CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRI]DE

FACTORS IN THE RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION
OF AMERICAN INDIANS:
The Example of Los Angeles

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Geography
by
Kevin Arthur Rupp

May, 1975
The thesis of Kevin Arthur Rupp is approved:

California State University, Northridge
April, 1975
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ABSTRACT

FACTORS IN THE RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

OF AMERICAN INDIANS:

The Example of Los Angeles

by

Kevin Arthur Rupp

Master of Arts in Geography

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This study focuses on the contemporary movement of Indians to the city of Los Angeles as an example of the more general process of rural to urban migration. To bring the phenomenon of "relocation" into perspective, the investigation follows a sequence of developments from poverty on the reservation to the problems of adjustment in the city.

Many of the relocatees come to the city under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance Program. Two phases of the Employment Assistance Program are in operation: the Direct Employment Program, and the Adult Vocational Training Program. The former
provides placement services, the latter furnishes vocational training. Over 130,000 Indians have participated in these two programs since they began.

Los Angeles has the largest Indian population of any city in the United States. A majority of these people are migrants from other states. The extent of the migration is examined in this paper, as well as the spatial aspects of the distribution of Indians in the Los Angeles area. A discussion of the adjustment of Indians to the White community is followed by an examination of the pan-Indian community in Los Angeles.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For at least a century and a half the imminent disappearance of the American Indian has been confidently predicted. Yet, Indians have endured as definable communities and as an unassimilated minority. A heightening of political activity, designed to promote common interests, including cultural survival, has become evident among these people since the mid 1940s.

The native American has in recent years gained more attention, more sympathy, and more public support for his cause than at any time since his domain was invaded by the white man. Although he has been the subject of numerous books, articles, novels, movies, and television series, it was not until approximately a decade ago that he began to be treated objectively and critically as a part of American history.

A dismaying amount of our history has been written without regard to Indians, and of what has been written much treats their diverse and always changing societies as uniform and static. Most American history has been written as if history were a function of white culture in spite of the fact that
well into the nineteenth century the Indians were one of the principal determinants of historical events... American historians have made shockingly little effort to understand how all these affected white men and their societies (De Voto, 1952, preface).

Then, in the 1960s, strong and often violent movements swept towns and campuses of America. The riots and demonstrations insured that from the sixties forward, minorities, including Indians, would be heard. The movement is replete with Indian advocates like Vine Deloria and Scott Momaday telling their story from the Indian point of view. In many cases, however, their treatment of the facts is just as biased as the white man's. The overreaction—by the literary world at least—may be an attempt to compensate for the last few hundred years of misunderstanding and apathy.

Over the last two decades, and to a lesser extent since contact with the white man, Indians have been leaving their traditional homes and taking up a life alongside the white man. The urbanization of the American Indian has occurred on a small scale for years, as individuals and families quietly slip from the reservation to the city. The number of people choosing to relocate has increased substantially in recent years, partly as a result of implementation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment
Assistance (Relocation) Program. The influx of large numbers of Indians into metropolitan areas around the country heralds the formation of a new urban ethnic group. These people tend to minimize their individual tribal identity and accentuate a manifestation of "Indianness."

The American Indian is reaching out to claim his "rightful" inheritance, to assure himself and his offspring of a position, both economically and socially, in the white community. Yet, he is fighting against the demise of his identity as an "Indian," the social oblivion that is companion to assimilation with and incorporation into the dominant society.

Cultural geographers, and other students of culture, are concerned with solutions to problems of genesis and process. In cultural geography studies of areas and distributions merge imperceptibly with studies of origins and dispersals. To the extent that the movement of Indians to urban areas can be described in terms of "migration" rather than temporary "commuter behavior," it is an example of rural to urban migration--primarily for economic reasons. Typically, economic growth has concentrated in towns and cities in the developed nations, and this in turn has led to major rural-urban population movements in the last three centuries. The possibility of finding a job in the city,
no matter how demeaning, has led to the vast rural to urban flow of people that in this century alone has probably transferred at least 200 million persons worldwide to urban areas. The movement usually represents a response to differential opportunities, and has made possible vast increases in total wealth (Morrill, 1970, pp. 135-151).

The intent of this paper is to present a portrait of contemporary Indians as they react to the vicissitudes of a benevolently intended federal policy of assimilation. This study will focus on the movement of Indians to Los Angeles as an example of the more general process of rural to urban migration. To bring the phenomenon of "relocation" into perspective, the analysis follows a line of investigation beginning at the reservation and ending in the city.

The background is set in Chapter II with a brief review of the relationship of Indian people to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Of paramount importance to the investigation of relocation is the genesis of a federal philosophy that has stressed assimilation and the termination of the trust status of Indian lands. The culmination of this policy is the Employment Assistance (Relocation) Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In Chapter III the quality of life on the reservation is examined in order to learn why so many young Indian
men and women are leaving their homes for the city. The parameters of poverty are outlined with emphasis on the distribution of Indians in the United States, their demographic characteristics, family income, education, health, and occupational distribution. Included is a discussion of the estimated 100,000 or more rural Indians living off reservations in 1960 (Wax, 1971, p. 38).

Multiple regression analysis is employed in Chapter IV to investigate the relationships between certain demographic characteristics of reservation resident populations: (1) population size, (2) labor force, (3) unemployment, and (4) temporary employment, and the number of departures for an urban area. The survey includes seventy reservations totaling some 533,000 Indians.

A brief history of the Employment Assistance Program precedes a discussion, in Chapter V, concerning the mechanics of "relocation," from reservation to city— from the perspective of the individual relocatee. Two phases of the Employment Assistance Program are in operation today, the Direct Employment Program, and the Adult Vocational Training Program. The former provides job placement services while the latter furnishes vocational training, on-the-job training, and apprenticeship training. Over 100,000 individuals have participated in these two programs since 1952.
Chapter V continues with an investigation into the number of relocatees who decide not to remain in the city. Although specific data are not available, estimates indicate that at least one-third of all those who relocate to the city eventually return to the reservation. The problem of the "returnees" is followed by a discussion of the ideas behind the "Redirected Employment Assistance Program --New Directions." New Directions promulgates the idea that assistance programs are most effective when administrative control is focused at the point of contact with the recipient. In New Directions the trend is to reinvest appropriate components of Bureau power at levels more directly influenced by Indian people, i.e., at the reservation.

Concluding the section on the Employment Assistance Program are a few comments concerning the impact of the relocation program on the reservation economy. One of the purposes of the Employment Assistance Program is to reduce the level of surplus labor on the reservation. The effect on reservation unemployment, however, has been inauspicious.

In order to appreciate the problems associated with relocation and adaptation to the urban environment a few generalizations concerning the peculiarities of Indian
behavior and personality vis-a-vis the white man are presented in Chapter VI. The great majority of immigrants to America share in the Western European tradition and support to some degree its pattern of values. American Indians, on the other hand, almost all embrace certain common values which differ from or are contrary to those of the dominant white society. A general profile of relocatees is presented, including sections on the educational selectivity of Indian migration, and the change in earnings after participation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Program. An analysis of tribal differences in urban adaptation is followed by a discussion of one aspect of this, the problem of Indian drunkenness.

Pan-Indianism is indicative of an attempt to create a new ethnic group, the "American Indian." Pan-Indianism occurs both in rural and urban areas. However, Chapter VII deals primarily with the movement as it relates to the relocated Indian—as a mechanism of adaptation in the city.

Having examined the major factors shaping the character of the rural-urban migration, the particular case of movement to the Los Angeles area is discussed in Chapter VIII. A majority of the Indians residing in Los Angeles are migrants from other states. This chapter examines the extent of this migration as well as the spatial
aspects of the distribution of Indians in Los Angeles.

A discussion of the assimilation of Indians into the white community is punctuated by an examination into the extent of pan-Indianism in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Indian Center and the pan-Indian church are the major vehicles for expression of pan-Indianism in Los Angeles. The last section of Chapter VIII entitled, "Uprooting the Indians," considers some of the debilitating effects of urban life from the perspective of the Indian relocatee.
CHAPTER II

THE SEARCH FOR AN INDIAN POLICY

The attitude of the federal government is a significant factor bearing upon the Indian's propensity to remain on the reservation or to relocate to the city. Early in the history of the United States, the central government began to influence the lives of the American Indian. The new Constitution gave Congress full control of trade with Indians. It also gave the President power to make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate and provided that such treaties would be the "Supreme" law of the land. These prerogatives gave the federal government the responsibility and the tools for dealing with Indian groups. The majority view at present is that the federal government has full power over Indians (BIA, 1972c, p. 8).

Removal Policy: Nonassimilation Philosophy

Before the Civil War, Indians were regarded by many as strange and independent people. The federal government reacted to this attitude by isolating those tribes which resisted assimilation. Following the Indian Removal Act
of 1830, most tribes on the Eastern seaboard were moved west of the Mississippi River. For a hunting people the loss of game and the restriction to relatively small areas of land deprived them of their main source of livelihood and their traditional way of life. Many had to be issued rations for survival. This led not only to a difficult period of adjustment for the Indians, which for many is still in process, but also led to government representatives, or Indian agents, acquiring more and more power over Indians.

Following this Act, a great number of treaties, usually providing for payments of annuities, lump-sum awards, rations, and other benefits, were adopted, thereby plunging the United States inadvertently into a fiduciary role, ultimately resulting in the regulation of the internal affairs of Indian tribes and even of Indian family life (McNickle, 1972, p. 121).

"Civilization" Policy

As the impossibility of isolation as a solution

---

1 This Act gave the President (Jackson) authority to negotiate for removal of Indians to areas west of the Mississippi River. Indians were advised that refusal meant the end of federal protection and abandonment to state laws.
became increasingly evident, the emphasis in federal policy shifted to "civilization" of the Indian. The General Allotment Act of 1887 authorized the individualization of tribal property and the establishment of large boarding schools, often at places remote from the reservation. Since the non-Indian was self-sufficient with a plot of land it was believed that the Indian could also learn to be self-sufficient through diligent application to agricultural pursuits. The transformation from hunter to farmer was supposed to be stimulated by private ownership of property.

One of the results of the Act was to weaken the tribe as an entity. Supplies, rations, or payments were provided directly to individual Indians rather than to their leaders. Besides largely destroying traditional tribal government, an important result of the Act was the alienation of Indian land. Whenever an allotment was made, the Indian became a citizen of the United States, "... endowed with all the civil and political privileges and subject to all the responsibilities and duties of any other citizen of the country" (BIA, 1972c, p. 16).

The Allotment Act was one of the first acknowledgments by Congress that some Indians at least would not permanently make their homes on reservations. Although
officially repudiated as federal policy in 1934, this legislation profoundly affected reservations in most parts of the country and unquestionably contributed to the movement of many Indians to other areas, including cities in such states as Minnesota, North Dakota, Washington, and Oklahoma.

As early as the 1880s the off-reservation boarding school concept had gathered wide support among federal administrators. The Bureau of Indian Affairs began to establish schools in Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. Jim Thorpe's school, Carlisle, the first of the larger non-reservation boarding schools, was established in 1789 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The boarding school concept proved a natural twin of the allotment policy, both of which removed the Indian from tribal status and integrated him into white society. Great emphasis was placed upon enrolling the Indians in the new schools, whether they wished to attend or not. Indian children were at times forcibly removed from their parents and taken hundreds of miles to school.

The cessation of treaty-making in 1871, the Allotment Act, and the drive to make Indians like the white man, led to the federal and state governments taking more actions concerned with the internal affairs of the tribes and directly affecting individual Indians. The Synder Act,
adopted by Congress in 1921, reflected this situation. The Act indicated that the objective of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was to provide for the general support and civilization of the Indians. Among other things, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was responsible for the education, welfare, and health of their clients.

The Indian Reorganization Act

In 1928, the report of the Meriam Survey, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, based on extensive field investigation, found the Indian in poor health, poorly educated, and poorly adjusted to the larger society (Meriam, 1928, p. 667). Meriam broke with the forced acculturation philosophy of the "civilization" period, and instead recommended an acculturation program based on an understanding of the Indian point of view and recognition of the desirable elements of Indian economic, social, religious, and ethical institutions.

The Meriam report also explored the problem of the so-called "migrated Indian," who had left the reservation to live in urban areas. There were already a number of these Indians in the late 1920s. Los Angeles and Torrance, for instance, recorded 105 Indian residents (Meriam, 1928, p. 676).
Many who had studied in off-reservation boarding schools and participated in the "outing" program never went back. The outing system might be considered the first individual "relocation" program. Children who attended off-reservation boarding schools since the 1880s were assigned to families in the communities and rural areas nearby, where they worked at farming or housekeeping to provide them with experience and to acquaint them with the living patterns of the whites.

The Meriam report severely criticized the outing program. However, the study recognized that in the case of reservations with a paucity of economic resources and opportunities, tribal members needed federal help to speed their movement into communities affording opportunities for economic development.

General social and economic forces will inevitably operate to accelerate the migration of Indians from the reservation to industrial communities. For two major reasons the Indian Service should keep well informed regarding the conditions confronted by these migrated Indians. The first reason is that the evidence thus secured will furnish the basis for the modification and development of educational resources, such as schools and the other activities maintained by the government, to fit Indians to meet life in the face of white civilization. The second reason is that the Indian Service can render an invaluable service to migrated Indians in aiding them to become established in and adjusted to their new environment. In the case of reservations possessed of meagre economic resources and opportunities, it may even prove advisable for the government deliberately to adopt a
policy looking toward expediting this movement to such industrial communities as afford fullest opportunities for labor and development (Meriam, 1928, p. 667).

Although more than twenty years elapsed before the recommendations of the report were instituted, the Meriam report nevertheless provided the foundation upon which today's off-reservation employment assistance program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is based.

During the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration a program of conserving and developing Indian resources and of utilizing native institutions as carriers of culture change was adopted as the official policy of the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. The Indian Reorganization Act, adopted in 1934, was the implementing legislation for such a policy. Commissioner Collier reversed the land policy of the Allotment Act and revoked the policy of eliminating everything that was Indian. The Indian Reorganization Act specifically authorized the purchase of additional land and the establishment of tribal organizations. It established a loan fund for the development of individual and tribal business and extended the trust on Indian lands indefinitely. The Act provided the basis for federal Indian administration to the present day, and was designed to encourage self-determination for Indian communities under federal jurisdiction.
Termination

During the 1940s the Congress was dissatisfied with the pace of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in accomplishing the self-sufficiency of the Indians and in reducing the need for the Bureau itself. In a report by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1943, the programs exemplified by Commissioner Collier's administration were attacked as inimical to the purpose of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The original purpose of the Bureau, said the Committee, was to "fit the Indians into the commonwealth of citizens" (BIA, 1972c, p. 50).

In 1949 the Hoover Commission recommended a policy of termination for the trust status of Indian lands. The policy advocated shifting responsibility for Indian affairs to the states and total assimilation for the Indian at an accelerated pace. States would inherit the responsibilities of the federal government through (1) migration of Indians from the reservation to the city or other non-reservation area in search of greater opportunity which brings them under State jurisdiction, (2) transfer of functions from the federal government to the states for Indians still residing on federal reservations, and (3) termination of all special federal responsibility for Indian groups.
The Eisenhower Administration made termination the policy of the 1950s.

The enthusiasm for withdrawal of special federal services to Indians reached its peak in Congress in 1953 with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108. The objective was to end the Indians' special status and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives of American citizenship. As a result of this resolution, a number of small tribes and two large ones--the Menominees of Wisconsin and the Klamaths of Oregon--underwent "termination."

From the Indians' perspective, termination meant annihilation rather than emancipation. Members of the Menominee Tribe terminated in 1961, were proud and relatively self-sufficient people with good schools, community services and a tribal-owned sawmill. Once terminated, their reservation became incorporated into a county. The State of Wisconsin had neither the money nor the inclination to assume the responsibility abandoned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Much Indian land was sold at auctions because Indians were unable to pay the state property taxes to which their land became subject after termination.

The Klamath Indians of Oregon fared no better after their emancipation. Their reservation was terminated, their lands sold, and the money distributed among the
owners (Cahn, 1972, p. 20).

Another development of the post-World War II period substantially enhanced the Indians' propensity to migrate to urban areas. In 1946, there were an estimated 10,000 youngsters over twelve years of age on the Navaho reservation alone who had received little or no formal schooling. In the fall of that year the Bureau of Indian Affairs began an experimental five-year program of accelerated basic and vocational education for Navahos at the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. Similar programs were subsequently established at other off-reservation boarding schools and teenagers other than Navaho began to be accepted in the program. In January 1950, the Bureau of Indian Affairs converted an abandoned military hospital at Brigham City, Utah, into the Intermountain Indian School. Intermountain ultimately achieved an enrollment of more than 2,000, making it the keystone of the special program (Officer, 1971, p. 50).

The major emphasis of the school was to prepare the youngsters for employment, primarily in the school's areas--away from the reservation. In 1959, one of the peak years of the special program, seventy-seven per cent of the graduating class were placed in off-reservation employment (Officer, 1971, p. 50).
Readjustment of Federal Approach

In 1961, the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, appointed a task force to review federal Indian programs. The task force concluded that the emphasis on termination had impaired Indian morale and produced a "hostile or apathetic response" to federal Indian programs (BIA, 1972c, p. 65). Shunning the policies of termination, Indian Commissioners Philleo Nash (1961-66) and Robert Bennett (1966-69), advocated Indian development—economic, social, and governmental—and Indian involvement in such development. Nash and Bennett were aided by the social legislation enacted during the Kennedy and Johnson years. ¹

The Indian Resource Development Act, better known as the Omnibus Bill for Indians, was forwarded to the Congress on May 16, 1967. The Bill, which focused on economic development and sources of credit for the Indian, failed to pass. It lacked emphasis on self-determination, and was widely opposed by Indians who, rightly or not, feared it meant termination in a new form.

¹The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), the Education Professions Development Act (1965), the Vocational Education Act (1963), the Higher Education Act (1965), and the Economic Opportunity Act (1964).
Emergence of the Philosophy of Pluralism

Much of the same philosophy was advocated in both the Johnson and Nixon Presidential messages—rejection of the termination policy, the necessity for Indian involvement, the necessity of developing Indian leadership, expansion of credit, improved schools, and Indian participation in operating the schools, and the elevation of Indian responsibility to the higher reaches of the federal government, i.e., the creation of the position of Assistant Secretary for Indian and Territorial Affairs in Interior. The emphasis is on the transfer of responsibility from the federal government to Indian communities rather than to state or local governments.

The philosophy of pluralism was succinctly stated by President Nixon:

We must recognize that American society can allow many different cultures to flourish in harmony and we must provide an opportunity for those Indians wishing to do so to lead a useful and prosperous life in an Indian environment (Preelection statement, September 26, 1968).
CHAPTER III

RURAL INDIAN AMERICANS IN POVERTY

In the pursuit of better opportunities man has often migrated—for migration constitutes a mechanism for alleviating, or at least responding to, inequities in regional development. Indians are leaving their homes because to remain often means a life of continuous poverty.

Most Indians are rural residents and most Indians are poor. The reasons lie in their history, in the development of the overwhelming industrialized American economy, and in the difficult process of assimilation of a minority culture by the dominant society.

Distribution

The 1970 Census indicates an Indian population for the United States of nearly eight hundred thousand persons (U.S. Census, 1970, p. 1-262). Figure 1 shows where most Indians lived in 1960 (USDA, 1969, p. 3). The greatest numbers of Indians are located in Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and California.
WHERE MOST INDIANS LIVED IN 1960

COUNTIES INCLUDED ARE THOSE IN WHICH AT LEAST 1,000 INDIANS LIVED

SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FIGURE 1
Table 1 shows the location of Indian and total United States population. The most obvious disproportion is in the size of the population in urban areas: fifty-nine per cent of the general population was located in urban areas, whereas only thirty per cent of Indians are in the cities.

Discussion of the sizes of particular tribes is confounded because the tribal identifications of the nineteenth and earlier centuries have in many cases deteriorated as a result of reservation settlement patterns, intermarriage, and acculturation. On the Fort Berthold Reservation of Montana, for instance, the Mandan, Gros Ventre, and Arickara have tended to merge, as have the various Plains Indians (Comanche, Apache, Kiowa-Apache, and Kiowas) in western Oklahoma. Conversely, where the process of reservation settlement divided a people, the tendency has been for differences to develop and become pronounced, as, for example, between the Apache located in Oklahoma and those in Arizona; or the Sioux scattered among the reservations of the northern plains (Dakotas, Montana, and Minnesota).

The largest and most cohesive tribe is the Navaho, whose reservation is located largely in Arizona, but with portions in New Mexico and Utah (Figure 2). In 1960, the
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
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<td>63,921,684</td>
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<td>Urban fringe</td>
<td>54,524,882</td>
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<td>Other Urban</td>
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<td>Places of 10,000 or more</td>
<td>16,618,596</td>
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<td>Places of 2,500 to 10,000</td>
<td>14,259,758</td>
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<td><strong>Rural</strong></td>
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<td>Places of 1,000 to 2,500</td>
<td>6,656,007</td>
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<td>Other rural</td>
<td>47,230,989</td>
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<td>Urbanized areas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central cities</td>
<td>158,115</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban fringe</td>
<td>83,584</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places of 10,000 or more</td>
<td>55,600</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places of 2,500 to 10,000</td>
<td>58,439</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places of 1,000 to 2,500</td>
<td>39,577</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other rural</td>
<td>398,416</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2
Navaho population was approximately 74,000, according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, although scholarly sources include estimates as high as 100,000 (Wax, 1971, p. 38). There are also many Navahos who have relocated to other areas in the Southwest. Bureau of Indian Affairs' estimates show 133,487 Navahos on and adjacent to the reservation in 1972 (BIA, 1972b, pp. 1-15). Because of their tribal size and isolation in the deserts and mountains, the Navahos more than other tribes perceive themselves as a distinct people, Dine' (The People).

The Sioux, another large tribal group, are dispersed among several reservations: Pine Ridge, 10,648; Rosebud, 8,183; Standing Rock, 4,500; Cheyenne River, 4,307; Santee, 1,372; Crow Creek, 1,132; Lower Brule, 705; Fort Peck (Assiniboine and Sioux), 3,285; Yankton, 2,391; Sisseton Wahpeton, 3,542; and Pipestone, 582 (Wax, 1971, p. 38). Large numbers of Sioux also reside in the cities and towns of the northern plains and Canada as well as the major urban centers to which Indians have been relocated.

Another large group of Indians are the Tribal Cherokee and Tribal Creek of eastern Oklahoma. Their population is estimated at about 10,000 each (Wax, 1971, p. 38).
Demographic Characteristics.

Indians represented approximately 0.3 per cent of the total United States population in 1970; in comparison the Negro was about eleven per cent (U.S. Census, 1970, p. 1-262). The rural Indian population had a median age in 1960 of 17.7 years, compared to 27.3 for the total rural population. More than sixty per cent of the rural Indian population was under twenty-five years of age, compared to forty-eight per cent under twenty-five years of age for the total rural population (USDA, 1969, p. 5).

Rural Indians have one of the highest birth rates of any group in the United States: 2.5 per cent annually during the decade ending in 1970 (BIA, 1972c, p. 11). Although life expectancy at birth for Indians was below that of the total population in 1964, it had increased 12.5 years since 1940. The Indians' average life expectancy in 1964 was 63.5 years, compared to 70.2 years for the United States population as a whole (USDA, 1969, p. 5).

Indians tend to have large families. Two-thirds of rural Indian families are composed of four or more persons, whereas only one-half of the total rural population had comparably sized families. More than one-fourth of Indian families have seven members or more, compared to less than
one-tenth of the total rural families (USDA, 1969, p. 5).

**Family Income**

More than three-fifths of the rural Indian families received less than $3,000 income in 1959, nearly double the proportion in the total rural population. Family income below the $1,000 level was three times as prevalent among rural Indians as among the total rural population. Less than three per cent of rural Indian families had income of $10,000 or more, compared to nearly twelve per cent of families in the total rural population (USDA, 1959, p. 5). The large proportion of rural Indians with a lower than average income may indicate especially serious economic deprivation considering their propensity for larger than average families.

There is another dimension to the financial plight of rural Indians. Not only is their income low, but it is derived largely from sources unproductive for both Indian families and the national economy. Much of it is derived from federal or state public assistance funds, and from the leasing of trust land. Income derived from employment on or near to reservations is meager because of low wage rates and the desultory nature of employment.
Education

The educational attainment level of rural Indians is generally lower than the rest of the rural population (Table 2). An individual is considered to be functionally literate if he has at least five years of schooling. Twenty-seven per cent of rural Indians (fourteen years and over in 1960) had not attained this level.

The median years of school completed by Indians fourteen years old and over varied widely from state to state. The medians were below the national average of 10.6 years in 1960 everywhere except in the state of Kansas, where the figure was eleven years. In Louisiana, the median was only 3.9 years, while in the rest of the states the range was from 5.2 years in Mississippi to 9.7 in California.

Like other minority groups, Indian children face special problems that complicate their educational experiences. More than half must learn English as a second language. Many have been raised in geographic and social isolation, and have had limited experience with the majority culture. They encounter a myriad of new concepts, values, and attitudes when they enter school.
TABLE 2

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, RURAL INDIANS VERSUS TOTAL RURAL POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Rural Indian Per Cent</th>
<th>Total Rural Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Received no schooling</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended high school</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended college</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Health

The Division of Indian Health of the United States Public Health Service began to serve reservation Indians in 1955. "The responsibility was taken from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in an effort to increase the resources and upgrade the prestige, efficiency and calibre of medical care for Indians" (Cahn, 1972, p. 54).

The beneficiaries, estimated to number 381,000 in 1965, depend in varying degrees on the Public Health Service for their well-being. Administering services to a heterogeneous population is difficult, especially when that population is dispersed over a wide and oftentimes
inaccessible area. Language barriers, the Indian's frequent lack of knowledge concerning the availability of health services, and their high degree of social and physical isolation decreases the effectiveness of the health program. Some of the Indians most severe health problems are a function of the environment in which they live, including substandard, overcrowded housing, lack of adequate sanitation facilities and safe water supplies, insufficient understanding of proper hygienic practices, and often a pervading sense of despair and frustration producing a fatalistic attitude toward the amelioration of health problems (USDA, 1969, p. 8).

Considerable success has been achieved in lowering infant mortality rates and in reducing mortality from communicable diseases. The number of deaths from tuberculosis, a disease very common in the Indian population, declined to twenty-one deaths per 100,000 population by 1964, a drop of sixty-one per cent in ten years. Infant mortality rates decreased forty-five per cent during the period 1954-64. These 1964 rates are roughly comparable to those for the total population some fifteen to twenty years ago, and are still much higher than rates among non-Indians (USDA, 1969, p. 8).
Life expectancy among Indians is still considerably below that of the total population. Infant and maternal mortality rates remain above average despite improvements, and environmental changes are needed to evoke substantial progress in health and welfare.

**Occupational Distribution**

The occupational patterns of rural Indians and rural people as a whole are strikingly similar (Table 3). The predominance of rural Indian workers in lower paid occupations is a factor contributing to their generally low level of income.

**TABLE 3**

**OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL INDIANS AND TOTAL RURAL POPULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural Indian Per cent</th>
<th>Total Rural Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-farm occupations:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service work</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** USDA, 1969, p. 9.
The foregoing discussion did not include the estimated 100,000 or more rural Indians living off reservations in 1960 (estimates for 1970 are not available) (USDA, 1969, p. 10). These Indians are located in the rural areas of twenty states across the continent, with more than sixty per cent in Oklahoma and North Carolina.

The Indians who live off reservations are not supposed to receive Bureau of Indian Affairs or Public Health Service support as do reservation Indians (although many do), and their status varies widely in different parts of the country, making generalizations difficult. Some have tried to retain their Indian culture and traditions, others have not. Some have become triracial through generations of intermarriage with Negroes and whites. Because of their dispersal through the general population, it is difficult to acquire data on the socioeconomic conditions under which many such Indian groups live. Evidence indicates, however, that sources of livelihood open to rural non-reservation Indians are precarious, and like reservation Indians, their socioeconomic status is below an acceptable level (USDA, 1969, p. 11).

Rural Indian Americans, a small but exceptionally
needy minority, are not only lacking in material goods, they are impoverished in spirit as well. Years of social isolation have taken their toll on initiative, creativity, and independent thought and action.

The task of ameliorating the poverty of the great majority of the Indians would not seem an insuperable undertaking for our affluent society. According to Professor Gary Orfield of the University of Virginia:

The basic economic problem of the Indian communities could be solved by the provision of 40,000 jobs. This would seem a small demand for a nation where civilian employment has increased an average of 723,000 jobs each year from 1955 to 1965, and where in the last five years the average increase has been almost 1.5 million per year (USDA, 1969, p. 15).

By releasing the energies and talents of Indians in local decision-making and by encouraging creative public and private relationships to resolve problems, poverty of spirit can perhaps be vanquished. Not only must the need for Indian leadership and participation in policy decisions be recognized, but specific Indian wants and desires must be identified. One of the Indian's wants is to have the option to enter modern economic life and to enjoy its many advantages. Rural Indian Americans will be able to transcend the impoverishment of spirit only when they feel they have a real stake in the future.
CHAPTER IV

CORRELATES OF DEPARTURES FROM THE RESERVATION

Reservation resources, sparse to begin with, seem increasingly incapable of supporting the ever expanding Indian population. Furthermore, with increased education and greater association with the dominant society, many Indians have themselves become dissatisfied with the limited job opportunities and amenities available to them on the reservation.

Voluntary off-reservation relocation, although perhaps creating more problems than it solves, has been seen as a possible solution to the Indians' dilemma. Since 1952, more than 130,000 Indians have enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs sponsored relocation programs. In 1971 alone, a total of 17,939 Indians departed the reservation under auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA, 1971, p. 11).

In an attempt to understand the factors associated with the decision to migrate, multiple regression analysis was utilized to investigate the relationship between
various demographic characteristics of reservation population and the number of departures for the city during 1971. A total of seventy reservations and other areas were originally included in the survey, representing 533,744 Indians living on or near federal reservations and Indians living in former reservation areas of Oklahoma, and all Indians and Alaska Natives in Alaska.

Relocation on an individual basis is not included in the survey due to the lack of data. Probably half as many individuals relocate on their own as under the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance Program.

Dependent Variables

Multiple regression is a technique for examining the linear relationship between a dependent variable and a series of independent variables. The dependent variable for the present analysis takes two basic forms: (1) number of departures from the reservation for Adult Vocational Training, and (2) number of departures for Direct Employment Assistance. The two categories are each further divided into (a) single units, and (b) families (head of household plus dependents). Thus, four individual sub-problems were employed in the computations, each of which related one of the four dependent variables to the
independent variables. The source for the data on departures is the United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Statistical Summary, 1971 (BIA, 1971, pp. 12-23).

**Independent Variables**

Four independent variables were utilized in the analysis. They include, (1) population on and adjacent to the reservation, (2) labor force (sixteen years and over), (3) unemployment, and (4) temporary employment. The source for the data is the United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs Estimates of Resident Indian Population and Labor Force Status, By State and Reservation: March 1972 (BIA, 1972b, pp. 1-15).

Labor force as reported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs includes all persons sixteen years and older except those who cannot work because they are attending school, "caring for children," or are unable to work by reason of disability, retirement, or age (BIA, 1972b, p. 1). Unlike the national statistics, persons are included who are not actively seeking work because of the difficulty in estimating this group without expensive surveys. There are problems also in developing a useful concept of those individuals seeking work in areas where few jobs are
available, in many reservations, and of those individ-
uals employed in traditional Indian activities on the
reservation.

Employment is defined according to national stan-
dards, and refers to the third week of March, or a nearby
week (1972). The term "temporary employment" refers to
jobs which are seasonal or part-time.

Before regression analysis was performed both the
independent and dependent variables were manipulated by
means of a cube root transformation in order to approximate
a normal distribution. Subsequently, the dependent vari-
ables were plotted against the independent variables. The
resulting scattergram indicated an interesting anomaly in
the data. By virtue, perhaps, of the large population on
the Navaho reservation, its proximity to several large
southwestern urban centers, and its primal position in the
history of the relocation program, its values of both the
dependent and independent variables are far greater than
for any of the other reservations. For instance, the
Navaho reservation had a population of 133,487 individuals
in 1972, whereas the next largest reservation had only a
little over 21,000. The effect of an extreme value on a
regression analysis may be to produce a moderately high
correlation where none exists among the remaining cases,
or, as in this case, to produce a higher correlation than existed otherwise. Therefore, the Navaho case was eliminated from further analysis, leaving sixty-nine cases for examination.

Results

As indicated in Table 4, there appears to be a high correlation between (a) the number of departures from the reservation for participation in the Adult Vocational Training Program and (b) the total population on the reservation. This relationship seems reasonable. The degree of relationship decreased considerably with respect to the remaining independent variables, labor force, unemployment, and temporary employment. The correlation between the number of departures from the reservation for participation in the Direct Employment Assistance Program and the various independent variables seems less significant. However, it is interesting to note that the relationship is greatest between the number of departures for Direct Employment Assistance and unemployment on the reservation.

Sub-problem 1 entered the first dependent variable, number of departures from the reservation for participation in the Adult Vocational Training Program (single individuals) into a step-wise multiple regression analysis.
### TABLE 4

**SIMPLE CORRELATIONS (r) BETWEEN DEPENDENT VARIABLES AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Labor Force</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
<th>Temporary Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Variables</strong> (Departures)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Vocational Training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Individuals</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Employment Assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Individuals</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with the four independent variables. The results are summarized in Table 5.

### TABLE 5

**SUMMARY TABLE: SUB-PROBLEM 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step Number</th>
<th>Variable Entered</th>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>RSQ</th>
<th>Increase in RSQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.7842</td>
<td>0.6149</td>
<td>0.6149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Labor Force</td>
<td>0.7855</td>
<td>0.6170</td>
<td>0.0021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Temporary Employment</td>
<td>0.7858</td>
<td>0.6174</td>
<td>0.0004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approximately sixty per cent of the variation in the number of departures for Adult Vocational Training (single individuals) is accounted for by three of the four independent variables (population, labor force, and temporary employment) acting together. The unexplained variation may be due to undefined variables and random variation.

Sub-problem 2 entered the second dependent variable, number of families departing the reservation for Adult Vocational Training, into the computations. The results of the step-wise multiple regression analysis are summarized in Table 6.

**TABLE 6**

**SUMMARY TABLE: SUB-PROBLEM 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step Number</th>
<th>Variable Entered</th>
<th>Multiple Increase in RSQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.7220 0.5213 0.5213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Temporary Employment</td>
<td>0.7224 0.5219 0.0006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Labor Force</td>
<td>0.7226 0.5222 0.0003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>0.7228 0.5224 0.0002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Slightly over half of the variation in the dependent variable, number of families departing the reservation for Adult Vocational Training, is accounted for by the independent variables.
Sub-problem 3 entered the third dependent variable, number of departures for Direct Employment. Table 7 summarizes the results of the step-wise multiple regression analysis.

**TABLE 7**

**SUMMARY TABLE: SUB-PROBLEM 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step Number</th>
<th>Variable Entered</th>
<th>Multiple Increase in RSQ</th>
<th>RSQ</th>
<th>Multiple Increase in RSQ</th>
<th>RSQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>0.4741</td>
<td>0.2247</td>
<td>0.2247</td>
<td>0.2247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.5092</td>
<td>0.2593</td>
<td>0.0345</td>
<td>0.2593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Labor Force</td>
<td>0.5099</td>
<td>0.2600</td>
<td>0.0007</td>
<td>0.2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Temporary Employment</td>
<td>0.5110</td>
<td>0.2511</td>
<td>0.0011</td>
<td>0.2511</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-problem 4 entered the fourth dependent variable, number of families departing the reservation for Direct Employment. Table 8 summarizes the results of this analysis.

In both sub-problem 3 and sub-problem 4, only slightly more than twenty per cent of the variation in the dependent variable is accounted for by the independent variables. Unemployment entered the equation first in both cases. In sub-problems 1 and 2, in contrast, population entered the equation first.
TABLE 8
SUMMARY TABLE: SUB-PROBLEM 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step Number</th>
<th>Variable Entered</th>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>RSQ</th>
<th>Increase in RSQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>0.4657</td>
<td>0.2168</td>
<td>0.2168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.4825</td>
<td>0.2328</td>
<td>0.0160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Temporary Employment</td>
<td>0.4837</td>
<td>0.2339</td>
<td>0.0011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Among the dependent variables in the above analysis, departures for Adult Vocational Training, single individuals and families, appears to be more closely associated with the various independent variables (population, labor force, temporary employment, and unemployment) than either category of the other dependent variable, departures for Direct Employment. In either case, population on the reservation has the greatest association with the number of departures.

Departures of single individuals for both Adult Vocational Training and Direct Employment are more highly associated with the independent variables than are departures of families, possibly because of the variation in family size which may fluctuate with less regard to the
independent variables.

The results of sub-problems 3 and 4 are interesting because for the first time, the independent variable, population, was displaced as the most significant variable in the regression equation. In sub-problems 3 and 4 the comparison is between the independent variables and the number of individuals leaving the reservation seeking employment in the city, while in sub-problems 1 and 2 the comparison is between the independent variables and the number of individuals leaving the reservation for vocational training (i.e., the training program has been geared to the size of the reservation).

In sub-problem 3, which compared the independent variables with the third dependent variable, number of single departures for Direct Employment, unemployment entered the equation first, ahead of population, labor force, and temporary employment. In sub-problem 4, which compared the independent variables with the fourth dependent variable, number of families departing the reservation for Direct Employment, unemployment again entered the equation ahead of population and the other independent variables. Apparently, the unemployment rate has a greater influence than does the population size of a reservation.
on the number of persons leaving the reservation for work in the city. Thus, out-migration to the cities is closely related to employment opportunities on the reservation.

While analyzing the relationship between the characteristics of reservation population and the number of departures for the city, a variety of other factors, possibly having an effect on the decision to migrate, came to mind. For instance, the number of departures may be a reflection, in some way, of the zealousness of local Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency personnel. Employment Assistance Programs may not be available to the reservation populations on an equal basis. The educational and economic level of the reservation populations may be a factor influencing the decision to migrate. A variety of avenues for additional research are implied by this study.
CHAPTER V

THE EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Look! Look! There are blue and purple horses... a house made of dawn...

Scott Momaday

The Employment Assistance (Relocation) Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the culmination of a benevolently intended federal policy of assimilation and "termination." It is the vehicle by which a large share of the migration from impoverished reservation to urban ghetto takes place.

In the late 1940s, about the time Congressional opinion favorable to "termination" became manifest, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began a small program of off-reservation job placement on the Navaho and Hopi reservations. The program was designed to relieve the pressure on reservation resources by assisting Indians to resettle in non-reservation communities. Placement officers, whose function was to find employers willing to hire Indians and to notify their counterparts on the reservation, were assigned to Los Angeles, Phoenix, Denver, and Salt Lake City.
A year after the beginning of the Navaho-Hopi job placement program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs received from Congress a small appropriation to extend off-reservation placement services to Indians in other areas. With the $100,000 provided by the Interior Department Appropriations Act of October 12, 1949, the Bureau of Indian Affairs hired placement officers to serve in the Aberdeen, Billings, Minneapolis, and Portland Area Offices. The following year the Bureau requested $130,000 and Congress responded by appropriating $260,000. In 1952, the Bureau, heartened by the preceding appropriation, requested more than $1,600,000, but received only $576,000—still a significant increase over the previous year. In 1952, Commissioner Dillon Myer opened a placement center in Chicago. Also in that year, the Relocation Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established. The amount of appropriations remained fairly constant until 1956, when it increased to nearly a million dollars (Table 9) (Officer, 1971, p. 46).

Earlier, in the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs conducted extensive surveys of reservation resources. These surveys suggested a divergence between the size of the populations inhabiting certain reservations and the capacity of these reservations' resources to support their
TABLE 9

FUNDS APPROPRIATED UNDER THE PROGRAMS OF RELOCATION AND ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING SERVICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Direct Employment Assistance</th>
<th>Adult Vocational Training</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>$ 245,586</td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 245,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>262,890</td>
<td></td>
<td>262,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>576,480</td>
<td></td>
<td>576,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>567,082</td>
<td></td>
<td>567,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>577,763</td>
<td></td>
<td>577,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>690,525</td>
<td></td>
<td>690,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>991,617</td>
<td></td>
<td>991,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>2,855,161</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,855,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3,163,671</td>
<td>547,010</td>
<td>3,710,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2,916,335</td>
<td>2,609,802</td>
<td>5,526,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,732,663</td>
<td>3,073,751</td>
<td>5,806,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,978,000</td>
<td>3,500,000</td>
<td>6,478,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>3,100,000</td>
<td>3,500,000</td>
<td>7,350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>2,815,000</td>
<td>5,391,760</td>
<td>8,206,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>2,747,000</td>
<td>6,673,000</td>
<td>9,420,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,792,000</td>
<td>9,300,000</td>
<td>12,092,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3,007,000</td>
<td>11,421,000</td>
<td>14,428,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>3,864,000</td>
<td>13,259,000</td>
<td>17,123,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>7,267,000</td>
<td>13,830,000</td>
<td>21,097,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>8,477,000</td>
<td>15,700,000</td>
<td>24,177,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>12,761,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>37,761,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>14,935,000</td>
<td>24,273,000</td>
<td>39,208,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>15,133,000</td>
<td>24,716,000</td>
<td>39,849,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>17,427,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>42,427,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

residents. The problem reached critical proportions on the Navaho reservation following World War II, and, far more than any other factor, led to the development of a program of off-reservation placement.

In 1956, Congress authorized a program of adult vocational training for Indians (Public Law 959, 84th Congress). A ceiling of $3,500,000 was authorized for the program. However, in subsequent years this ceiling was raised to its present (1973) level of $25,000,000 (BIA, 1973a).

Partly because of its association with the policies of termination, the word "relocation" has a decidedly negative connotation for Indians. A 1961 task force, appointed by Secretary of the Interior Udall to study the Indian situation, recommended that the Bureau cease employing the term and that a new name be found for the branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs concerned with off-reservation placement. The program was renamed simply "employment assistance" by Commissioner Philleo Nash. It is still better known, however, as "the relocation program."

During the 1960s the Bureau of Indian Affairs again expanded its off-reservation training and placement effort, raising the latter to the level of a major program.
Appropriations for both the vocational training and employment aspects of the program amounted to around $121,000,000 compared to slightly less than $20,000,000 for the preceding decade. The funds were not exclusively for off-reservation employment, a small portion being allocated to encourage job opportunities in or near traditional Indian communities (Officer, 1971, p. 55).

The money expended by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for relocation services during the 1950s was expended principally to match jobs with Indians. Additional services including transportation for a relocatee and his family to the training or job site, shipment of household goods, subsistence payments until the family received a regular pay check, clothing allowances, and a range of counseling and orientation services, were added later.

Other expensive additions to the employment assistance program were made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1960s. These include the establishment of residential training centers where families could live while their breadwinners were undergoing pre-vocational and vocational training, the creation of a special orientation center in Seattle to help prepare Alaskan natives for urban life, and the inclusion for the first time of large families as participants in the off-reservation placement
The Bureau of Indian Affairs continues to regard the clientele for its relocation activities as that portion of the Indian population residing on or near the reservation, in spite of a progressively expanded program. Indians who relocate without Bureau assistance are eligible for counseling at the placement centers, but they do not qualify for the other services provided persons who relocate with Bureau of Indian Affairs help.

The Direct Employment Program and The Adult Vocational Training Program

The Employment Assistance Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is an outgrowth of activities which began on the Navaho Reservation in the late 1940s. There are two phases of the operation in existence today: The Direct Employment Program, and The Adult Vocational Training Program. The former provides job placement services, the latter provides vocational training, on-the-job training, and apprenticeship training to Indians chiefly between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five (BIA, 1973b).

An Indian desiring to enter the Direct Employment Program simply files an application with a Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance officer located on the
reservation. Following the filing of the application, the potential relocatee receives a broad range of assistance measures aimed at facilitating his transition from the reservation to an urban environment. These include assistance in making the selection of a relocation point, based largely upon information about the chosen community with respect to prevailing employment opportunities, climate, housing, community resources, the general cost of living and services, institutional training possibilities, and any other advantages and potential problems which might be encountered. Other services include counseling and guidance prior to departure and coordination between the field employment assistance officer and the Bureau's staff at the destination point in securing temporary and permanent housing for the applicant and his family (Price, 1972, p. 732).

Applicants receive financial assistance in accordance with their individual needs when they are unable to defray necessary living costs from their own resources. A scale of allowable financial assistance is drawn up, based on the number of family members and other factors. The responsible program officer uses his "best" judgment in deciding the amounts of financial assistance to extend. Financial assistance can be provided to meet such costs as
physical and eye examinations and eyeglasses, transportation, subsistence enroute to the destination point until the applicant gets his first paycheck from his employer, health services coverage, emergency assistance, and trades training and related costs (BIA, 1973b).

Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance staffs are located at fifty-six Indian agencies, eight field offices (Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, Oakland-San Francisco, San Jose, and Washington, D.C.), eleven area offices, and the central offices in Washington, D.C. (BIA, 1973b).

Several days of orientation follow the relocatee's arrival at the city. A social worker assists the relocatee in solving problems of housing and use of public transportation facilities. Orientation meetings are held to explain medical plans and to acquaint the individual with the nature of the urban area, its social attitudes, and the specific skills needed to adjust to the new environment.

The Indian Vocational Training Act was implemented partly because so few Indians were able to accept employment in other than unskilled positions in the city. The Act made available a wide variety of courses which permit the Indian to upgrade his vocational skills. The training is provided at accredited trade and vocational schools at
locations near the reservation as well as the Field Employment Assistance offices. Institutional training courses may last as long as two years. Training is provided in vocations which offer expectancy of employment at the completion of training. Presently, 2,544 courses in more than 823 schools in thirty states have been approved in a wide variety of occupational categories.

The first trainees entered the program of Adult Vocational Training in 1958. As of July 1, 1973, a total of 42,398 individuals and heads of families had entered institutional trades training under the program. Including family members, the number of individuals who benefited from the program was approximately 66,989 (BIA, 1973b). Table 10 indicates the number of individuals relocated or trained under the two programs nationwide by fiscal year.

According to a survey completed in 1961, eighty-one per cent of the Indians who completed institutional trades training under the program were placed in jobs suitable to their training skills. The survey further shows that fifty per cent of those who discontinued training for one reason or another had accepted employment (BIA, 1973b).
### TABLE 10

NUMBER ENTERING DIRECT EMPLOYMENT AND ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING (PLUS DEPENDENTS) 1952-71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Direct Employment</th>
<th>Adult Vocational Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2,553</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>5,119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>5,728</td>
<td>873*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,674</td>
<td>1,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>3,494</td>
<td>2,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>4,097</td>
<td>3,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3,747</td>
<td>5,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>5,599</td>
<td>5,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>5,881</td>
<td>4,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>5,705</td>
<td>3,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>7,852</td>
<td>6,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>10,324</td>
<td>7,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>91,403</td>
<td>43,821</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*First year of Adult Vocational Training Program.


**On-the-Job Training**

**On or Near the Reservation**

On-the-job training is also offered on or near the reservation for those Indians who desire to remain near their home. The courses may extend to a maximum of two years but the average duration is six months. The Bureau
Employment Assistance staffs provide follow-up services to workers and their families. Counseling is provided on such matters as the basic demands of steady employment, wise use of wages to meet the practical needs of the family and pride in achieving and keeping economic independence. As of July 1, 1973, a total of 15,809 single individuals and heads of families had entered training. Including family members, 46,952 persons have benefited directly or indirectly from this on-the-job program.

Other Training Sources

Funds appropriated to the Department of Labor under the Manpower Training Act enable eligible Indian applicants to enroll in vocational training courses lasting up to one year. Emphasis is placed on vocational training that will lead to permanent employment.

Vocational rehabilitation training is available to Indians through a cooperative plan by which the Bureau of Indian Affairs shares with state vocational rehabilitation agencies the financial and professional guidance responsibilities for helping handicapped individuals to become adequately employable.

Returnees

Although no data have been maintained on the number
of Indians who eventually return to the reservation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs until 1959 did keep statistics on the number of relocatees participating in the Direct Employment Program who returned to the reservation during the fiscal year in which they left it. Table 11 indicates the number of returnees and non-returnees by fiscal year in which initial relocation occurred (Sorkin, 1969, p. 246).

Although these data do not indicate how many Indians eventually returned home, they do indicate that three out of ten relocatees returned home the same year in which they moved to the city. No evidence was uncovered indicating whether the Bureau of Indian Affairs imposes restrictions on returnees reapplying for relocation and training.

TABLE 11
NUMBER OF RETURNES AND NON-RETURNES BY FISCAL YEAR OF INITIAL RELOCATION, 1953 TO 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Relocated Persons</th>
<th>Returned Persons</th>
<th>Percentage Returnees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1,141</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>4,191</td>
<td>1,113</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>6,335</td>
<td>1,952</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not keep statistics on returnees, the Navaho Agency does. Some thirty-seven per cent of the Navahos who relocated between 1952 and 1961 eventually returned to the reservation. The rate has been fairly constant over the years. Illness, alcoholism, and military service were the reasons most commonly given by the 115 returnees in the Navaho survey who specified causes for returning to the reservation. These were experiences that dislocated the Indians from the city. Social and emotional reasons, economic, language difficulties, and climate discomfort accounted for the remainder (Price, 1972, p. 732).

New Directions

In 1972, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Louis B. Bruce inaugurated a philosophy of employment assistance entitled "New Directions--Ideas Behind the Concepts of the Redirected Employment Assistance Program" (BIA, 1972a). "New Directions" promulgates the philosophy that programs designed to help people are most effective if they are controlled at the point of contact closest to the intended recipients. In "New Directions" the trend is to reinvest appropriate components of Bureau power at levels where it may be more directly controlled by Indian people, i.e.,
at the reservation level. The new program is designed to respond to Indian ideas of what Indians want from the Bureau of Indian Affairs; the right to be Indians in whatever way one chooses; the opportunity to build up one's home community. There are expanded opportunities to have training and employment at home on the reservation if a client so desires.

For those Indians who desire to undergo training in an urban area, there is a redesigned system of funding for relocatees. The intention is to place "control" nearest the point of service by allowing the relocatees to bring their funds with them to the destination office from the home agencies. The idea is to give local agencies and the people they serve a greater ability to respond to local and individual needs.

In the past large proportions of training funds have been distributed to national field offices and other destination points where they were in turn redistributed to clients. Often the client's ability to take training depended on his willingness to go where there was money available. Under the new system the relocatee brings the funds already identified and allotted for his needs to his destination office. He does not physically carry the
funds, of course. They are channeled through the financial disbursing channels of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Field Employment Assistance Office is not "granting" the relocatee its money, it is facilitating the distribution of funds already allocated for him. According to the Bureau, the new program should encourage a more appreciative attitude toward clients, and may reduce any subtle influences to control people by controlling their money.

**Impact on Reservation Economy**

Although the relocation program is designed primarily to improve the standard of living of the participants, it is also supposed to reduce the level of surplus labor on the reservation. Table 12 indicates the recent changes in male unemployment rates for reservation Indians and the national average.

The impact on the reservation unemployment rate is small in spite of the large number of Indians that have participated in the program. Between 1958 and 1967, unemployment declined by only one-fourth as much for reservation Indians as for non-Indians.

According to Sorkin, the principal reason that the relocation program has failed to substantially reduce the level of surplus labor on the reservation is simply because
TABLE 12
MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, RESERVATION INDIANS AND NATIONAL AVERAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reservation Indians</th>
<th>National Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent decline 1958-67</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


the program is operating on a scale that is too small relative to need.

During 1967 and 1968, for example, approximately twenty-five to thirty per cent of those applying for adult vocational training were turned away. In 1968, limitations prevented anyone from being sent to vocational training centers after January on the Rosebud, Navaho, Blackfeet, Crow, and Standing Rock Indian Reservations. From January until the end of the fiscal year, a backlog of potential trainees developed—a large number of whom eventually lost
interest are no longer available for training when it was possible to send them (Sorkin, 1969, p. 249).

There are more applicants for the Direct Employment Program than can be handled with existing funds. Besides limiting the number of Indians who can relocate, lack of funds also prevents the field employment assistance centers from providing needed staff for counseling and follow-up services (Sorkin, 1969, p. 249).

In spite of a net out-migration of 7,000 per year, the reservation population is increasing about 0.8 per cent per annum (Sorkin, 1969, p. 249). Unless reasonable alternatives can be developed, the need for relocation of American Indians to secure their economic advancement is likely to become more urgent.
CHAPTER VI

ADAPTATION TO THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

For many Indians, the move to the city is accomplished through the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance Program. Reaching the city is only a beginning, however. How far the Indian travels along the difficult road of "adaptation" may determine how well he adjusts to city life, and, in fact, whether he becomes one of the large number of Indians who give up and return to the reservation.

Cultural and Historical Heritage

Indians bring a unique cultural heritage to the urban situation. Allowing for intertribal variances, they almost all embrace certain common values which differ from or are even contrary to those of the dominant white society. Most Indians are not aggressive toward others and they tend to be non-competitive. In conflicting situations, they are more likely to retreat than advance. They prefer to share material possessions rather than to save. Prestige is a measure of what is given rather than what is
accumulated. The deferring of gratification is unlikely, and the "functional time dimension" is short (Ablon, 1971, p. 203).

Upon entering the highly individualistic metropolitan milieu, these basically tribal people leave the primary, kin-oriented relationships of a closed reservation community. Not only are many fundamental Indian values incompatible with those of American culture, but they are often diametrically opposed to the principles of capitalism.

Indians, whose traditional frame of reference is a stable social and moral system that is fixed in the universe, do not regard themselves as malleable entities. Many individuals find the shift to the highly competitive, individualistic existence of modern urban life difficult at best.

Typically, the relationship of Indians with representatives of the white world have been inauspicious. Bureau of Indian Affairs administration of federal Indian reservations has generally been ill-planned, ill-administered, and inconsistent.

The pre-emption of the decision making process by government planners has resulted in communities that are dependent, hostile, and factionated in the seeking of those few semblances of native power that
are available. Two chief pathological symptoms of the long-term crippling of Indian communities have been a deeply entrenched dependency and widespread and chronic drinking (Ablon, 1971, p. 204).

The relocatee may regard his new white urban neighbors with distrust and cynicism because government personnel as well as whites encountered in areas peripheral to reservations often treated him in a patronizing or discriminatory manner.

Indians residing on reservations depend in many ways upon the federal government for services that are delivered in association with the federal trusteeship of Indian lands. They frequently pay little or no rent and they receive free medical and dental care from the United States Public Health Service. Life in the city, by contrast, involves seemingly endless bills.

Because of a longstanding apprehension and ambivalence in dealing with whites, Indians experience difficulties in relating to community agencies in order to effectively utilize available services. Effective interaction may be precluded by traditionally valued personality characteristics such as noncompetitiveness, a dislike of aggressive action, and withdrawal in the face of unpleasant situations.
General Profile of Relocatees

The chief reason for relocation, the incentive to find steady employment, is often compounded by a variety of personal and family problems that the relocatees wish to escape. Although relocatees exhibit a wide variety of tribal backgrounds, educational experience, and histories of contacts with whites, most have attended all-Indian schools, and many have had nominal vocational training in school or in the service. Few make use of this training. Nearly half of the relocatees who moved to the city in the early years of relocation were veterans. Most have had some work experience in which they were required to deal with whites.

Indians usually bring few vocational skills with them to the metropolitan area. In the small and uncertain unskilled job market, layoffs are common and expected. The security of jobs in "dirty work" is treasured by Indians who remain in the city. Previous training or sophistication in the complexities of the job and union market does not appear to be as significant in the retention of jobs as personal attitudes toward work and a desire for security (Ablon, 1965, p. 363).

The "working class" neighborhood where a variety
of other ethnic and minority groups live is the usual home of the relocated Indian. Although they are dispersed among the general population, they do not often associate with their non-Indian neighbors. They most often turn to other Indians, usually tribesmen, for their intimate social relationships.

Because they have often experienced great discrimination in the areas peripheral to their reservation, most Indians exhibit timidity and ambivalence in dealing with whites. Although life in the city may be free from the more blatant forms of discrimination, most Indians never feel entirely relaxed in the company of whites, and true egalitarian relationships occur infrequently (Ablon, 1965, p. 364).

The Educational Selectivity of Indian Migration

Sorkin, in a study of 1,678 participants of the Direct Employment Program and 2,885 adult vocational trainees (1963), found that Indians participating in these programs are better educated than average reservation Indians of comparable age. Table 13 presents data on the educational distribution of a sample of relocatees and adult vocational trainees, and compares it with the
TABLE 13
EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, SAMPLE OF RELOCATEES, VOCATIONAL TRAINEES AND ALL RESERVATION INDIANS 18-35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of School</th>
<th>Direct Employment Relocatees</th>
<th>Adult Vocational Trainees</th>
<th>All Reservation Indians (18-35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 or more</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The difference in schooling for those participating in the Direct Employment Program and all reservation Indians is nearly three years, while the difference between the median years of schooling of the adult vocational trainees and all reservation Indians was in excess of four years. Of course, seventy-five per cent of the courses taken by adult vocational trainees require a high school education. Thus, the higher education level of the relocatees is both a function of program requirements as well as a tendency for the better educated Indian to avail himself of Bureau of Indian Affairs educational and employment
opportunities (Sorkin, 1969, p. 245).

Change in Earnings

If the income of those Indians relocating under auspices of the Adult Vocational Training Program has been enhanced by training, their earnings should be increased over pre-training levels. In fact, the income of relocatees without training should also be increased, since labor is being transferred from an area of superabundance (the reservation) to one of lesser abundance (the urban area).

Also, because of more regular employment, as indicated by an increase in hours worked per year, one would expect earnings of relocatees to be increased. Table 14 presents data on the changes in earnings for a sample of participants in the Direct Employment and Adult Vocational Training Programs in 1963.

The data on average earnings are for three years before and three years after participation in Bureau programs. The adjusted differential takes into account an estimate of what the relocatee would have earned had he remained on the reservation in 1964-66. Even after adjustments, income of participants in the program was sharply higher after participation.
TABLE 14

CHANGES IN EARNINGS AFTER PARTICIPATION IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS MANPOWER PROGRAMS (1963)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Program</th>
<th>Average Earnings (1960-62)</th>
<th>Average Earnings (1964-66)</th>
<th>Unadjusted Differential (increase)</th>
<th>Adjusted Differential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Employment</td>
<td>$1,039</td>
<td>$2,694</td>
<td>$1,655</td>
<td>$1,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Vocational Training</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>3,120</td>
<td>1,839</td>
<td>1,392</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Standard of living, on the other hand, is a more elusive phenomenon to measure. Reservation residents receive free medical services and many live rent-free on allotted land. Urban residents have none of these advantages. However, prices in retail establishments in urban areas are usually lower than in trading posts for goods of comparable quality.

Program participants who returned to the reservation earned lower incomes than those who remained in the areas where they were relocated. However, even those who returned to the reservation earned more than if they had not participated. Many were able to use their newly acquired
skills on the reservation.

The Problem of Indian Drunkenness

The frequency with which Indians are arrested for drinking-related offenses in the city is one measure of the adjustment difficulties these people experience during relocation. Tables 15 and 16, based on Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics and census data for the nation at large and the city of Denver, Colorado, indicate the high rate of Indian arrests in comparison to other United States minority groups and to the dominant white community.

TABLE 15

COMPARATIVE RATES OF ARREST OF VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES--1960*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total Arrests</th>
<th>Alcohol Related Arrests</th>
<th>Per cent Alcohol Related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Japanese</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Rates shown are per 100,000 population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total Arrests</th>
<th>Alcohol Related Arrests</th>
<th>Per cent Alcohol Related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>51,000</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Japanese</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Rates shown are per 100,000 population.


Indian arrest rates are ten or more times those for whites, and at least three or four times those for other minority groups. It is necessary to keep in mind the nature of the population base used in calculation of the statistics on Indian arrests in the Denver sample. Non-resident Indians temporarily in the city for recreation may account for many arrests. The urban Indian population is made up predominantly of young, single males in the lowest economic strata of the population, who are disproportionately liable to drunkenness and arrest. Furthermore, their pattern of public drinking makes their offenses
particularly conspicuous.

Despite controls against bias, a systematic investigation of 259 male Navaho migrants to Denver over the last ten years indicated an arrest rate more than twenty times as large as the Anglo rate, and over eight times the migrant Spanish rate. Over ninety-three per cent of the Navaho arrests were for drinking-related offenses. A San Francisco study of 610 Indian arrests indicated the consumption of alcohol was a contributing factor in every case (Graves, 1970, p. 38).

An examination of the types of crimes for which the Denver relocatees were arrested indicated that the rate of arrest for serious crimes, whether against property or persons, was clearly lower than for the population at large. Indians are not more "criminal" than other groups, therefore, just more drunken.

Graves attempted to explain Indian drunkenness in terms of structural and psychological variables that are also relevant to non-Indian groups (Graves, 1970, p. 49). The type of parental role models, pre-migration training, marital status, and so on, were the focus of his analysis. The typical Navaho social drinking group was seen as an adaptive response to structural conditions that give rise
to similar groups within other tribes and among many non-
Indian peoples as well.
CHAPTER VII
PAN-INDIANISM

One of the major problems associated with life in the city is the loss of many desirable aspects of Indian life. Pan-Indianism, and the return to "Indian ways," is a mechanism for coping with these problems.

Indians residing in urban areas include among their conception of the desirable the economic and material aspects characteristic of the urban environment, as well as the social ties and activities found on the reservation. This dual set of preferences appears to leave the Indian with a clear choice between (1) remaining in the urban environment with its economic and material benefits, or (2) returning to the reservation with its various social amenities. Those who place a higher value on the economic and material would choose to remain in the urban area, while those who place a higher value on the social would choose to return to the reservation. The choice, however, is not necessarily between the city or the reservation.

The urban Indian whose preference is for both the economic and material aspects of the city and
the close-knit supportive structure of the reservation, has a third alternative open to him... which is to remain in the city with its economic and material benefits while associating primarily or exclusively with American Indians of his own or differing tribes in both an informal and formal social interaction (Gardner, 1969, p. 17).

**Historical Background**

It was thought that with the demise of the old tribal life prior to and during confinement on reservations during the nineteenth century, a stage of acculturation was reached which would presage the complete assimilation of the Indian. Rather than becoming non-distinctive members of the dominant culture, however, Indians have instead become members of a supertribal culture which has been termed "pan-Indian." Pan-Indianism is the process by which various sociocultural entities are losing their tribal distinctiveness and in its place are developing a nontribal "Indian" culture (Howard, 1955, p. 215). Robert K. Thomas defines pan-Indianism as:

...the expression of a new identity and the institutions and symbols which are both an expression of that new identity and a fostering of it. It is the attempt to create a new ethnic group, the American Indian. It is also a vital social movement which is forever changing and growing... (Thomas, 1968, p. 128).

Along a range of "idealized types" from simple organized, isolated, preliterate societies, to complex
literate societies, most American Indian tribes, at contact, were very close to the folk end of the scale. Members of other tribes were conceived as a different order of being, almost a different species. Even today, most Indians who still have a closed, bonded tribal outlook, refer to other tribes only by specific names—the name for their own society is best translated in English as "human being."

Gradually, however, tribal groups in the East began to see themselves as having something in common together as opposed to the Europeans. More and more Indians united in a common alliance against the white man, culminating in the political alliance of midwestern tribes in 1763, and the accompanying pan-Indian religious movement (Thomas, 1968, p. 130). An even larger movement led by Tecumseh occurred in the early part of the 1800s.

Other political alliances came into being in the mid 1800s when the eastern tribes were pushed to the edge of the Plains into what is now Kansas and Oklahoma. Included in the great inter-tribal councils that resulted were the recently displaced eastern tribes as well as native Plains tribes.

Modern pan-Indianism has its historic roots on the Plains. The horse increased mobility. Not only was
hunting and warfare intensified, but frequency of inter-tribal contacts was increased. To provide communication across linguistic boundaries, a sign language was developed. Besides the development of intensive warfare and patterns of mobile hunting, tribes began to ally with one another, camp together, and intermarry in the 1800s. Of importance to the subsequent popularity of pan-Indianism was the attraction of the "Plains style" of life to tribes peripheral to the Plains area. Even to Indians completely outside of the Plains area, the Plains style of life appeared extremely interesting. Thomas suggests that what is generally referred to as "pan-Indianism" is an extension to some degree of the Plains culture area (Thomas, 1968, p. 131).

By 1870, most of the Plains tribes were settled on reservations and were undergoing an intensive assimilation program. Plains Indians had a history of extensive contact with whites compared to many other Indian groups. From the Plains area came the majority of young Indians in the boarding schools. Pressure for assimilation was strong. Whites in boarding schools and on the reservation made no distinction between one tribe and another, but merely defined them all as "Indians." In order to bolster their
identity, Indians began to find comfort in each other's presence, not only in boarding school but in inter-tribal visiting. According to Thomas:

Modern pan-Indianism had its roots in a developing commonality that American Indians began to conceive of particularly in the Plains area...and, that this commonality was brought to a head by the reservation system, in the way whites related to different tribes as "Indians" and by the pressure for assimilation which pushed Indians closer together (Thomas, 1968, p. 132).

By 1900, a Sioux would identify with the larger group of "Indians" as well as with his own tribe. Even the symbols associated with being a Sioux and being an "Indian" were consistent with one another. Pow-wows, a pow-wow committee, a women's club, and a veterans' organization were standard for practically all Plains tribal groups. Inter-marriage and inter-tribal activity is so intense in some areas that Indian languages are becoming less viable, and English, as the lingua franca, is fast replacing the native tongues.

It is difficult to say what particular factors had the greatest influence in the development of modern pan-Indianism. Wild West shows and Indian Medicine shows, which became a popular form of entertainment during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, usually featured Plains Indians. Thus arose the familiar stereotype of the
American Indian.

A new and prestigious occupation as theatrical performers was a stroke of good luck for the Indians. The Indian epitomized by Plains trappings was a noble and attractive, albeit fearsome, figure (Lurie, 1971, p. 449).

The pow-wow, a type of secular dancing based on ceremonial patterns of the Plains, had begun to take form in the nineteenth century. Along with costumed dancing, pow-wows include games, craft displays and sales, giveaway ceremonies, and other features. They last from a day to a week or more.

Activity among tribes includes more than pow-wows, however. There is a good deal of visiting for purposes beyond mere sociability. An intertribal clientele is often attracted by healers such as skilled herbalists and shamans. Concentrations of natural resources, such as the fish runs in the Northwest, are often shared by the "owner" tribes.

A number of pan-Indian revitalization movements have emerged in addition to the traditional religious activities. The Ghost Dance of the Plains is probably best known. The massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, ended, for all practical purposes, the Ghost Dance movement. Others, such as the Dream Dance and Indian Shaker Religion,
The peyote religion, the most widely diffused, began to take form in the 1880s. By 1915 it was chartered as an official denomination in the United States as the Native American Church. The most recent movement, the Prophet Religion, has been spreading across northern Canada. Intertribal social dancing and traditional gambling games are likewise enjoying an upsurge of interest as the Indian becomes more mobile.

The federal government has unwittingly contributed to a feeling of unity among the various tribes in several ways. The cry "broken treaties" is a favorite rallying slogan of organized resistance to both the injustices and ineptitude of local government administrators and to difficulties the Indians have experienced as a result of the consistent promulgation of a benevolently intended assimilationist policy. Presumably because their rightful treaty interests had been disregarded, tribes that were passed by in the treaty-making period have also made common cause under the slogans.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding schools also contributed to the strength of pan-Indianism. The many Indian children who were taken into distant boarding schools, frequently over parental protest, have oftentimes become
community leaders and active proponents of formal, inter-tribal political organizations. Based on the experience of being Indian and trying to cope with the larger White world as it had been forcibly imposed on them in the military-style boarding schools, these Indians form a national network of friendships.

Organizations to assist Indians have been formed since the second half of the past century by concerned whites working with educated Indians. Although such groups gradually moved toward an Indian orientation, their original motivation was merely to humanize implementation of the assimilationist policy of the government. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) founded in 1944, was the first large-scale and effective organization formed by and for Indian people. NCAI was initially concerned with helping local groups obtain advice and pool information in utilizing the Indian Reorganization Act and to act as the political lobby of united Indian opinion before Congress and the Indian Bureau. The organization allows non-voting white membership, but whites must pay twice the dues of Indians.

The political philosophy of NCAI can be characterized as moderate, e.g. it sees the government under an old
contractual obligation based on treaties and similar agreements to protect the Indian land base and provide assistance in developing channels satisfactory to Indians for interaction with the larger economy. Although assimilation can be an option for individuals, there should be viable alternatives. Indians would like to be able to enter the larger society at a decent socioeconomic level or remain identified with the Indian community with decent standards of living.

**Pan-Indianism as a Mechanism of Adaptation**

Within the last decade pan-Indian communities have begun to form around Indian centers in some of our larger cities. The people who have had previous experiences in pan-Indian—or perhaps better, pan-Plains—activities, in most cases, set the tone for the activities at the centers. The symbols of the pan-Plains Indians become the symbols of the Indian community in the city. These symbols are unacceptable to many people from tribal groups outside the Plains area who do not see them as "Indian" but as, in fact, "Plains." Many Indians from eastern Oklahoma and the Southwest, tend to avoid these Indian centers. In some cases, the center breaks into factions on the basis of "Indian" versus "Plains."
The big problem with life in the city is the loss of desirable aspects of Indian life. A good many of the migrants maintain their home ties and engage in their own style of commuting from reservation to city, often according to seasonal patterns.

The Indian centers and clubs began to emerge around 1940, primarily as social organizations. Their constitutions promulgated the idea of "preservation of our heritage" and similar sentiments. These organizations engaged in some welfare work, providing relocatees with help in locating housing and jobs, and, at times, gifts of goods and money with which to get established (Lurie, 1971, p. 459).

In many cities the necessity of having formal organizations for Indians was obviated by the presence of the neighborhood family tavern. At the taverns Indians could meet and socialize with old friends and catch up on home news.

Welfare agencies in many cities had residence requirements which prevented them from assisting Indians in other than emergency situations. The Indian centers were consequently pressed into welfare work they were not designed to handle, as they dealt with the social problems
of unemployable, discouraged, and psychologically distressed people far from home. As the existing centers sought outside help from churches and other private benevolent organizations, new centers began to emerge to meet the needs of the growing numbers of relocatees in the 1950s.

It is a rare city with a sizable Indian population that has only one active Indian center. The whole spectrum of Indian political philosophy is typically represented by the various centers—whose origin can often, but not always, be traced to the budding-off of dissident groups. Even so, Indians who participate in the activities of one center will often join in the activities of others from time to time. Responsibility for administration of the centers usually falls upon some of the few prosperous Indian residents of the city. Membership is not restricted in any respect to just those who are in need of material aid.

Pan-Indianism, in some people's opinion, is one of the final stages of progressive acculturation, just prior to complete assimilation. It is a final attempt, they contend, to preserve aboriginal culture patterns through intertribal unity (Howard, 1955, p. 220). Sanford believes that contrary to acculturation theory and the beliefs of public administrators, pan-Indianism and the return to "the Indian way" is not a retrogression but a "positive" advance toward full integration of Plains
Indian groups into the larger American society (Sanford, 1971, p. 222).

The option to assimilate is a more viable alternative for Indians than for other minority groups in America. Indian people do not occupy the kind of ranking in the hierarchy ascribed to Negroes on the basis of race. This is not to deny the occurrence of discrimination and prejudice against Indians in localized areas, but acceptance of individual Indians has always occurred in an atmosphere of tolerant indifference, at worst. Such an attitude has led to extensive miscegenation in both Canada and the United States. Indian ancestry is a point of pride among many whites.

Philleo Nash, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, believes that such assimilation has usually occurred as the result of individual decisions. Despite regular spin-off, as he terms this manifestation of assimilation, Indian communities persist and in many cases are increasing in size.

In the past, differential opportunities, particularly in education, doubtless explained why some Indians were able to assimilate into the larger society and others were not. Indians today have clearer alternatives and they are opting in surprising numbers to remain Indian and promote
Indian goals, using their educational advantages toward this end.

Urban Indians may not cluster into ghettos but they live close enough to each other so that they have the option to continue to relate to other Indians within the metropolitan area. There are many Indian groups, such as the Klamath, the Cherokee-Delaware, and the Kiowa-Apache, who, having lost most of their Indian traditions, and having adopted the values and orientations of the larger American society, still are not moving toward total assimilation. The majority of Indian people, unlike the immigrants from Western Europe and elsewhere, have remained together in societies and have remained for the most part in rural settings.

"The return to 'Indian ways,' far from being a retrogression, is a giant step toward full accord of social equality to North American Indians and therefore a step toward full acculturation" (Sanford, 1971, p. 226). In fact, the formation of distinguishing characteristics to differentiate one section of society from another may be a necessity in the maintenance of that society. The essential fact is that the new "cultivated" differences tend to be equally respectable.
CHAPTER VIII

THE EXAMPLE OF LOS ANGELES

Now that the major factors shaping the character of the rural-urban migration have been identified, the particular case of movement to the Los Angeles area will be examined. The city of Los Angeles has the largest Indian population in the United States. The greater Los Angeles area recorded 12,405 Indians in 1960 (San Francisco-Oakland, 3,883, San Diego, 3,293). According to the 1970 Census, Los Angeles recorded 27,958 Indian residents.

Personnel at the Los Angeles Bureau of Indian Affairs Field Employment Assistance Office estimate the Los Angeles Indian population at about two to three times Census figures (Mauderer, 1972). Using the conservative estimates of the United States Census, the Los Angeles Indian population experienced a net increase of 15,553 individuals in the last decade (an increase of 125 per cent). During the same period, 14,989 Indians relocated to Los Angeles under auspices of the Adult Vocational Training and Direct Employment Assistance Program.
A majority of the Indians residing in Los Angeles are migrants from other states. Early arrivals originated largely from non-reservation areas in Oklahoma during the 1930s, and from widely scattered areas during the 1940s and early 1950s.

The second massive influx of migrants began around 1955 coinciding with increased activity in the Bureau's relocation program. The majority came from reservations, particularly from those in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana (Table 17).

**TABLE 17**

**ORIGINS OF INDIANS IN LOS ANGELES AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Los Angeles (Per cent)</th>
<th>Nationally (Per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Seventy-six per cent of the Indians in Los Angeles came from these seven states.

**SOURCE:** Price, 1972, p. 730.
Table 18 indicates the tribal membership of a sample of 2,945 Indians in Los Angeles in 1966.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs began in earnest to find employment for reservation Indians in western industrial centers in 1952--hence the great size of the post-1955 migration. The Adult Vocational Training (AVT) Program was instituted in 1958 to coincide with relocation. The effect was to reduce the number of Indians relocating under the Direct Employment (DE) Assistance Program.

Diagram 1 indicates the number of individuals relocating to Los Angeles under auspices of both the Adult Vocational Training and Direct Employment Assistance Programs.

Data on the number of arrivals in Los Angeles under auspices of the Adult Vocational Training and Direct Employment Assistance Programs indicate a substantial decline in the number of individuals taking advantage of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation programs in recent years. There is no reason to believe that Los Angeles is exceptional in this regard. Arrivals in Los Angeles under the Direct Employment Assistance Program have been decreasing steadily since 1965. Arrivals for the Adult Vocational Training Program also began to decline in 1970.

One reason postulated by the Los Angeles Field Employment Assistance Office for the decline in the number
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Per cent of Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creeks</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choctaw</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminole</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papago</td>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Ventre</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kickapoo</td>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comanche</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pima</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackfoot</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Indians</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroquois</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnebago</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arikara</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuma</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paiute</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arapaho</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponca</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshone</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assiniboine</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osage</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakima</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 18—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Per cent of Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chickasaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colville</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ute</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohave</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanticoke</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawnee</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavapai</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandan</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnee</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlingit</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td></td>
<td>7*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The remaining tribes account for only 83 Indians


of arrivals in Los Angeles under the relocation programs was the existence of a relatively limited job market in recent years. A general decline in aerospace production began in 1967. However, increased production due to the war effort in Vietnam balanced the decline in the aerospace industry until 1969 when war production began to decline.

Another possible reason for the decreasing number of arrivals in Los Angeles is the subtle shift in the Bureau's attitude away from an emphasis on relocation to an emphasis on development of reservation resources. The
SUMMARY OF ARRIVALS
ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING & DIRECT EMPLOYMENT
Los Angeles

DIAGRAM 1
decreasing number of Indians willing to relocate may also be a function of changing attitudes toward assimilation into the dominant culture.

Source Areas

Indians processed through the Los Angeles Field Employment Assistance Office are categorized according to their geographic origin or source area. Twelve source areas are recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for administrative purposes (Figure 2). Table 19 lists the source areas, ranked according to their annual average number of departures to Los Angeles for a period of four years, 1966 to 1969, expressed as a percentage of the total yearly departures to Los Angeles.

Distribution

There is not, in the spatial sense of the word, an Indian community in the Los Angeles area. Three patterns of residence are discernible, however, a primary concentration in the low rental district of central Los Angeles City, a secondary concentration in a lower class suburban southeastern extension of the city, and a wide distribution throughout the remaining area (Figure 3) (Price, 1972, p. 734). Indians in Los Angeles are much more widely
TABLE 19

SOURCE AREAS RANKED BY ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEPARTURES TO LOS ANGELES, 1966 TO 1969 (PERCENTAGE OF YEARLY TOTAL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult Vocational Training</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen (S.D.)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juneau</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billings</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskogee</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadarko</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Office</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct Employment Assistance</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billings</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskogee</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadarko</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juneau</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Office</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one per cent

scattered than Negroes or Mexican-Americans. Some clusters of Indians have developed around vocational schools in areas where the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains listings of rentals.

Although the central city has the largest number of Indian residents in the Los Angeles area (6,401), the community of Bell Gardens, with the second largest number (1,431), has a higher concentration of Indians as a percentage of the total population. The third largest number of Indians in any community resides in the city of Long Beach (1,247). The highest concentration of Indians in the city of Long Beach lives directly adjacent to the waterfront, according to census data. However, a more reasonable explanation indicates that many of these Indians were actually living onboard ship at the time of the census.

Other communities with a high concentration of Indian residents, as well as a large total Indian population, are Santa Ana in Orange County, and Pacoima in the northern San Fernando Valley.

On the other extreme, there is a low concentration of Indian residents in the more affluent areas such as Calabasas, Topanga, Pacific Palisades, and Beverly Hills. In the south, Palos Verdes, another affluent community, registered a low concentration of Indian residents.
Profile of Relocatees To Los Angeles

A survey in 1965 and 1966 found that compared to Indians who came to Los Angeles on their own, relocatees tend to (1) be younger, (2) have resided in Los Angeles a shorter time, (3) have a lower income, (4) live in the central Los Angeles area, (5) associate with other Indians more often, (6) speak an Indian language more often, and better, and (7) more often express a desire to return to the reservation if they could get a job at a commensurable rate of pay (Price, 1972, p. 732).

Price analyzed the subjective aspect of the decision to migrate by asking the heads of 158 households a series of questions about life on the reservation and life in the city.

The pattern of responses was not significantly different from that which could be expected from Euro-Americans who had migrated to a large city from a rural or small town background. The incentive for migration is primarily economic: to find jobs, higher wages, and improved physical living conditions.

Indians tend to dislike smog, urban density, transportation problems, and the high cost of living in the city, and they look with fondness at the social contacts and activities they had on the reservation. As the years in the city go by, they increasingly withdraw from previous reservation contacts (fewer returns to the reservation, fewer letters, etc.), while at the same time they increasingly tend to idealize the physical and cultural aspects of reservation life. Many older urban Indians
talk of retiring to their reservations, where they own property, or where as members of the tribe, they have a right to reside (Price, 1972, p. 732).

In Los Angeles the median years of schooling of the migrants was 11.2 years, or about three years more than that of non-migrants of similar age from the same tribes (Sorkin, 1969, p. 245).

**Tribal Differences in Urban Adaptation**

Three degrees of adaptation, on a continuum from relatively weak adaptation to relatively full adaptation, are represented in Los Angeles by the Navaho, Sioux, and Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole--primarily from eastern Oklahoma).³

Indians fresh from a strongly rural or reservation environment, like the Navaho, tend to shift over time to patterns of life exemplified by the Five Civilized Tribes.

The Navahos are more involved in reservation life to the extent that more vote on the reservation, plan to return to the reservation to live, and visit the reservation frequently. The Navaho more often resorts to television, sight-seeing, or "nothing" for recreation. They

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³The fifth tribe, the Chickasaw, is not listed. They represent a very small per cent of the Indians in the Los Angeles area.
tend not to associate with clubs and they associate predominantly with other Indians, especially Navaho. A high percentage speak Navaho. The clannishness and "foolish pride" of the Navaho is often resented by other Indians. The Navaho is a frequent target of joking which involves tribal stereotypes (Price, 1972, p. 736).

The Five Civilized Tribes represent another extreme. Members of this group have lived in the Los Angeles area longer than most Indians. Fewer have lived on reservations or have been on tribal rolls. Approximately one-third of this group relocated to the city under auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Sports, particularly team sports like baseball and basketball, are more popular among members of the Five Civilized Tribes than among other Indian groups. They tend to take their identity as Indians lightly—one of several components of their identity. Their social associations and identities revolve around their various occupations, religious and political movements, and residential neighborhoods (Price, 1972, p. 736).

Assimilation

Marriage, formal associations, and informal association, were three aspects of assimilation identified by
Price in his survey of Los Angeles Indians. Intratribal marriage declined significantly with successive generations in the city. Thirty-nine per cent of marriages in the respondent's generation were within the tribe, while sixty-four per cent of marriages in the generation of the respondent's parents were within the tribe. Of the married respondents, about one-third had married Whites.

About twenty per cent of the Indians in Los Angeles are active in formal Indian association. Many attend church. The most popular churches are: Roman Catholic, fundamentalist Protestant, general Protestant, Latter Day Saints, and various nativistic Indian churches— in order of preference. Approximately twenty-three per cent of the Indians in Price's survey went to church once a week, although for most people it is about once a year. Seventy per cent of urban Indians attend church, compared to fifty-three per cent of reservation Indians.

The Navaho constitutes a unique group among the relocated Indians. They most frequently tend to associate with other Navahos, usually persons of their own age who are relatives or who they have met through common housing or at formal group events. Navahos tend to be more restricted socially than persons from other tribes, chiefly because of their sheltered tribal background, by a strong
fear of English language inadequacy, and because they are able to draw upon their own very large group for friendships.

Approximately two-thirds of the total Los Angeles sample of Indians indicated that their primary informal associations were with an equal number of Indians and Whites. Twenty-nine per cent said that they associated exclusively with Indians. Many of the survey respondents indicated that they were desirous of meeting and associating with other Indians to a greater extent. However, they were not aware of opportunities to do so. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents in the survey had relocated to Los Angeles on their own, and were not participating in the Economic Assistance Programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Hence, they were deprived of the opportunity to meet and associate with other Indians while attending trade school and orientation programs (Gardner, 1969, p. 18).

Considering residence as an aspect of informal association, five per cent of the survey preferred an all Indian neighborhood, forty-five per cent preferred a mixed neighborhood, and eight per cent preferred an all White neighborhood (Price, 1972, p. 734).
Acculturation

Acculturation, the change of cultural characteristics of the minority in response to those of the surrounding majority, involves replacing or modifying the Indian's traditional reservation culture, as well as acquiring new traits. More than just the acquisition of new skills learned in a new environment, it involves a transformation of a whole range of behavior and attitudes.

In the city, Indians tend to retain their frugal "reservation" attitude toward the purchase of clothing and shelter. A few "work clothes" and a single set of "dress clothes" are sufficient. Although Los Angeles Indians, on the average, spend a small share of their income on clothes and housing, they spend relatively large sums on travel and entertainment. Approximately forty-six per cent of the respondents in Price's survey indicated they usually engage in sports activities for recreation; sixteen per cent mentioned television, movies, or plays; nine per cent said pow-wows, and seven per cent said they go to bars.

The level of formal education, occupation, and the loss of the ability to use an Indian language—and conversely the increased ability to understand English—are also indications of acculturation. Relocatees had a median
of 11.2 years of education, five per cent were in professional occupations, and thirty-one per cent were in skilled occupations. The educational level nearly approximates that of Los Angeles Whites, although the occupational level is still very low. Since the quality of education may be lower on the reservation, where most Indians have received their schooling, nine or ten years of education in Los Angeles may be equivalent to eleven years of schooling on the reservation.

Approximately fifty-four percent of the Los Angeles relocatees spoke one or more Indian languages. Their Indian language was spoken "quite well" by forty-one per cent of the survey respondents. The spouse spoke an Indian language in fifty-seven per cent of the married households. In twenty-two per cent of the married households, an Indian language was spoken in the house "usually" or "always."

Eleven per cent of the respondents' children speak to each other in an Indian language. Twenty-nine per cent of those with children said their children speak an Indian language, but only three per cent said their children speak "quite well" (Price, 1972, p. 735).

Adjustment

"Adjustment" may be defined in terms of social and
psychological health. Rates of suicide, commitment to mental hospitals, crime rates, and unemployment rates are measures of social and psychological health (Price, 1972, p. 735). Drunkenness accounts for seventy-one per cent of all Indian arrests in the United States. Drunkenness was indicated as the major problem of thirty-two per cent of the respondents in Price's survey of Los Angeles Indians. Another indication of the degree of maladjustment is the very high unemployment rate, 15.1 per cent for Indians in the 1960 California census.

Martin selected three tribes for study, the Navaho, Sioux, and Choctaw, on the assumption that they rank from low to high on degree of acculturation and assimilation (Martin, 1964, p. 291). Martin expected that adjustment ratings would vary significantly by tribe, and that the proportion of persons receiving a high adjustment rating would increase with the acculturation-assimilation ranking. In fact, however, acculturation and adjustment are not always positively correlated—the Navaho had a larger proportion of persons rated high on adjustment than did either the Choctaw or Sioux. In addition, Martin found that a low proportion of so-called "Indian blood" is positively related to adjustment among the Sioux, but not among the Choctaw.
In general, younger men tend to show better behavioral adjustment than older men, particularly among the Navaho. Education appears less indicative of adjustment than does type of schooling experience. Indians having a combination of Indian and public school experience received a greater proportion of high adjustment ratings than did those attending Indian schools only. An arrest record prior to relocation has a negative correlation with adjustment, as does prior military service. The negative influence of military experience is highest for those persons serving a tour of duty less than two years in duration. Military experience, however, is positively correlated with acculturation to white culture.

**Pan-Indianism in Los Angeles**

There isn't anything to do in the city, so the Indian goes downtown to one of the Indian bars, meets other Indians and has a few drinks.¹

The Indian in Los Angeles has the opportunity to associate socially with other Indians because of the presence of a number of pan-Indian organizations in the area. The Los Angeles Indian Center was founded in 1935 by Myra Bartlett, an Indian and a singer on the Orpheum

¹From an interview with an Indian resident of Los Angeles (Gardner, 1969, p. 19).
Circuit (BIA, 1969, p. 3). Miss Bartlett decided to establish a meeting place for the Indian housemaids she encountered each Thursday afternoon gathered at the streetcar terminal for their weekly visit. The Center housed refugees during the depression and was reorganized under the American Friends Service Committee in 1948. It was supported by that group until 1955 and is now on its own (Harmer, 1955, p. 56). The Center, maintained by a volunteer staff or members, provides the Indian people of the area with such services as job placement, training, recruitment for higher education, recreation and social welfare (BIA, 1969, p. 3).

One of the primary functions of the Los Angeles Indian Center is to make available to newly arrived and needy Indians the help of those already established in the city. More than 200 volunteers render all kinds of services from baby-sitting and practical nursing to loaning or giving money, finding decent living quarters, obtaining medical treatment and just visiting.

The Center also provides dances, dinners, classes, clubs, and activities for all age groups of Indians in Los Angeles. The Center's chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous has rescued scores of men and women from the ravages of alcoholism.
The Center has recently submitted a proposal to the California Council on Criminal Justice for a grant to operate a half-way house. It also provides administrative assistance to the Los Angeles police and probation department. Now in a rented building, the Center is working toward building its own home which will allow the expansion of its programs and services.

Another Indian organization in Los Angeles is the pan-Indian church located in the community of Bell Gardens. The Indian Revival Center, the largest Indian church in Los Angeles, was the object of a special survey by Price. Three-fourths of the approximately 250 persons who attend services at the church are young children. The Navaho represent the largest tribal group in the church. This cohesive group conducts its own Sunday school class—in the Navaho language—and has its own choir which sings Christian hymns in Navaho.

Price's survey indicates that the Revival Center Indians have (1) more children, (2) a higher rate of relocation through the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation
programs, and (3) a higher rate of intratribal marriage in both the respondents' and the parents' generations.

Although the congregation is almost entirely Indian, the pastor is a Caucasian. Many of the adult parishioners have been "recruited" from the local Indian bars. The pastor and members of the congregation solicit these members by visiting the bars and extolling the evils of inebriation and the virtues of temperance to the patrons. The potential convert is thereby offered an alternative to the pattern of social behavior characterized by drunkenness. And, he is offered monetary aid, if he needs it, in the form of transportation, food, clothing, and payment of utility bills.

The pastor and members of the congregation, usually Indians from the same tribe as the potential convert, then visit his home. Informants in Price's survey said it was easier to secure attendance at church and social events by the wife and children than by the husband. But, if the wife begins to attend, the husband soon follows as a result of pressure from his wife, the pastor, and other Indians. The next step, and presumably ultimate goal, is formal conversion to Christianity.

Fifty-eight per cent of a sample of seventy-four of the members of the church came to Los Angeles under
auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance Program. The congregation is composed mostly of young married couples, the median age being twenty-five to thirty years. The median length of residence in Los Angeles is five years. Over half were born in Arizona or New Mexico. The rest originated mainly in Oklahoma and Montana. Typically the breadwinners tend to be engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs as warehousemen, butcher's helpers, and automobile spray painters (Gardner, 1969, p. 20).

The pastor de-emphasizes many of those aspects of the Indian identity that are usually associated with pan-Indianism, e.g., pow-wows, drinking, common-law marriages, Indian religious cures, and peyote. He stresses "Indianism" in the sense of an Indian "racial" identity. The members are encouraged to sing and testify in their native tongues. The services are conducted in English, but many of the prayers and testimonies are rendered in one of the Indian tongues. There are two choir groups: a mixed tribal choir which sings only in English, and a Navaho choir. The church also has a Sioux sextet and a Pima-Papago quartet which sings in their native languages.

Even the composition of the congregation is distinctively pan-Indian. Twenty different tribes are represented, and forty-eight per cent of the married
couples sampled had married with Indians other than their own tribe.

The Navahos, who compose approximately one-quarter of the congregation, are a notable exception to the pan-Indian orientation of the church. Besides their own choir, the Navahos have their own Sunday school class conducted in Navaho, and a Navaho Sunday evening fellowship group. They prefer to sit together as a group in a particular section of the church. Other members of the church regard the aisle leading from the Navaho section to the altar as the "Navaho trail."

The form of the religious services is not unlike that associated with Negro Evangelical churches of the South. The sermon usually deprecates the character of the non-Christian Indian. The problems encountered by the Indian in his daily life are attributed to a state of sin. During the sermon testimonies are given in which the individual may state that he used to be an alcoholic, that he was unable to keep a job, and that he was generally apathetic about everything.

When asked if they thought the church helped them in the city, all of Gardner's informants answered that it did. They believed the church gave them "spiritual" support. They believed, of course, that Christ, not the
church, was responsible for their situation.

One of the most important functions of the church is the support it gives to members in times of stress. Women parishioners take turns giving baby showers for expectant mothers, members take food and clothing when visiting, and they pay rent and utility bills for those unable to do so themselves.

Similar assistance, whether it be "spiritual," emotional, or material, would be expected from any Evangelical church, Indian or non-Indian. Gardner thinks that Indians prefer an "Indian" church where the activities and events afford him an opportunity to socialize with other Indians of his own or different tribes. The attraction is based on a sense of belonging, a commonality of attitudes, sentiments, and sympathies which are themselves a result of a sense of shared experiences. The members of the church derive a sense of community from participating in the activities of the church.

The pan-Indian church, then, is an Indian community within a larger urban community. It is an Indian community which aids the Indian in his attempt to cope with his urban environment. The church supports the Indian by providing certain welfare services, a rational explanation of the misfortunes he encounters, and social-psychological
support during times of stress. In effect, the church has become an urban substitute for the close-knit, supportive structure of the reservation. According to Gardner, the church is contributing to the establishment of an Indian identity that impedes the ultimate assimilation of its members into the urban society.

A majority of the adult members of the church return to the reservation at least once a year for a visit. Some return three or four times a year. Most maintain ties with the reservation through periodic visits, telephone calls, and letters. Most expressed a desire to return to the reservation to live some day, although they were often uncertain about whether their plans would be realized.

American Indian acculturation has been characterized by two distinct phenomena: (1) the survival of American Indian tribal groups as separate societies, integrating into the matrices of their cultures various traits and institutions from western civilization while at the same time retaining much continuity with the past, and (2) the spin off of many individuals from these small societies and their submergence into the general society. It is, however, the process of individual acculturation that is affected by the pan-Indian movement.
For one thing, the marginal people are not leaving Indian communities as it seemed they would. The pan-Indian movement has formed a healing bridge between factions. For instance, it is possible for a very marginal acculturated Indian from a pan-Indian area to be accepted in his community by even the more conservative Indians if he participates in the institutions and symbols of this pan-Indian life (Thomas, 1969, p. 138).

The Indian who leaves his community can go to an urban center and be absorbed into the more general pan-Indian community. These pan-Indian communities may be only temporary stopping places for Indians on the road to complete incorporation into the dominant society.

Pan-Indian institutions such as Indian centers in cities, pow-wow committees, and so forth, are institutions through which Indians can deal with people outside their community. They are learning that a productive relationship with the general society is possible.

Uprooting the Indians

Two months ago Little Light, her husband Leonard Bear, and their five children were persons of standing in a Creek Indian community in Oklahoma. They had only eighty acres of poor land and a modest cabin, but except for the hungry seasons they understood their way of life: they were at peace.

Today they are slum dwellers in Los Angeles, without land or home or culture or peace. Leonard Bear and his family have become part of that vast army of displaced persons which has been created by the government's policy of accelerating the "integration" of the Indian.

Five children, black eyes round with wonder in their apricot faces, sheltered against her skirt. She
answered our questions in an Indian dialect which the woman beside me interpreted. "No, my husband is not here. He went out with some other men. He does every night. They are drinking."

"Yes, he is working. He makes lots of money. One dollar and sixty cents an hour in the airplane factory."

"Yes, the children are in school. All but Zena. Zena is sick, I don't know what sickness. There is no doctor."

"Yes, the food came from that place. I don't go to the store often. Everybody laughs at me."

"Yes, I want to go back. There is no money. We pay seventy five dollars a month for this house. We pay for food. We pay for lights. We don't have the money to go back."

"They did not tell us it would be like this" (Harmer, 1956, p. 55).

The author gives no indication of how representative Little Light and Leonard Bear's situation may be among relocated Indians, but it is not an isolated incident. What actually had the Bureau of Indian Affairs told the Indians to cause such disillusionment when the reality of their situation in the city became apparent?

"Relocation News" written by George Shubert for the Fort Berthold Agency and News Bulletin of Newton, North Dakota (May 12, 1955) may give some indication. The Indian Affairs officer wrote:

This office is presently equipped to offer financial assistance to a large number of qualified persons who have an earnest desire to improve their standard of living, by accepting permanent employment and relocation to one of four large urban areas in the United States; namely Chicago, Illinois; Denver, Colorado; Oakland, California (including the
Our offices in those areas are presently able to place on jobs and render any assistance necessary to practically an unlimited number of families. They also state that there is good selection of employment opportunities and housing facilities available at the present time.

The rapidly rising waters in the bottom lands of the reservation should remind us of the fact that the Fort Berthold people have lost forever over one-half of the natural resources and practically all of their class 1 and 2 agricultural lands, comprising one-quarter of the area of the entire reservation and one-half of the agricultural resources, thereby rendering the remaining portions of the reservation inadequate to provide subsistence for the remaining members of the reservation.¹

There are problems also with the mechanics of the relocation program. First of all, Bureau of Indian Affairs' financial assistance for relocation is limited specifically to one-way travel costs and a weekly allowance until the first paycheck comes in. Grants of money are available only to persons without funds, whereas partial grants are given to those who have some reserves. In any case, it is questionable whether even the maximum grant is sufficient. Transportation costs and a living allowance for a few weeks might be all a White moving from

New York to Los Angeles would require to carry him over the transition period, but it may not be sufficient to cover the period of adjustment needed by a family moving from a "traditional" reservation society into the industrial milieu.

Even the idea of "accepting permanent employment" is rather meaningless when examined in light of the realities of the job market for unskilled and semi-skilled workmen. Job security is almost nonexistent.

In 1956, when Harmer's article was published, 150 to 200 new arrivals reached the Los Angeles Field Employment Assistance Office each month. At least another 100 came on their own. At that time, the Relocation Office had a staff of fourteen persons; many, such as clerks, receptionists, and secretaries, played no active role in helping the Indian adjust. Those involved directly with the relocatees necessarily confined themselves to receiving the Indians who showed up at the office, making job contacts for them, distributing their living allowance, and giving them the address of a vacant dwelling (Harmer, 1956, p. 55).

The Employment Assistance Program has expanded its services since 1956. The first participants under the Adult Vocational Training Program arrived in Los Angeles
in 1958. Counseling and orientation programs were augmented in subsequent years to help alleviate the problems of adjustment. But, as noted above, even in 1967 and 1968, approximately twenty-five to thirty per cent of those applying for the Adult Vocational Training Program from selected reservations were turned down because of budget limitations.

The newcomers, whose knowledge of the English language is often marginal, and who may not be acquainted with the vicissitudes of a "money" economy, are ill-prepared to cope with city life. "Compared with other minority groups caught in the grind of urban poverty the plight of the citified American Indian represents a new dimension in wretchedness" (Newsweek, June 14, 1971, p. 94). City life for Indians is even more disastrous than for Blacks, Puerto Ricans or Chicanos.

Few Indians have the necessary skills to compete for good jobs. The majority of those who remain in the city can be found lining up outside the day-labor centers along Broadway, or joining homeless derelicts in the flop houses of Skid Row. According to George Woodard, director of the Bay Area Native American Council of San Francisco, "we're at the bottom of the ditch. And, unless we get ourselves out, we'll end up nothing but artifacts" (Newsweek,
Instead of encouraging economic development on the reservation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent the last two decades prying the Indians loose from their sacred lands. The government handed out one-way tickets to the cities along with large promises of a better life to come. The Indians are bitter. They feel as though they did not relocate of their own free will, but as the direct result of official government policy.

Woodard, whose organization helps newcomers get adjusted to life in the city, says:

...the government paints a picture of utopia in the cities. They say, you'll come here and have a job, have a house, hospital care, money to sustain you until you find a job. If you've been on a reservation all your life, not knowing where your next meal is coming from, you'd snap at it. Fortunately, we're now getting a little wise" (Newsweek, June 14, 1971, p. 99).

What often awaited the Indians in town was no job and no decent place to live. And, even though the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Los Angeles sends new arrivals through a series of orientation and counseling classes to ease the shock of relocation, there is little they can do to prepare the Indian for pay toilets, express elevators and freeways. Support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs stops officially with the Indian's first paycheck, and free housing comes
to an end ten days later. The first check is often the last, and the Indian finds himself cut loose in a strange world with no place to turn.

One of the major problems of the urban Indian, says David Lester, head of the Los Angeles Urban Indian Development Association, is his difficulty with the English language. "Indians," says Lester, "like to say things properly, and they'd rather say nothing than be made fun of" (Newsweek, June 14, 1971, p. 99).
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The Employment Assistance Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has encouraged the movement of Indians to urban areas. There are two phases of the operation in existence: the Direct Employment Program, and the Adult Vocational Training Program. The former provides job placement services, the latter provides vocational training. In recent years there has been a decline in the number of individuals taking advantage of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation program.

A majority of the Indians residing in Los Angeles are migrants from other states. Most came from reservations, particularly from the states of Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana. In a sample of Indians in Los Angeles, the Navahos constituted the largest tribal group, followed closely by the Sioux.

A separate, distinct Indian community does not exist in Los Angeles. There is, however, a primary concentration in the low rental district of central Los Angeles, a secondary concentration in Bell Gardens, and a wide
distribution throughout the remaining cities and suburbs.

In the early 1970s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs changed emphasis from a policy of relocation to one of economic development on the reservations themselves. Businesses were encouraged to locate on Indian land. Federal policy required that these businesses be at least fifty-one per cent Indian owned. Government agencies began to point with pride to the growing sense of enlightened self-interest among Indians on the reservation.

It is questionable, however, whether the government can soon undo the harm that has been done in the past. Reservation land allotted to Indians is mostly arid, providing little to support even a moderate standard of living. The emphasis of relocation as a vehicle for assimilation has succeeded only in creating rifts among Indians themselves. Those who stayed on the reservation are pitted against those who chose to move to the cities, with each group vying for federal assistance to aid its own special plight.

The policy of relocation has created a whole generation of Indians that is learning painfully that it has no real place to call home. "In the city, people always thought I was Chicano," says Yvonne Lamore, a twenty-six year old Mojave-Maricopa-Quechan, who works as an aid in
the Native American Studies Department of the University of California at Berkeley.

They would speak to me in Spanish and I couldn't speak back because I didn't understand it, and so after school that beat me up. But when I went back to the reservation, they thought I was a city kid, and they didn't like me very much. I didn't make many friends there either (Newsweek, June 14, 1971, p. 102).

One of the biggest stumbling blocks to success in the city among Indian relocatees is the problem of drunkenness. As Graves pointed out, the vast majority of Navaho drunkenness can be accounted for without recourse to the fact that they were Indians. Given the same sociological parameters, any other group could have the same propensity for drunkenness. Many of the critical determinants of Indian success in the city are structural variables over which society can exercise some measure of control.

Considering the finite nature of allocations for the relocation program, discouraging "poor risks" from moving to the city might be advocated purely on the basis of a cost-benefit analysis. Encouraging Indians to migrate despite a poor prognosis may actually be doing them a disservice. The trauma associated with failure may presage serious long-range psychological and social consequences, setting the relocatees on an endless spiral of migration and return, marked by frustration, failure, and drunkenness.
at every turn.

The cost of letting a migrant come to the city and being wrong versus keeping him away and being wrong must be considered in any statistical decision-making process. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is quite properly reluctant to cut off those applicants with poor qualifications since some obviously do succeed in the city. A better way would be to "encourage" such applicants to take advantage of Bureau of Indian Affairs sponsored basic educational and vocational training before embarking on direct employment assistance. Special counseling and follow-up services should be provided for high risk applicants after their arrival.

The role of economic marginality in the migrant's adjustment problems is fundamental. When the migrant has a poor and unstable income, factors such as marriage, peer pressure, and a variety of personality variables make their primary contribution to a migrant's drinking problems, whether this contribution be positive or negative. Limitations in the Indian's personality or cultural repertoire become irrelevant if the economic basis for these difficulties can be dealt with. What the migrant needs is not more psychological counseling or more wholesome recreational outlets, but better jobs.
Urban migration may not be the best way to solve the economic limitations of reservation life. Most migrants would prefer to live and work near their reservation homes. Forcing them to seek work in the city only adds to their adjustment problems.

There was strenuous resistance during the 1950s to the government's policy of termination and relocation among Indian peoples. Opposition to government attempts at assimilation was coupled in the 1960s with positive expressions of Indian goals: broader educational programs and community development (Lurie, 1968, p. 295).

Prior to the 1950s Indian people could effectively respond to undesirable government policies at the tribal level. But the new philosophy was designed to destroy Indian community life, and the usual techniques were no longer practical.

Even in the face of the Allotment Act which reduced the land base for many tribes, it was possible for the Indian to weather an unsympathetic administration. Passive resistance, negativism or factional disputation would keep the administrators busy until something came along they might want to use. However, by systematically denying the existence of Indian people in terms of their communities, the termination-relocation program was designed to
eliminate the "Indian" problem. The Wisconsin Winnebago, a non-reservation group, which had maintained a sense of tribal identity despite a dispersed pattern of residence, were contacted and strongly encouraged by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to avail themselves of the relocation program. Many of the Wisconsin Winnebago were already "commuters" to nearby cities on a weekly or seasonal basis. But the government sought to send them farther than Milwaukee or Chicago (Lurie, 1968, p. 296).

In the mid-1960s liberal minded people began to equate the question of civil rights almost entirely with those specific rights of individuals denied to Negroes, that is, the vote, decent education, and housing. In the jargon of the Civil Rights Movement, termination-relocation was sold to the public as desegregation and integration. Indians who opposed the policies of the 1960s appeared somehow unAmerican.

The Negroes' goals were not the same as those of the Indians. The Indian who chooses to embrace middle-class values and symbols finds few obstacles to integration. Even in areas peripheral to the reservation where prejudice is strongest, the educated, regularly employed Indian can find acceptance in the local white community in a way no educated southern or many northern Negroes could hope for.
Provided they are not explicitly or implicitly designed to reduce his Indianness, Indian people would like improved educational and community programs designed to give the individual a free choice in using his abilities. The choice of whether or not to leave the reservation should be his own.

The increased diffusion of pan-Indian traits together with the promotion of Indian causes by means of organized intertribal activities suggests two quite different outcomes for the movement. Tribal distinctiveness could give way to a general Indian social identity, an "Indian nationality," as a half-way point on the road to complete assimilation and oblivion. Already there are people from many tribes whose Indianness is expressed only in terms of pan-Indianism. English is the lingua-franca of most intertribal organizations.

On the other hand, local Indian communities may remain distinct and separate by controlling their own channels of communication to urban centers for the selective adaptation of technological and other innovations. A large proportion of the ever increasing number of urban Indians alternate residence according to a variety of patterns between the city and their tribal communities. Tribal communities, if left to their own devices, could persist
indefinitely as distinct, viable institutions.

Since the beginning of contact, contractual relationships predominated in patterns of dealing with whites, even after withdrawal to reservations. As the years went by, it became increasingly difficult for Indians to negotiate and enforce contracts because of economic pressures and disparity in numbers relative to the larger society. Although many Indian people today have maintained their existence entirely outside their sociocultural peripheries, they have in many cases found the experience unsatisfactory. The movement underway among Indian people today seeks to reorganize the environment in order to permit interaction with the larger society on their own terms.
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*Newsweek,* June 14, 1971.


