984. At the same time, program service revenues were much greater in 1988.

How can we explain the growth in the size of organizations and the size of the sector? One approach is to focus on changes in the funding environment and in donor behavior. For example, private donors responded to the call of government officials and increased their giving to nonprofits between 1980 and 1984. However, instead of declining, government funding stayed about the same, as did program service revenue. We suspect that either state and local government funding supplanted cutbacks in federal spending or cuts in federal programs were restored by 1984. As a result, instead of shrinking, funds for nonprofits actually increased between 1980 and 1984. There was more donated revenue than before, while government funding and program service revenue stayed about the same. This in turn may have prompted the birth of new nonprofits between 1984 and 1988.

However, between 1984 and 1988 things changed radically in the nonprofits' funding environment. Private donations from all sources declined, perhaps because donors saw that between 1980 and 1984 nonprofits did not suffer as much as everyone had expected they would. Government funding was also less in 1988, and a smaller percentage of nonprofits had government support. Thus the true crisis in government funding took place between 1984 and 1988, not between 1980 and 1984. This could have created serious problems, but fortunately nonprofits were turning more and more to program service revenues during these years. These revenues had increased substantially by

Figure 1. Primary Activities of Twin Cities Nonprofits, 1980 and 1988*



* Numbers add to more than the number interviewed because organizations were allowed to rank more than one activity as primary if that was their situation.

1988. It is interesting that during neither of these periods (1980-84 or 1984-88) did nonprofits elect to raise sales of unrelated services. The bottom line is that by 1988 the "average" organization and the entire sector were larger than ever before, even though there was a precipitous decline in two revenue streams—private donations and government funding.

Alternatively, the changes we observed could be due to the changing composition of the nonprofit sector and particularly the influx of smaller, more expressive, voluntary associations. The emergence of so many self help groups could have been in response to the rhetoric of the political establishment which was calling for even further government cutbacks, although it is more likely that it was the product of increasing individualism and pluralism in our society. These organizations (groups like tennis clubs, alternative schools, and minority arts and cultural organizations) are oriented toward serving members' needs or focus their attention on issues of interest to their members. Nevertheless, their emergence explains the large number of nonprofits in 1988, the increase in cultural and

Table 1. Average Income of Twin Cities Nonprofits in 1980, 1984, and 1988 (in thousands of 1979 constant dollars)*

Source of Income	1980	1984	1988
Private Sector			
Foundations	$21.7	$64.5	$21.5
Businesses and corporations	14.5	72.9	15.6
Individuals	13.4	92.8	29.7
Federated fund drives	10.1	19.1	14.0
Benefit fundraising events (net after expenses)	0.5	4.2	8.1
Trusts and bequests	2.6	6.6	7.1
Public Sector			
Government grants and contracts	132.1	129.1	50.8
Self Generated			
Program services	526.4	567.1	1,390.7
Membership dues	28.1	14.3	14.9
Interests, rents, and royalties	52.8	48.4	34.9
Sale of assets (net after expenses)	0.9	-0.8	-2.5
Sale of unrelated services (net after expenses)	13.3	6.9	-1.4
Other	17.6	10.1	4.1

* These are averages for three cross-section surveys of 229 nonprofits in 1980, 266 in 1984, and 230 in 1988.

recreational organizations, the concentration of wealth in the hands of the largest organizations (concentration implies that there are a large number of smaller organizations), the greater percentage of organizations relying on private donations (while the revenues from this source were getting smaller), and the shrinking percentage of organizations able to rely on government funding. The overall growth in organizational size is probably due to very large, established organizations broadening their service base, while the growth in the size of the nonprofit sector is due to the increase in the number of these small expressive voluntary associations.

Explaining the situation of our panel of organizations is not as complicated, for they did quite well throughout the eight-year period. Their budgets increased, the number of employees increased, and income from almost every revenue source increased in both current and constant dollars. But indeed, not all the organizations in our panel made it through the decade unscathed. We began with 229 nonprofits in 1980; by 1988 there were only 174. Of the ones we lost, only four organizations refused to be interviewed again. Thus 51 organizations (or 22.3 percent) of the 229 organizations that we started with either merged, turned for-profit, or went out of business by 1988. Also, not every surviving nonprofit in our panel grew and prospered. By 1988 some were barely hanging on, and more than a couple have closed their doors since we talked to them three years ago.

Nonetheless, the organizations that did survive were, on the whole, doing quite well. We suspect that they survived, because they went back again and again to their donors, members, or customers while cultivating new donors, members, and customers at the same time. Certainly survivors in our panel were the "success stories." They not only survived the government cutbacks, recession, and scandals; a large percentage prospered.

Corporate Giving: It Keeps Going and Going and Going and...

Despite a turbulent environment, corporate giving in the Twin Cities survived the decade handsomely. Focusing on locally headquartered companies with 1,500 or more employees, we find that firms in 1987-89 gave more, on average, in current and constant dollars than firms in 1979-81, and there was a constant dollar increase between 1987 and 1989 (Figure 2).

Clearly company giving in the Twin Cities defied national trends. *Giving USA* (1991 edition) noted that corporate contributions in constant dollars were $3.9 billion in 1987 and $4.0 billion in 1988, 1989, and 1990—a flat pattern. Yet giving in current and constant dollars increased among the larger corporations headquartered in the Twin Cities during this same period.

Although we wish we could say that every large firm was giving more, it turns out that it was the generosity of a few large firms that made the difference. In other words, corporate giving was highly concentrated and, in fact, became more concentrated as the decade wore on. If we add up the total amount of cash contributions made by all our companies in fiscal year 1981, the two biggest donors accounted for 29.4 percent of the total; the four biggest

Income for nonprofits shifted in the 1980s. More and more often nonprofits turned to program service revenues, bringing in funds through activities like those at this day care center. Though not every organization earned more through program services, the average for all nonprofits, taken together, had more than doubled by 1988.

donors accounted for 47.3 percent. In 1989 the two biggest donors accounted for 37.2 percent of the total, and the four biggest accounted for 51.8 percent. If the two or three largest donors did not continue to give at exceptionally high levels, the Twin Cities business community would not be that different from business communities elsewhere.

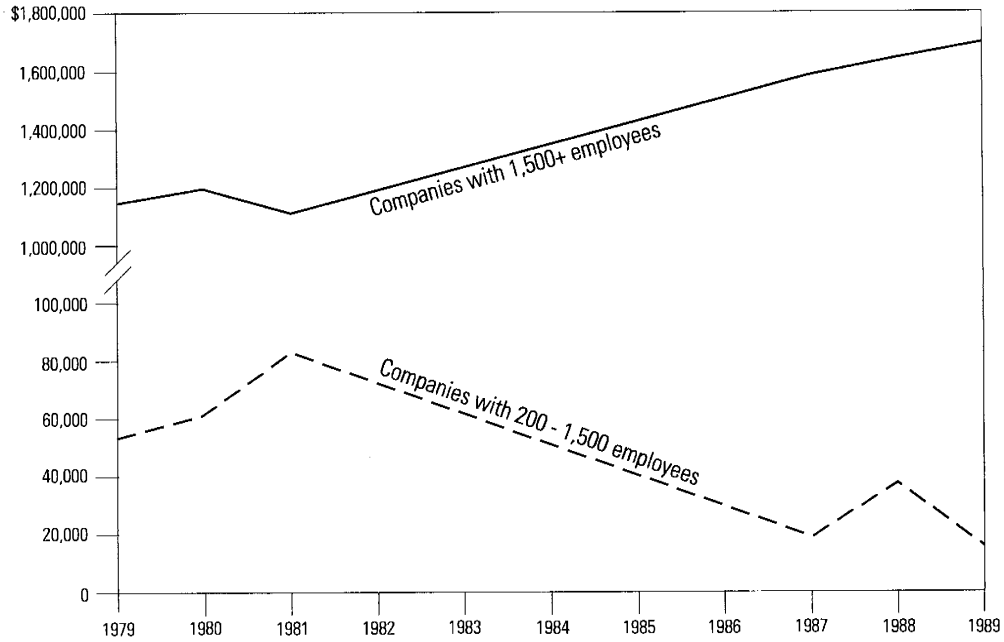
We also found that the structure of giving programs changed. Again considering the firms with 1,500 plus employees, we found that company giving programs became more formalized, and there was some evidence that decision-making became more decentralized as well. Furthermore, staff composition changed. Comparing corporate giving staff in 1981 and 1989, we found that in 1989 they were more likely to be over age forty, born and raised in Minnesota, female, with either no college degree or a graduate degree, and to have had work experience outside a corporation prior to their current job. Still some patterns remained constant. In 1987-89 these companies were giving, on average, roughly 70 percent of their donations to Minnesota nonprofits—the same as in 1979-81. However, the two largest donors gave a much smaller percentage to nonprofits in Minnesota in both years, and gave smaller percentages in 1987-89 than in 1979-81. Finally, the United Way was by far the most popular federated fund drive among large corporate donors in both periods.

It appears that corporate contibutions have become institutionalized into the fabric of these larger companies. Programs became more formalized, contribution staffs were larger and more professional, and companies were more likely to have a foundation or to locate contributions in general administration or their executive office instead of leaving it as a free-standing function.

Perhaps more importantly, disbursements seem to be tied more closely to revenues than to net income. Examining the ratios of contributions to net income we found a great deal of fluctuation across the six years we studied, but much of this was due to fluctuations in net income not contributions. In contrast, the ratio of contributions to revenue has been remarkably constant, ranging from .10 percent to .12 percent. This is good news for contributions staff and nonprofits, for it suggests that contributions have now become part of the routine budget making process and are not subject to the vicissitudes of short term profit taking.

This brings us to the situation of the middle size firm. The only downside of our research was that medium size companies (those with more than 200 but less than 1,500 employees) gave less in 1987-89, on average, in both current and constant dollars than the same size companies had in 1979-81 (Figure 2). From what we can surmise, the most generous donors in this group of businesses in 1979-81 either grew into the 1,500 plus employee group or relocated outside the Twin Cities by 1987-89. It's safe to assume that the same companies are not giving less. The problem is that the companies that entered the 200-1,500 size group are not giving as much as their predecessors in 1979-81, nor are they giving as large a percentage of their revenues or net income.

Figure 2. Average Business or Corporate Contributions to Twin Cities Nonprofits: 1979-1981 and 1987-1989 (in constant 1979 dollars)



If the Twin Cities are to continue as leaders in the area of corporate contributions, it is important that the two or three "leadership" firms continue to be headquartered in the Twin Cities and to give more than their fair share. But at the same time efforts need to be made to get smaller companies into the action.

In Conclusion

These results are only preliminary, and there are several other issues for us to explore in the months ahead. For example, some nonprofits experienced incredible growth during the 1980s while others declined. Still others were turnaround cases. What explains this? Are there certain management strategies which work best? As nonprofits lose funding from one source, is it better to cut back on services, reduce staff, and ride out the storm or is it better to explore new products or service lines and tap into new funders and pursue new clients? What about conflict and the quality of life within nonprofits as they go through periods of growth or decline? Is growth or decline itself the key factor explaining conflict within nonprofits or are the structures of the organization and the strategies which managers use more important. Our panel study allows us to look in detail at these questions.

Similarly there are a number of questions still to be asked regarding corporate contributions. What role does the "old boy's network" play in contributions? In our earlier study it was a very important factor in explaining why some companies gave more and some gave less. Was it still important in 1987-89? What about the background of the chief executive officer? In 1987-89 chief executive officers were less likely to have local roots and to be long time employees of their firm than in 1979-81. Did this make any difference in terms of how much their companies gave to charity? What has happened to the organizations which sprouted up in the late 1970s to promote corporate giving in the Twin Cities—groups like the Five Per Cent Club, the Minnesota Project on Corporate Responsibility, and the Business Action Resource Council? Are they still operating today? Have successors replaced them? And, finally, what about leadership in the corporate community? Who are the leaders? As the Pillsburys, Daytons, and others have aged, who has succeeded them—well-heeled entrepreneurs, top executives of Fortune 500 firms, or representatives from the nonprofit community? If contributions have truly become institutionalized as a corporate function, are leaders really necessary any more? These are all questions that our data can address and which need to be answered in the months ahead.

Joseph Galaskiewicz is a professor of sociology and strategic management

and organization at the University of Minnesota. He has published two research monographs on interorganizational relations in urban settings: *Exchange Networks and Community Politics* (1979) and *Social Organization of an Urban Grants Economy* (1985). He and Wolfgang Bielefeld (assistant professor in social sciences, University of Texas at Dallas) are working on a third book which looks at the growth and decline of nonprofit organizations during the Reagan years and a fourth book which documents the changes in corporate contributions in the Twin Cities between 1980 and 1989. His research on nonprofits and the corporate grants economy has been funded by the National Science Foundation, the Program on Nonprofit Organizations at Yale University, the Northwest Area Foundation, and CURA.

Home on the Range

by Lisa Thornquist

The Iron Range of northern Minnesota has its roots in mining. The area was first settled by Europeans in the late 1800s for the express purpose of mining the deep pockets of iron ore. Although forestry and recreation also form part of the area's economic base, it is the mining that has dominated the economy and left an indelible mark on the landscape.

Mining towns in the United States are usually characterized by instability. Jobs fluctuate with the demand for ore and deposits are usually mined out quickly. As one site is depleted, the mining company moves on and the population moves with it. The Iron Range of Minnesota, however, is different. Although the Range has experienced the usual ups and downs of a mining economy, and working in the mines has meant that miners have endured many layoffs, the miners have developed a deep sense of commitment to the Range and have made the choice to stay rather than move on.

Miners on the Iron Range

There are several factors that have supported the miners' ability to stay on the Range. First, the mineral deposits were so vast and so accessible that they have sustained a century of mining. Job fluctuations have been associated with changes in the demand for iron ore, not its availability. Every recession has brought hardship but jobs have always come back. Even during the Great Depression, when 70 percent of the mining jobs were eliminated within three years, the miners stayed on. Instead of moving, they developed strategies to remain on the Range. After all, jobs always came back.

Another factor has been the strong tradition of socialist ideology, that took hold on the Range in the early part of this century. It is attributed to the Finns, who may have brought socialism from the old country. Along with socialist political thought came consumer cooperatives and a strong tradi-

tion of community solidarity—neighbors helping each other. During the labor strikes in the early part of the century, miners of all nationalities joined together to fight the common enemy—the mining companies, and U.S. Steel in particular. Labor unionism and pro-labor sentiment is still strong on the Range.

Third, the Range is separated from the rest of the state by vast areas of sparse population. The strips of towns that follow the veins of ore were connected by means of easy transportation, serving to knit the community together. Although transportation on the Range was well developed, many of the early miners left the area only for a rare trip to Duluth. As a result, they developed a strong tradition of being different from other Minnesotans and built an image of the Range as a world apart. After a hundred years of settlement, third and fourth generation Rangers still tell the stories of the early days: the friction between ethnic groups and the struggles of the early miners against cold weather and mine disasters. But what most clearly defines a Ranger is the strong collective memory of the ever-present animosities between miners and mine bosses. The Range identity is steeped in history and looks towards the past rather than the future for its source of strength. This collective memory helps Rangers cope with economic fluctuations even today.

The recession of the 1980s had a devastating impact on the Iron Range. Ore shipments were cut in half between 1981 and 1982. Unemployment rose from 8.2 percent to 17.7 percent in St. Louis County and from 12.1 percent to 17.9 percent in Itasca County. Employment in mining dropped and never recovered (Table 1). Though there had been economic swings of this magnitude before, for many miners, it was their first experience with long-term unemployment. Unemployment benefits were extended for over a year in some instances, but the length of unemployment lasted considerably longer. For the first time in the history of the Range, large numbers of people moved out. Between 1980 and 1990, the population declined by over 15 percent. In the smaller towns, more than 20 percent left.

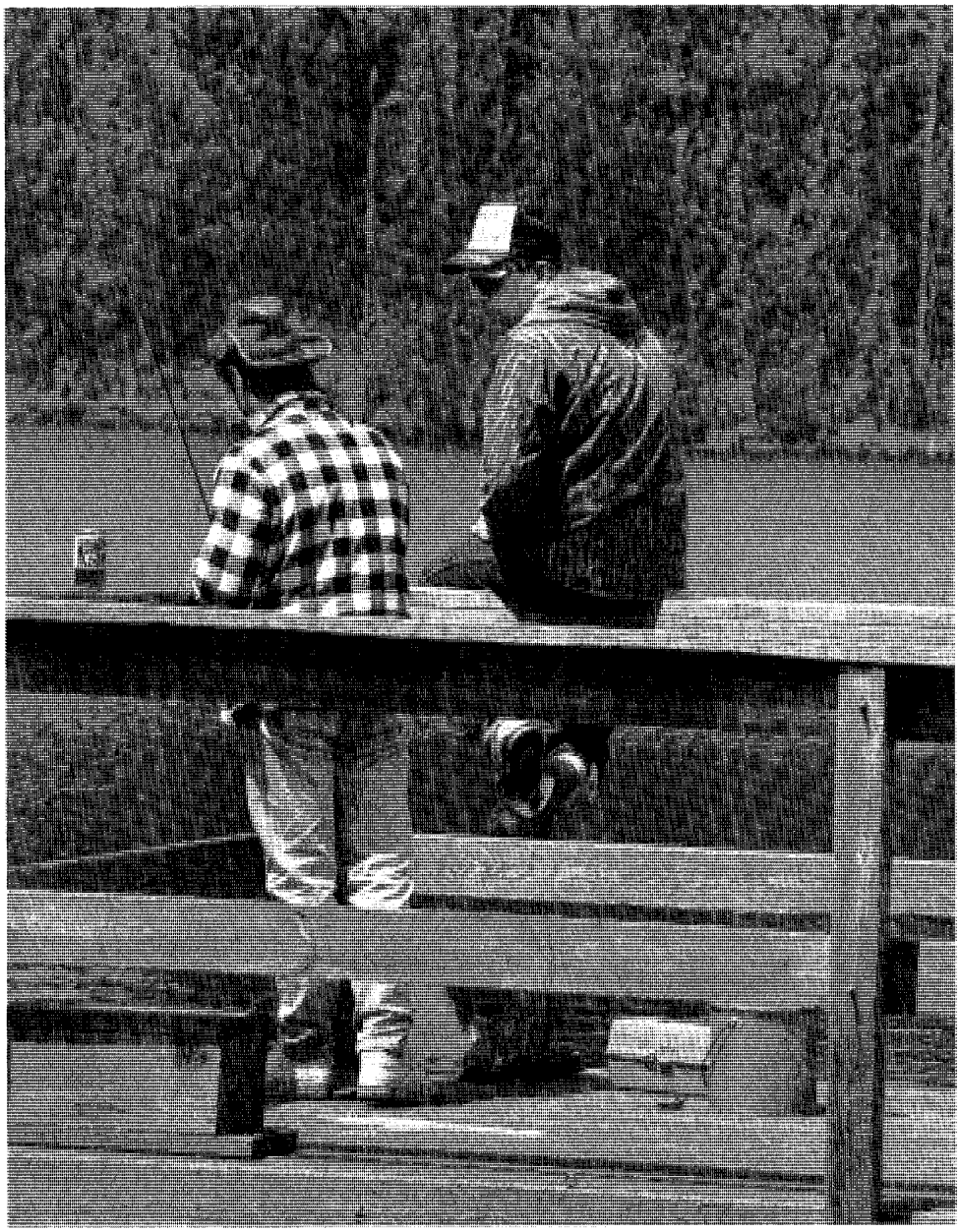
Despite the large exodus, many of the long-term unemployed decided to stay and many who had left, returned when the economy brightened. How they managed during long periods of unemployment and considerably lower incomes was the focus of my research in 1990.

The Survey of Unemployed Miners

Workers who had been laid off between 1980 and 1982 from either Butler or National Steel taconite plants in Itasca County were identified through the "call back" list from the local union of the United Steelworkers of America. There were 146 names on the list; 120 listed addresses on or near the Iron Range. Of these, 45 were unreachable and 26 refused to be interviewed. The remaining 49 formed the basis of this study.

Each miner completed a standardized survey consisting of questions about the strategies they had used to manage financially while unemployed, how they went about looking for a new job, and whether their new jobs paid as much as their jobs with the mines. The survey also asked about the number and types of social contacts they had on the Range, the amount of travel they had done outside the Range, and whether they had been born and raised on the Range.

Personal interviews were conducted with each of the miners to supplement the



Survival strategies included relying more on hunting and fishing for food.

Table 1. Number of Persons Employed in Metal Mining in Minnesota

1979	15,353
1980	13,802
1981	13,890
1982	7,689
1983	6,537
1984	7,377
1985	6,410
1986	4,649
1987	4,258
1988	5,454
1989	5,883
1990	6,317
1991	6,275

Source: Minnesota Department of Jobs and Training.

questionnaire. A class of geography students from the University of Minnesota helped with the interviewing. Their purpose was to gather subjective feelings about sense of place and rootedness to the Range, feelings that don't easily emerge from standardized questions. The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and an hour and covered descriptions of the household's financial strategies during layoff, job history, whether moving had been considered, and feelings about the Range and about changes on the Range.

The miners in the survey can be divided into four categories. There were eleven younger, single men between twenty and thirty-nine; fifteen younger, married men; thirteen older, married men between forty and fifty-nine; and ten women. The women were all single wage earners and almost all of them had children. The miners often remarked that there was a tremendous difference in experience between younger and older miners, and especially between those who were married and those who were single. Nine out of ten of the married miners had children. Most agreed that it was the younger married men who had the most difficulty managing the family budget during the recession. These were the workers under the most financial pressure with the least amount of equity.

At the time of the interviews, many of the miners had finally been called back to National Steel, almost a decade after they had been laid off. Others were expecting a call back soon, and in fact rumors were circulating that the company would soon be looking for new hires. Friends and relatives who had never worked in the mines were coming back to the Range in hopes of getting a job with National.

Survival Strategies

How did the miners manage to stay on the Range during the recession of the 1980s? Reflecting a Range identity that stresses the past, many miners talked about using the same strategies that their parents and grandparents had used when times were tough. One miner explained that their experiences were similar to their parents':

> "There have been these big layoffs in the '50s and '60s where guys had been laid off for a couple of years at a time...Their sons and their daughters did the same thing. They just waited around for a call back to come."

Almost universally, the miners cut back on expenditures, as their parents and grandparents had done. They had earned high salaries while working in the mines. Unemployment benefits were typically about half of their salaries. Most miners, once they did find work, found themselves earning less than half of what they had been making in the mines. Therefore, their cutback strategies were relied on for nearly a decade.

The most common cutback, used by three-quarters of the miners, was to limit social activities. As one miner explained:

> "Basically your entertainment is having barbecues and everybody would bring their own stuff to barbecue. You'd get together at people's houses instead of going out. Which is kind of what our social life consisted of anyway. Everyone was in the same boat."

There were differences, however, between older and younger workers, married and single. The older miners were much more likely to cut out social activities altogether. The younger, single workers, with fewer financial responsibilities, were more likely to only limit social activities. The younger, married miners still went out, but they spent less money. As one younger miner explained, he still went to the bars on weekends, but instead of bringing $20 to spend, he would bring $10.

Other cutbacks included spending less on clothing, limiting vacations, relying more on hunting and fishing for food, and using utilities less. They talked about chopping their own firewood or hanging their clothes in the basement to dry in order to save money. They turned off lights. They spent more time hunting and fishing and turned these leisure activities into ways to supplement the dinner table. Again, the older miners were much more likely to cut back on expenses in all aspects of their lives. Younger miners cut back less and were more likely to skip loan payments as a way of cutting back. Living a frugal life was part of being a Ranger. Most of the miners talked about how their parents and grandparents did the same thing. They lived "close to the bone" and didn't spend money needlessly.

In addition to limiting expenditures, miners supplemented their incomes by working odd jobs for cash or drawing from their savings. Nearly two-thirds of the miners who supplemented their incomes tried to find cash jobs. This was by far the most popular strategy. They relied on friends and neighbors to steer jobs their way. As one younger, married miner explained:

> "I used unemployment for almost two years, then working odd jobs for cash that I didn't claim. You almost have to learn how to cheat...I did a lot of welding work out of my garage, for cash. I trapped a little bit. Everything for cash, nothing by check. I did some wallpaper work, a lot of things strictly by cash."

One man raised rabbits, another grew Christmas trees, another raised walleyes in a pond outside his back door. This tradition goes back to the turn of the century, when many miners owned land outside of town that they could farm during layoffs or strikes. Many present-day miners owned equipment, such as trucks and logging skidders, that they could use to hire out for jobs. When money got really tight or they couldn't find jobs, they sold their equipment to raise cash.

Beside these informal jobs, found through family and friends, the towns themselves tried to spread jobs around to the unemployed. Many towns divided up the chores—cutting grass along the roadside, plowing roads, work at hockey rinks—among its residents who were out of work. One miner reported that everyone got to work for the town for six weeks if they so desired. This tradition of towns hiring their own goes back to the 1920s, when local politicians learned how to tax mining companies on the worth of the ore in the ground, so as to keep taxes coming in even during years of low production.

Almost half of the miners also relied on their savings while they were unemployed. While they were working, they were always saving, because everyone knew that layoffs would come again. The mining industry pays the highest wages in the state and the insecurity of a mining job ensured that many miners would save part of their paychecks. One younger miner talked about supporting his family solely with savings after his unemployment benefits ran out and another talked about having to sell his stocks while he was unemployed, but things never got so bad that he had to cash in his bonds.

Commitment to the Range

The strategies the miners used to stay on the Range show two things. First, that a knowledge of how to ride out periods of unemployment has been passed down from generation to generation. These miners remembered their parents telling them stories of layoffs. Now they know what their parents went through. But second, their strategies reflect the commitment they have to the Range. Their commitment is demonstrated by the sacrifices they are willing to make to avoid leaving the Range.

When asked why they stayed and put up with low paying jobs or no jobs at all, the miners' answers were very clear. The Range is their home; it is where their family and friends are. And they talked about the land. They couldn't imagine living in a place where you couldn't hunt and fish near your home. They pointed out the slower pace of life, that one doesn't have to put up with traffic congestion or crime. One miner talked about living in the city and how he hated driving on "all tar" roads. Another talked about how he loved to walk in the woods through waist-deep snow and that one couldn't do that in "the Cities" because they are always plowing everything. But in particular, they talked about their children and how they couldn't bring themselves to take their children away from the Range. The miners felt that their children wouldn't be able to cope off the Range, an illustration of a Range identity that is different from mainstream America.

Among the forty-nine miners we interviewed, almost one-third had moved from

Miners also cut back on energy use by hanging clothes to dry instead of running a dryer.

the Range for a period of time. They were very clear as to their reasons for moving and for returning. They left to find work. They returned because they love the Range.

> "Once you fall in love with the country up here, you don't want to leave it. I was gone for ten years and I came back."

> "Seems to me I'm always coming back for some reason. Maybe family ties or friends or seems like this has always been home."

Commitment to Each Other

One result of the recession on the Range is that its people are even more committed to the Range. Some miners view the recession as an event that helped unite the communities.

> "I think through the layoffs it brought people closer together. People have learned to help one another more, more so than what they had been. It almost became a closer knit group of people, from a sociological standpoint, people rallied around each other."

In fact, the whole history of the Range has been built on adversity and struggle. The Range succeeded as a place and as a community because of its ability to pull together against common enemies. For those who lived through the recession and hung on, it has allowed them to add to the legacy of the Range by writing another chapter on the strength and character of Rangers.

> "I think the past ten years is a testimonial to the fiber and the character of the people of the Iron Range. That was demonstrated to me, to see first-hand, what I was only told about as I was growing up. How the people pulled together and worked through tough times, and weathered the storm and still maintained a good quality of life in terms of placing importance on strong values and strong education....I think having lived through that and having seen how people adjusted and coped with diversity and made it work and made it happen is a statement to the quality of the area."

The commitment is taken to its extreme by a few miners, who talked about refusing to ever leave the Range. "I would rather die here, and I probably will."

Lessons from the Range

At a time when families and communities are under increasing stress and politicians are decrying the decline of values and commitment, much of public policy debate focuses on how to stabilize families and communities. Debate also continues over whether government has an obligation to bring jobs to people or people to jobs. The lesson from the Iron Range is that communities do have strategies for surviving; that people who have a strong commitment to a place will find ways to stay there. The challenge to public policy makers is to find ways to build on the strategies people fall back on and the history of a particular area rather than imposing new solutions that are out of step with the values of a place.

The Iron Rangers interviewed for this project were able to hang on by working a variety of odd jobs and by cutting back their spending to match their reduced incomes. Local governments responded in kind, by dividing up public jobs among as many of the unemployed as possible and by keeping property taxes down through the use of a taconite relief tax. This lowered the cost

of living on the Range. The local communities recognized that people are their most valuable resource and that giving aid to as many people as possible might allow those people just enough to stay on.

These solutions may not work in other communities. After all, the Range communities have socialist roots and a long history of labor union activism. The legacy of the Iron Range is a legacy of pulling together as a community to help everyone. But clearly local solutions to local problems have worked on the Range. Neither the local government nor the state of Minnesota have much power to influence the international demand for steel or the use of Minnesota ore in place of Venezuelan ore. But local governments do understand their own history and can build effective solutions to their own problems.

Lisa Thornquist recently completed her Ph.D. in geography at the University of Minnesota. She is currently Director of Research and Education at the Minnesota Department of Labor and Industry, conducting research on workplace safety and the workers' compensation program. She has also been a site analyst for Dayton Hudson Corporation. Lisa has been traveling to the Iron Range several times a year for the past decade and has always been impressed by the commitment of the people there to the Iron Range.

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New CURA Publications

Courses on Aging: University of Minnesota, 1992-1993. All-University Council on Aging. 1992. CURA 92-4. 26 pp. Free.

The University of Minnesota offers many courses related to aging. This is a listing of those courses in which aging is a primary focus. Courses are listed by campus (Twin Cities and the coordinate campuses) and by department. Listings are complete with course name, number, quarter offered, teacher, credits granted, prerequisites, and course description. Only the time and place are not given. Contact persons and phone numbers are listed for each department.

Courses on the Environment: A Student Guide to University of Minnesota Courses on Environmental Issues on the Twin Cities Campus, 1992-1993. 1992. CURA 92-6. 66 pp. Free.

Courses relating to environmental studies at the University of Minnesota are listed by subject area and by department. Course descriptions are included. This publication is intended to be a guide for faculty and students and is supplemental to official University bulletins. An additional section describes special centers, services, and libraries that deal with the environment. A new section on academic programs that offer a major, minor, or concentration in environmental issues has been added this year. These programs are offered at the bachelor, master, and doctoral levels.

A Directory of Nonprofit Organizations of Color in Minnesota. April 1992. CURA 92-3. 55 pp. Free.

This is a much expanded and more inclusive directory than *Nonprofit Organizations of Color in Minnesota,* published last year by CURA. It includes all not-for-profit associations, organizations, mutual assistance and fraternal groups, religious organizations, and tribal governments. Entries are grouped according to cultural origins: African American/African, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic, and multi-cultural. Address, phone number, and name of the director are included. Mailing label matrices are provided for each community of color.

Environmental Research at the University of Minnesota: An Inventory of Research Related to Public Policy, 1990-1992. Thomas L. Anding, Sheryl A. Carter, Nancy M. Lange, and Margaret R. Wolfe. 1992. CURA 92-5. 192 pp. Free.

For the first time, information about recent environmental research at the University of Minnesota has been gathered together in a single publication. Information about 267 research projects related to public policy issues is presented. The projects come from fifty-nine different departments and include sixty-two projects on campuses or experiment stations outside the Twin Cities area. Descriptions of the research, funding sources and amounts, investigators and their phone numbers, and number of students involved are included. The interdisciplinary nature of environmental research is immediately apparent. Projects are grouped under sixteen subject categories, from ecology to wetlands. Indexes are also provided by department, funding source, investigator, and subject keyword. Most of the projects in the inventory are still ongoing.

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- ☐ **Professional Training for Community Interpreters: A Report on Models of Interpreter Training and the Value of Training.** Bruce T. Downing and Kate Helms Tillery. 1992. CURA 92-2. 69 pp. Free.
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