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Native American families in the city: American Indian socialization to urban life-final report.

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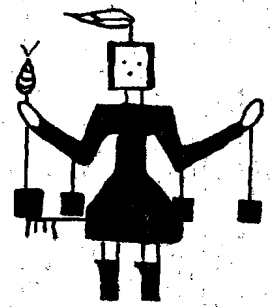
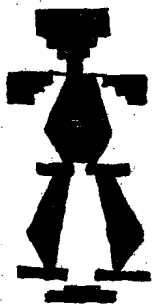
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NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES IN THE CITY



SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS CORPORATION



AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIALIZATION TO URBAN LIFE

FINAL REPORT

Supported by a grant from the

Minority Studies Center

NIMH (MH 22719)

Native American Research Group

Institute for Scientific Analysis
A Division of Scientific Analysis Corporation
210 Spear Street
San Francisco, California 94105

Revised October 31, 1975

Indian pride means not forgetting the
old and adapting to the new life. . .

Indian Mother, 1974,
Oakland, California

AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIALIZATION TO URBAN LIFE: FINAL REPORT

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PREFACE

This is a different "Indian Report." It is not a report from another commission or study committee on the "Indian Problem." It is not an enumeration of the sickness, drunkenness, poverty and despair of the "vanishing American." It is not a set of recipes about how to conquer us, change us, cajole us or educate us. It is not a romantic tale of the "noble Redman." It is not an adventure story of canyons and mountain lions, of braves or squaws, of chiefs or medicine men.

There are stories here of bravery, of nobility, of strength, of survival. There are sorrows to be found in the chapters ahead. But this report is much more than a story, much more than a report-- it is different for many reasons.

First, this report is different because it is conceived, researched and written by Native Americans. It was funded by the Center for Minority Studies, National Institute of Mental Health.* It was monitored there by two American Indian scientists, Everett Rhoades, M.D., and Carolyn Attneave, Ph. D., who supported this research effort and gave advice and counsel throughout the years of effort.

Secondly, the research was designed in direct response to pressing demands from Native Americans living in and between the reservation and the city. The research design was also guided by the deliberations of the American Indian Research Conference, whose research priorities reflect the major concerns of the Indian people.

Thirdly, the research methodology utilized combines the concepts of duality, of cause and effect characteristic of western thought, and the totality of man-in-the-world, the harmonic concept of American Indian thought. It attempts to blend together logic and feeling, science and insight, data and wisdom, facts and truth. It reaches to the technique of social surveys, computer analysis, structured data collections, and complements these "facts" with human "truths" distilled from the wisdom of medicine men, mothers, children, dancers, singers, weavers and many persons who spoke with us about their "way," who gave us a picture of their lives, who walked beside us as we sought the true things within the wilderness of many lives, many ways and many dangers. We were together in

* MH 22719 American Indian Socialization to Urban Life, Scientific Analysis Corporation.

the city, and on the reservations. We spoke with the old, listened to the young. We visited the sick and were helped by the wise. We walked with respect for all of our people, and we were given of their very lives. We learned much: we became humble.

Finally, and most important to all of us, we learned to share, to take on a greater sense of commitment to our people. We are of our people, we do this work to help, to share, to add to our strength. This is our people's report, they shared their lives for this reason. We will try to speak of their message, their wisdom, their pathways, so that others may learn of the trail and avoid the darkest places. We will try to tell this truth so that other people will know of our struggle, our dreams and our long journey. No one person did this. All did it together. That is the most important lesson we can tell you.

We used many of the "facts" derived from our research work to help develop needed social and educational programs for Native Americans and we hope to do more, as we can.

The ultimate value of this study can best be judged by Native Americans who must walk in our steps one day. We believe we have walked in new country and can help others to use social science and social life in the Indian Way.

Beulah Bowman
Walter Carlin
Anthony Garcia
Chris Maybee
Dorothy Miller
Peggy Sierras

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND OF STUDY

A large movement of American Indians from reservations to the cities began with the great social upheaval of World War II. However, most Indian veterans and workers returned to their lands, eking out an existence clinging still to the remnants of their culture and their land. A decade after the war, by the mid-1950's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to move young Indians to selected urban areas for job training and job placement, and this process of relocation, bureaucratic or "voluntary," has gained momentum until now four out of every ten of us live away from our reservations and Indian communities.

This research project developed from the struggles of our young Indian families trying to make a life in the cities. As always, Indians are most concerned about the fate of their children--for they are our future, and all strength must be passed on to them. How do we protect and strengthen our children, as we live in crowds, walk on concrete, speak in a strange language, far from the old ones, from the mountains, from the turtle and the bear?

In order to understand these struggles and to know the power and the strength inherent in American Indian people, the reader must learn something about our view of the world, our understanding of our history, our perspective toward our present way of life.

We are our history: it is our bondage and our whip, our sorrow and our strength. We are conquered but not defeated. History lives in our everyday life.

All of the "research data" which follow in this report must be read with the historical perspective of every Native American in mind, for it explains more than data, tells more than figures and is more significant than statistics.

This is a study of "relocated" Indian families--families now living in the San Francisco Bay Area in California. Yet, this is not the first "relocation" of Indian people. For, as one of our prophets said:

We took them by the hand, and bid them
welcome to sit down by our side, and
live with us as brothers, but how
did they requite our kindness? They
at first asked only for a little land

on which to raise bread for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They saw the game in the woods, which The Great Spirit had given us for our subsistence, and they wanted that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased them: that land they also wanted, and because we were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already more land than they had need of, they took it from us by force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient homes . . . ¹

Back when the first white people began to settle on the eastern coast of what is now called the United States, Native Americans were uprooted and relocated to other unfamiliar regions of the west. The first relocation removed American Indians from lands coveted by the white man.

At first this was accomplished through dubious transaction, later by aggressive force. Before long the white man had taken all the good land that could be settled. At the same time we were told we could no longer roam at will. We were told we must stay in one place. Later these places were called reservations. We were told we were being relocated for our own good, and that we could no longer hunt and fish. But what the Indian didn't know until it was too late was that we were being left to die. The white man had practiced deception. So the wars between the Indian and whites were fought. All the Indians wanted was to go back to their lands to live in peace and hunt for their own food. But the white man didn't understand this and thought that the Indian wanted to make war on the whites.

The bloody and shameful history of white-Indian relations lies behind the present so-called "adjustment problems" of Native Americans, whether we be on reservations, living in small towns or smothering within the urban centers. We are our history. We must live on our own land, ruled by our conquerors, judged by their laws, condemned by their values. We must speak their tongue, learn to live their life style and accept their punishment. It is a bitter and disparate life.

1. Wrone, David R. and Russell S. Nelson, Jr., Who's the Savage, Conn: Fawcett Publication, 1973, p. 185.

Throughout this shameful history we have been "relocated" time and time again, always at the demand of our conquerors who ruled us with force, cajoled us with their religion, destroyed us with their liquor, merchandise and drugs, and starved us by destroying our food base and substituting their "charity." Since our conquest, we have fought in their wars, attended their schools, and given birth to their children. The white man, at a loss to wipe out his "vanishing Americans," made another attempt after World War II to once again move Indian people into his life style and to terminate our older ways.

By 1952 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established a national program of "relocation assistance" to family heads who would seek employment off their reservations. In 1956 the program was given additional impetus by Public Law 84-959 authorizing the BIA to provide Indians, between the ages of 18 and 35, with vocational training, on-the-job training and apprenticeship training. The original act provided for an appropriation of \$3,500,000 for each fiscal year. Due to the increased demand for this type of service, the act was amended on September 22, 1961, to provide \$7,500,000 each fiscal year, and it was subsequently increased to \$15,000,000 a year.

In July, 1962, the name of this BIA program was changed to "Employment Assistance," and at that time the concept of this activity was broadened to include placement on or near reservations as well as at seven urban centers: Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Jose, California; Denver, Colorado; and Dallas, Texas.*

The number of our people living in the cities has been rapidly growing. Actual numbers of Native Americans within the cities are difficult to determine. In 1930 only 10 percent of the Native Americans lived in the urban areas; by 1970 45 percent of us resided off-reservations. (A conservative estimate based upon U.S. Census figures.) In the decade between 1960 and 1970, the urban Indian population more than doubled. An analysis of the migration patterns of the Indian population indicates that we are moving to places further away than merely the border towns near our reservations. In 1970 more than one-fifth (22%) of all Native Americans lived in states other than those in which they were born.

We are "urban Indians" living in cities, speaking English, attending schools and working for wages. Yet we cling to our Indian identities, our Indian values and keep our ties to the reservation

* Information on BIA "Employment Assistance Program" summarized in Steiner, Herbert E., Toward a Fundamental Program for the Training, Employment, Economic Equality of the American Indian, Staff paper, Upjohn Institute, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1968.

and to the "old ones." One of our mothers told us:

This is the way we were brought up. We should try to keep our Indian culture as much as we can. We should teach our children to dance, how to speak the language and to eat Indian food.

Many groups have come together to form urban social and service centers; we come together from many tribes to hold social dances, we use these centers to help maintain our traditional beliefs, and we teach our children to be proud of our "way of life." As another mother said:

As Sioux we're known, feared, liked or disliked, as a people with a history. We don't know how to handle it but we're making use of what we have. The spirit is coming back. It's a spirit coming alive in the people.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, thousands of young Native Americans are settling, seeking jobs or education--seeking a "better life." Many were "recruited" by the BIA, others came, following in the footsteps of friends or relatives.* Over the past 25 years many young families have moved to the large urban centers for economic reasons and are raising the first "urban Indian" generation. After nearly 400 years of conquest, this is the first Native American generation to grow up on concrete, eat packaged foods, be educated by machines and indoctrinated by television. We now talk with young Native Americans who have never seen their reservations, never spoken their native tongue, nor listened to their "old ones." They are "urban Indians," born in San Leandro, Berkeley or Castro Valley, reared on the streets of Oakland or San Francisco, mostly dancing to popular hard rock, and learning of white man's wisdom from continuation high school teachers and ghetto neighbors. These youngsters have parents who came as adolescents to the city, who were first-wave "immigrants" and who are now parents of this second generation of "urban Indians." These are the families whom we visited and about whom we now write.

The planned and massive movement of Native Americans, by the BIA, from reservation to the city is the most significant crisis to face us since our conquest by the white man. It presents us with a terrible problem: how can we retain our Indian identity under the pressures of separation, assimilation and urbanization? How can our families socialize young Indians in both the traditional ways and the non-Indian ways? Will the city environment accomplish what 400 years of "civilizing the savage" failed to accomplish--the elimination of Native Americans as a distinct people?

*Nearly a quarter (23%) of all American Indians moving to another state have moved into California and of those who have moved to California, 71% have settled in urban areas. (A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census Vol. III American Indians, 1974, p. 13.)

This is the question that is the concern of every young family as they live the urban way.

We talked with the people about their "relocation" pathway, how it was they came to the city, what they wanted here and what happened to them here.

They told us about their feelings of fear, of loneliness, of the rejection they and their children experienced when they first came. Many told us of the first shock of "relocation," of getting off a bus in a strange place, without anyone to meet them or to care for them. One such story was:

I wouldn't want to put my kids through (relocation). We had to stay in a motel, wait in the BIA all day--they weren't ready for us--my husband had to go look for work, they didn't have anything ready. He finally found a job on his own.

Some families came to the city in the footsteps of other friends or relatives who were already in the city. Another mother's story is about this.

My relatives were there when we needed them. They were there to talk with and to be together with.

Some of the families felt great loneliness, and suffered disappointment and gave up to return to the reservation. Some families went back and forth several times, learning each time more about survival in the city.

We spoke with families who had gone to the city on relocation, but had returned to the reservation. We asked these families about the "relocation," and learned about the hardships they faced. Here are some parts from their stories:

In the city most of the parents wouldn't let their children come over to our house. He (her son) was the only Indian there.

In the city, the kids weren't satisfied. Where we lived they always called them little Indians or they came by and made whooping noises to us. They got along good in school, but they wanted to come back and be free.

He started school in Oakland and finished up here [reservation]. There was a difference because down there he didn't get

any help but up here he did. They overlook the ones who can't keep up. Here they taught him things he should have known before he ever came back.

It's a lot easier on the reservation where you know people. The city is too crowded.

We lived [in the city] for six months and moved four times. It was because of the job and my husband's drinking.

We returned home because GM was laying off and you have to have money to live, for rent. We decided we'd better head home.

As these comments indicate, Native Americans find much that is depersonalizing, confusing, cruel and frightening in the city. Many look to their reservation as their sanctuary, their safe place, their "home."

Yet most who return "home" from relocation will try the city again and again--looking for the "better life," a better chance to pass onto the children, an easier life with inside toilets, automobiles, telephones, money, education, and all the material goods they see on TV, day in, day out.

One Navajo relocatee told us:

City living would be good for only that person whose mind is totally out there. When one is half way here and out there it does not work. When one thinks about the animals at home and the people back on the reservation, it is not good. Only when one leaves the reservation totally does it work.

Yet most of us never are able to leave the reservation totally, forget the animals and the people back home, so that spirit is torn, is uneasy--the city life must be faced with great courage if one is to live with the longing for home.

Relocation is a process of struggle, of loss, of hope, of longing to go and determination to stay.

Out of this great turmoil within us, we face the city and all it means. This is the study of this turmoil and of its cost, and of our blending into the urban way.

CHAPTER II: METHOD OF STUDYING URBAN INDIAN FAMILIES

In order to answer questions about the problems young Native American families face raising children in the city, we conducted a three-year field study of 120 families who resided primarily in Oakland, California, and the surrounding area.

We selected 120 urban Indian families by means of a "snowball sample:" Thirty were Sioux, 30 Navajo, 30 California Indians and 30 families came from other selected tribes.*

The rationale for the selection of this sample incorporated the anthropological writings that Navajos are "matrilocal," while Sioux are "patrilocal" family types. By selecting 30 young families, both from the Sioux and the Navajo, it became possible to assess the potential impact of culturally-determined matrilocal or patrilocal family types upon these families' urban adjustment. A group of California families were chosen because they are "close to home." It is often said that "moving to the city" occurs after first "moving to town." That is, we may first move to a small town near our reservation, before later accepting "relocation" to a large urban area. In the case of California Indians it usually would be more precise to speak of movement from a rancheria or a rural Indian community, as only a minority of Native Americans resides on federal reservations in this state. The more typical rancheria is smaller than a reservation; more important, its inhabitants are denied tribal status by the BIA, which therefore withholds most of the assistance it extends to recognized tribal reservations. However, this does not alter a common migration pattern or its motivation; in the small towns near our reservation or rural community we can learn of some of the new strategies involved in meeting the white man, of entering the white man's work and play world. Here we are close to "home," we can return at frequent intervals, keeping our family and clan ties intact, and yet live and work, as an Indian, in the white man's world. This requires that we develop new skills, that we learn to verbalize more, to pay attention to keeping "time," to living on set amounts of money which

* The tribal distribution of these 30 families is as follows: Three Chippewa, three Choctaw, two Apache, two Cherokee, two Hopi, two Laguna, two Papago, and one each of Blackfeet, Arapaho, Commanche, Creek, Eskimo, Kickapoo, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Kiowa Arapaho, Santa Domingo, Stallo, Taos, Thompson (Canada) and Tuscarora. By "snowball sample" we mean that we asked each of our families to refer us to other families with children who they might know. Thus, we were able to meet many young families who could trust us and come to understand the basic reasons for our research effort. Most of us look upon "surveys" and "research" as being tools of our suppression and withhold data from white investigators.

may be for housing, food, transportation and other previously accepted-as-free items. We must learn new clues, we must learn to control our drinking or socializing to meet the white man's work schedule--unlike the ebb and flow of life on the reservation or in our own Indian community. California Indians live on reservations or rancherias throughout rural California. They have no BIA schools or hospitals, but have entered small town life from the beginning, taking the role of the "outsiders" within the context of small town life. California Indians pass on into city life, having had a window seat on viewing "white ways" first hand from their small town experience, but also lacking a firm knowledge of their own culture and legacy. Further, as noted previously, they are not recognized as tribes under BIA regulations, and are thus without either the benefits and resources or the dependency so long associated with being "wards" of the federal government. Therefore, California Indians form an important comparison group with our Sioux and Navajo families.

An additional 30 families selected from a variety of persons from many other tribes offered an opportunity to see if the Sioux and Navajo tribal influences were really different from those of other tribal people in the way we faced the city, and raised our children. Thus, we studied and compared four groups of Native American families, Sioux, Navajo, California tribes and others from many different tribes.

Tribal membership is little understood by most non-Indians. For some, there is no such thing as an "American Indian" because there are hundreds of tribes, bands, groups, etc., each with its own language, tradition, identity and value structure. Some of us were hunters, some were farmers--some lived in large groups, some travelled in small families following the sun. Some ate the horse, some rode it. Some worked with the white man, some fought him. Some of us are full-bloods, some of us are mixed bloods. We are from many linguistic groups. We live in many different climates and have many different ways. More different language types are spoken by Indians in locations such as Oklahoma and California than are spoken in all the nations of Europe combined.

Yet the conqueror has always talked of the "Indians" and has always scolded us to become united--not in battle, but in defeat, so that we might be more efficiently administered to as a "unit." But our great diversity has given us both a strength and a weakness.

The reader must understand something of the tribal background of the many families in our sample, if this material is to be well understood. We felt that tribal family types living in the city would formulate different survival strategies for their children. Thus, we examine child-rearing practices within four different tribal

groups, the Sioux, Navajo, California Indian, and a mixture of families from other tribes. (Yet even these tribal names are white man's words--each tribal group has its own name, the Lakota, the Diné, Pomo, Hoopa, Modock, Pawnee, etc. Yet we will use the tribal names given by the white man in order to avoid confusion because we want to keep our story clear for both the American Indian and the non-Indian.)

Navajos are the most populous Indian tribe in the United States, residing on a large land base spread across the rocky canyons and desert plateaus of New Mexico and Arizona. There is a constant movement by young couples in and out of cities. The money attracts. The routine and loneliness of city life, without kin or ceremony, repel. Most Navajos still speak their own language (e.g., radio stations in Albuquerque and Gallup broadcast in Navajo), and retain much of their culture. They have one big consolidated land base, they are still Diné--the People.

A century ago the Sioux Nation was one of the greatest nations. Now they are scattered into nine reservations situated in four states. The language is spoken by some but not all. They live in a harsh area, with one of the most severe climates in the nation. One half of the year the Sioux face the winter blizzard, and can get about only with difficulty. They are separated by time, by weather, by lack of transportation--but most of all, by the processes of battle and conquest less than a century ago. About 50,000 persons claim a heritage from this once dramatically powerful people.

Hassrick, in his study of the Sioux, describes the reservation life as follows:

The reservations are dotted with worn and shabby cabins; the little communities and tribal agency towns are a study in despair . . . Nor does the modern Sioux home life offer any real substitute for the solidarity of the old tiyospe. The family of man and wife, in conformity to the white man's way, has supplanted the consanguine family. But the conjugal family, rather than becoming more firmly established, frequently lacked the stability to sustain itself in a period of cultural disintegration. The result is an abnormal rate of divorce and broken homes. The grandmothers still play the role of keepers for children of such families. The banning of plural marriages went hand in hand with the splitting of consanguine

families through forcing individuals to accept and live on separately allotted parcels of land. In schools the teaching of English was equated with denying the Sioux child the right of speaking Indian.²

The contrast between these two tribes, the Navajo and the Sioux, in terms of their ability to preserve their own language and culture, rests on the results of the white man's conquest. The Sioux were decimated and separated, the Navajos were able to retain a continuous land base, and thus keep more of their traditional life intact. Navajos live in a fairer climate, they can travel and communicate with other Navajos. Their social structure and their family structure have been supported, while the Sioux social structure and family structure, based on a warrior society, were disintegrated by the bitter battles.

Indians from the many California tribes are the people most destroyed by conquest at the hands of the white man; their culture, from all the hundreds of tribes and bands, has been decimated and was nearly extinguished in three short decades of genocide as Forbes³ and others have documented. This genocide was accomplished first by the Spaniards who established missions, using Native Californians as virtual slaves, reducing their numbers in southern California from approximately 70,000 in 1769 to about 15,000 by the 1830's. Some citations from Forbes describe the process:

From the native point of view the missions were a catastrophe of indescribable proportions, since the coastal population was largely eliminated by sickness induced by concentration in unhealthy mission compounds, new foods, new style of labor, and . . . a state of psychological depression. (p.30).

By 1873, the California-Great Basin region had only 31,000 Indians surviving, a decline of perhaps 70,000 in two decades. . . The first 30 years of the Anglo conquest were the hardest to bear...the California native population fell to a mere 16,000 in 1880, a

2. Hassrick, Royal B., The Sioux, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

3. Forbes, Jack, Native Americans of California and Nevada, Healdsburg, California, Naturegraph Publishers, 1969.

loss of 15,000 in the decade of 1870's (an almost 50% drop) and a loss of some 18,000 during the entire 30 year period (an 80% decline). (p. 59)

The California legislature adopted legislation in 1850 which made it possible for an Indian to be declared a vagabond and sold to the highest bidder for labor purposes. Throughout the state, Indian women were commonly seized and forced to serve as servants or concubines, being cast adrift after a time. (p. 60)

Thus, the family life, the very right to live, was seriously reduced as a result of the vicious conquest of all California tribal people.

The data gathered from subjects from many tribes reflect the same patterns of conquest and cultural decimation as is found for the Sioux and California peoples. Despite the Navajo people's long conquest by whites, the Navajo family remains that family still most rooted in its own culture, most able to retain its own language, and therefore Navajo children appear to be the most likely to have a strong sense of Indian identity. One Navajo mother described the process of bi-culturation for her children as follows: "They must learn to speak Navajo and talk good English."

In addition to our contacts with the 120 Native American families in the city, we also sent researchers back to the reservations, to the Pine Ridge, Fort Belknap and the Navajo reservations, to interview an additional 15 families who had returned to the reservation after "relocation."

Further, we worked intensively over a three-year period with groups of Native American children, in and out of the Oakland schools, talking with them about their life in the city. We talked with Native American teachers, government officials (BIA, welfare, courts), medicine men, singers, community workers and many others active in the Native American community. Also, we spoke with many "Indian experts" in the field, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, educators and religious persons who know something of Indian life in the city.

Finally, our work involved ourselves in a deeply personal way. We had to look deep within ourselves day in and day out in order to listen for the "truth" within the "facts." We are this research in a totally committed way, so different from the cold, scientific

"objectivity" we heard so much about in our talks with white scientists. We feel we can meet the "objective" criteria--i.e., we can accurately describe, count, systematically face our data--and yet go on in a more subjective way and come much closer to a sense of reality, a feeling of truth in all that we heard, felt, saw, documented, coded, counted and interpreted. We think this is our way to seek for truth.

In other studies of the "Americanization" of immigrants, scholars have noted how parents tried to get their children to learn the English language and to cease using "old country ways"--within two generations, the Americanization of ethnic groups from Europe was completed. Grandchildren of immigrants were unaware of their origins in any important identity sense. . . they were "100% Americans."⁴ But the "Americanization" of Indian people has not been achieved although many generations have passed.

Why would this be so?

There are possibly three major reasons for the failure of the "Americanization" of Native Americans:

- 1) This is our land, and we live on our land which has been taken in conquest (we did not "come here" either voluntarily or involuntarily from another place--this is our place).
- 2) We do not perceive the "white way" as being superior or more desirable as compared with our own cultural values.
- 3) The larger society has not clearly wished for our assimilation in its power structure. Rather, the majority society has structurally and legally separated us from other "Americans" who hold ambivalent attitudes regarding our personal qualities and values.*

To these three deeply embedded problems must be added the same barriers experienced by all others in this country who are of "color."⁵ We are visible, we are "of color," and the dominant white society

4. Bok, Edward, The Americanization of Edward Bok: The Autobiography of a Dutch Boy 50 Years After, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1937.

* See our paper "Mental Health Issues Among Urban Indians: The Myth of a Savage-Child." Given at the American Psychiatric Association Conference, Detroit, Michigan, May 1974.

5. W.E.B. DuBois wrote 70 years ago, "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line--the relations of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, New York: Fawcett Publications, 1970. p. 23

does not fully accept people of darker skins. We are of a different language and culture, so we suffer the same blight as other bilingual groups, with the additional problem that our languages are considered to be of little or no value. In fact, our many languages, like our very existence as distinct peoples, have, for 400 years, been the target for extinction by our conquerors. This virulent combination of betrayal, rejection, ambivalence and separatism has created a strained world for all Indian people. Now, the people are moving from even the poor sanctuary of the reservation into the midst of cities where many whites no longer wish to live.

But it is a characteristic found among all people that when one's own set of values is under direct attack, one is free to compare the substitute set of values, and thus to choose between opposing sets of values. In everyday life, one's values are taken-for-granted, are not questioned, and are open to a subtle process of modification. But when one's own values are openly questioned and continuously challenged, those values become explicit and cherished, are held even more tightly and kept preciously from the onslaughts of outsiders. That defense of a now-noticed-and-cherished set of values makes explicit the reasons for the preference and strengths, and becomes the personal and social underpinning of our once-taken-for-granted world.

Native American people are made aware, in all contacts with the dominant white world, that many of our values are considered undesirable and in need of overhauling. Such attitudes tend to reinforce values learned in childhood and validated by our relatives and our significant others. An Indian child, reared on the reservation, is reinforced by other tribal members, learns to think and feel in a tribal way, and thus, when assaulted with radically different values from the conquerors, tends to cling passively but tenaciously to those childhood values. Some cultural values are common to both groups, the conquered and the conqueror, other values are similar to some degrees, and still others are radically opposite and are therefore open to critical comparison and choice. Thus, an Indian child must constantly face both similar and conflicting values, and must seek continuity and harmony out of discontinuity and disharmony. These tensions never subside.

Thus, "Indianness" remains as the residual identity of a conquered people, but must constantly face the tension of outside assault from the white world. Boarding schools, job placements, forced language changes, recruitment into the armed forces--all types of association with the "outside" institutions have left important residues of Indian identity. But what now of our children born in the city; Native American children who speak English, go to schools with city

children, and are raised away from their land, their language and their traditions. Can they find and maintain their sense of self as an Indian, as a valued member of a tribal life style? This is the question we ask.

In this study, we focus upon family life, child-rearing techniques and socialization practices of urban Indian families. The major areas of analysis are:

- 1) The nature of the family's commitment to traditional Indian behavior and attitudes.
- 2) The adjustment of Native American families to the city, and an examination of the acculturation process as it impacts upon the family.
- 3) Methods of socialization, as illustrated by the family's child-rearing practices.
- 4) The correlation of the degree of Indian identity of the mother, the child-rearing practices and child experiences in the city, and the degree of urbanization of these families.

But what about the 120 families interviewed for this study? Are they "representative" of all urban Indian families?

We make no claim of "statistical representativeness," but our wide knowledge of the urban Indian population in the Bay Area has led us to accept many of our findings as being "typical," or at the very least, as not being "atypical" of urban Indian family life in this area.

(We attempted no comparisons with other urban centers, but the recognized elements of standardization in American urban complexes are such that it is reasonable to speculate that the "typical" Indian experience in Oakland and environs is also "typical" of most urban centers; the most likely exceptions are those urban communities, in such states as Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico, which are adjacent to large Indian **reservations**.)

This study has been an example of "in-culture" research methodology, an important methodological procedure which we feel has enabled us to study accurately and to more reliably describe urban Indian family life than would have been possible through exclusive use of survey methodology with a more "scientific" sample.

This feeling is based on our own knowledge of, and involvement in, the urban Indian community, and the fact that the major issues incorporated in this research are raised by the daily problems and concerns of urban Indian families themselves. To illustrate what we mean by "in-culture," this research was designed and carried out by a Native American staff who worked closely with many segments of the urban Indian community. The interviews were reciprocal, i.e., the Native American staff acted, not merely as "objective" interviewers, but rather as helpful and knowledgeable persons, working with the families we visited; e.g., one staff member remarked that the interviews had brought him many "new friends." The findings from this study were constantly fed back into various programs and activities of the urban Indian community. In short, research and community work are the same work to our staff--we are in the work, not just working as "interviewers" or "coders" or "analysts" or "researchers."

It was our goal to find the best, most accurate method of obtaining the data necessary to fulfill the objectives outlined in our original proposal. It was also our goal to coordinate our efforts with urban Indian families living in the San Francisco Bay Area. By doing this we hoped to explore new areas concerning the problems faced by newly arrived Indian families. At the same time we have tried to utilize the data we have obtained and provide assistance to Native Americans. Since we are an all-Native American research team, we hoped our work would be of value to our own people and listened to by the other people who control our very lives. We were and still are very sensitive to the fact that on one side some of our own people might not fully understand our project or its goals, and on the other side the so-called academic community might not accept our research methods because we may be thought to have "gone native" and violated the canon of objectivity in the social science disciplines.

One of the basic questions we asked ourselves was, how do we know what we have found as the primary and urgent needs of the community are the right goals we should be working towards? Our concern with this question guided us every step of the way: in selecting staff, in assigning specific responsibilities, in ascertaining the principal issues for investigation, in formulating the questions we would ask so that they would best join the critical issues. We did not view ourselves as outside "experts" who would "discover" what Indians needed; rather, we saw ourselves as instruments for fashioning a medium through which Native Americans themselves (in which category we include ourselves as well as the people we interviewed) would articulate their needs, wants, and aspirations. How we went about doing this will be made clear, we hope, in the brief description of our methodology that follows:

The staff assembled for this project are Native American university students, either graduated or near graduation. All staff members belong to the urban Native American community.

We believe it is important to have a representative from the tribes being studied as part of our research group. The Sioux sample of families was interviewed by a Sioux, and the Navajos were interviewed by a Navajo. It was different for the "California" tribes and the group we term "other" tribes. Since the California sample comprised a variety of tribes we needed a person who was not only a member of a California tribe, but had a good understanding of most California tribes. We selected a Shoshone Piate who had worked in the communities of many of the California tribes in the past. The "other" tribes group consisted of a random selection of Native American families that could have come from any place in the United States, except that they could not be Sioux, Navajo or from a California tribe. We decided, therefore, to make sure our other staff members were from tribes in the "other" tribe category, were knowledgeable about "other" tribes, and could develop a rapport with these families.

We arranged two guest lectures by Leonard Schatzman, Ph.D., who had developed some standards in construction of interview schedules and who is also considered to be an expert in the "grounded theory" in field methodology. We consulted with an expert in in-culture research, Magoroh Maruyama, Ph.D. After many weeks of formal training we talked about the non-Native American approach. Knowing that social scientists throughout this country would only accept and understand their own research methods, we decided nonetheless that some aspects of these methods were in conflict with Indian cultures and therefore inappropriate for our study. We decided to utilize, in our field approach, those elements that would best serve the goals of Indian people and would not be offensive to them.

In order to get maximum input into the selection and definition of critical issues for our study, we conducted informal discussions with many Native American mothers about what they saw as the principal problems for their children in the urban environment. Questions were asked about why they chose the urban life, how their children were doing here in the city and what they thought were the most important issues related to surviving in the city. After this task was completed, we then brought many community members together so that we could not only talk about the needs of our community, but so that we could also develop an interview schedule that would help us ask these questions of other Native Americans. This was an important aspect of our method; we wanted the families interviewed not only to understand what we were asking but also to desire to participate because we could all learn by sharing our own knowledge of our urbanization.

The first interview schedule was then developed and memorized by the staff. Our thought was that we might make the respondent more comfortable this way. But what we heard was: Why don't you have a questionnaire? When we used an outline schedule we found it more acceptable to the families. As some respondents told us after the interview, putting it down on paper implies that we won't forget important things they say that could help their community. Our second schedule was more developed to utilize the new issues found in the first interviews and also adjusted to make the interview flow.

This second schedule was a combination of both open-ended and closed questions. The interview schedule was divided into four parts: the I.D. sheet, the face sheet, Section I and Section II. The I.D. sheet was the only personal identifying part of the schedule and was used to keep track of the family until the interviewer had an appointment. As soon as the interview was over the I.D. sheet was removed for confidentiality. The face sheet gave us all the data necessary to have a general family history. This was very important because we wanted to maintain a balanced sample of both female and male focal children.

Section I was divided into four parts:

- Part 1: More family history, mobility patterns, family interaction and socialization.
- Part 2: Interaction with the community, use of social service agencies and urban survival.
- Part 3: Mother/father experience on the reservation or in an Indian community before relocation.
- Part 4: Questions relating to the education and socialization of a focal child that was selected by each family.

The last part of the interview schedule was Section II, which was from another study and dealt with self-care and discipline.* We told the parents that we would like to get some of their ideas of how they brought up their children.

We feel the reader can safely use our findings for better understanding of some of the coping processes of urban Indian families, some of their strengths, and some of the problems they face.

*David Kallen and Dorothy Miller, Public Images of Foster Care, NICHD Report #70-2303, SAC, 1973. This report includes a survey of white and black urban women's attitudes toward child-rearing practices. We use this data for comparisons with other urban mothers, both black and white.

In order to make the study focus upon child-rearing practices, we asked each family to select a "focal child," i.e., one particular child, no older than 18, whose mother had moved here on relocation and directly confronted the problems of child-rearing. After a child was selected all questions were asked in relation to only that child's life unless otherwise noted. Our ultimate control over selection of the focal child was to be sure we had a representative distribution by sex and age.

CHAPTER III: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF URBAN INDIAN FAMILIES

Who are these families, how did they come to the city, where did they come from, and what is happening to them here?

In the course of our talks with 120 families, we covered a broad range of issues, and in this section we present some of our findings regarding the families' background, and descriptions of their social and demographic status.

Relocation, moving from reservation to urban life, creates sharp cleavages, but most families retain close relationships with extended families still living on the reservation. Thus, while the "first generation" Indian family may be confronting sharp discontinuity in their life styles, they retain tribal identity. The new arrival may have a stronger sense of Indian self identification than might be the case for those Native Americans who have lived away from the reservation in small towns, been in the service, or previously lived in a "white world." Therefore, we felt it was important to look for differences between the "new" relocatees and those who had longer periods of experience in off-reservation life.

In Table 1, we present findings as to where the four groups resided before coming to the Bay Area.

TABLE 1. FAMILY RESIDENCE PRIOR TO RELOCATION* (Percentage; N=120)

<u>PREVIOUS HOME</u>	<u>SIOUX</u>	<u>NAVAJO</u>	<u>CALIF.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Reservation or Indian Community	77%	77%	57%	67%	69%
Small Town	3%	0%	12%	10%	7%
Urban	20%	23%	30%	23%	23%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	30	30	120

As can be seen, in Table 1, California Indians were more likely to have come to the city from other city or town experiences than was true for all other Indian families in the sample, over two-thirds of whom came to the city from their reservation. Most California Indians reside in small towns and scattered rural areas. The children attend public schools

*According to the 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report American Indians, one-fifth of all Indians live in states other than the one in which they were born. Forty percent of the urban Indian population is under 18.

in small rural towns where they hold "second class" citizenship. They are treated as "outsiders," the negative stereotype of the white community is often stronger than the decimated culture of the small Indian band. Many of our California Indian respondents told of the bigotry and prejudice they experienced attending these small town schools. This became a strong motivating force for them to move into the larger cities to get away from the negative attitudes of rural California toward Indians. One Pomo mother (California tribe) told us that in her view many California Indians grew up afraid and ashamed of being "Indian," and would take Mexican names or try to marry into Mexican families due to the white prejudice toward Indians. She feels this attitude is changing now, and she hopes her children will grow up proud of their true heritage. Over and over, California Indians told us that they came to the city to get "lost," to avoid the prejudice and discrimination they grew up with in rural areas and small California towns. One mother wanted to develop a Pomo dance group in the city, since most pow-wow dancing reflects Plains Indian culture. (Pomo dancing is very different in dress, style, cadence--each dance telling us an allegorical story.)

The length of time these families were in the urban area and the reason for coming to the city are very important considerations for this study. The BIA relocation programs became very intensive after 1960. Twenty percent of our families had come to the Bay Area prior to 1960. The tribal distribution of arrivals before and after 1960 is shown below:

TABLE 2. FAMILY RELOCATION BEFORE AND AFTER 1960 BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=113)

RELOCATION	SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Before 1960	14%	31%	23%	17%	21%
After 1960	86%	69%	77%	83%	79%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	28	29	26	30	113

The families came, seeking a "better way," seeking jobs, education, adventure, new life styles and new meanings. Many were "sent" by the BIA Relocation or Employment Training Programs, others came without formal BIA support. As can be seen in Table 3, over two-thirds of the families interviewed were relocated under a BIA or job-training program.

TABLE 3. TYPE OF FAMILY RELOCATION TO THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=117)

TYPE RELOCATION	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Self Relocated	48%	20%	28%	41%	34%
BIA Relocation Program	52%	80%	72%*	59%	66%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	29	30	29	29	117

Most Navajo families were relocated by the BIA, while almost one-half of the Sioux families came to the Bay Area without governmental recruitment or assistance.

Among the Sioux, many came because they sought jobs or a better way of life, and depended upon contacting friends or relatives already in the city. Life on the Sioux reservation has been very difficult due to the lack of job and educational opportunities. For example, one Sioux mother told of her coming to the city as a search "for adventure. I came out with my girlfriend who had a sister already living in the Bay Area. I came for a vacation and stayed."

The Navajo Nation has been more organized, given their size and contiguous culture and land base, so that most Navajos are in contact with Federally-sponsored programs, such as afforded by the BIA Employment Assistance or various educational projects, and thus were able to get relocation assistance.

The BIA relocation assistance is available only to those who are recruited from the reservations within the program, except for California Indians as noted below. One Sioux mother told us about her community work in the city to help other new arrivals. She said: "You see, we made up a program with committees. People that came on relocation have the BIA to go to, but if you don't come on relocation, the BIA has nothing to do with you. So we set up this office and we take in the people that are not on relocation to find housing, employment, assisting them with food, clothing and emergency help." This is a reflection of Native Americans' value of sharing and helping all Indians, using self-help and community resources, a basic survival strength little understood by many officials and others.

*It was later found, in our data collection, that the California families were answering that they were self relocated and went on BIA training programs after they were already living here in the city.

The informal social network of family and friends is very important to the newly arrived relocatee. One mother told us: "Relatives are very important. They make you more secure." Another mother told us that her relatives "would help without being asked. It's just our way, I guess. Just being there would be helpful because we are so close." Many Indians, coming to the city, come first to relatives or friends from "back home."

We asked the mothers in our sample, who they contacted when they first came to the city and the distribution is as follows:

TABLE 4. RESPONDENT'S FIRST CONTACT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=118)

<u>NEWCOMERS' CONTACTS</u>	<u>SIOUX</u>	<u>NAVAJO</u>	<u>CALIF.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Relatives	50%	17%	52%	17%	34%
Other Indians	47%	63%	31%	68%	52%
Non-Indians	3%	20%	17%	13%	13%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	29	29	118

As can be seen, Indians seek out other Indians when they come to the city. This system of mutual support and welcome makes city life possible.

Relatives are especially important to Indian people, for the sharing of life within extended families is an important cultural residual to all Indians. We asked our subjects where their close relatives lived, and how often they saw them.

TABLE 5. CLOSE RELATIVES LIVE IN THE CITY AND HOW OFTEN SEEN BY TRIBE (Percentage)

	<u>Live Urban</u>	<u>See Often</u>
Sioux	40%	66%
Navajo	7%	57%
California	50%	100%
Other	20%	50%

Navajos were often in the city without close family members, while the importance of seeing Indian relatives frequently was true for two-thirds of all subjects. Thus the family remains an important stronghold for many Indians, despite the relocation process.

We then asked our subjects about the importance of their relatives with regard to their own urban adjustment.

TABLE 6. RELATIVES' IMPORTANCE FOR URBAN ADJUSTMENT BY TRIBE (Percentage)

	<u>Important</u>
Sioux	77%
Navajo	97%
California	87%
Other	83%

As can be seen, relatives are very important to urban Indians' ability to adjust to the stress of the city. In an isolated position within the strange city, family life is like a sanctuary, where one can find one's self, talk with people who know you and it is from such social interaction that strength and warmth and increased survival skills are provided.

Not only do relatives provide psychological support, but all types of financial and informational assistance as well. We asked the mothers if they could expect assistance in cases of emergency from their relatives and nearly all agreed that they could and do. Their responses are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7. RELATIVES GIVE ASSISTANCE IN EMERGENCIES BY TRIBE (Percentage)

	<u>Yes</u>
Sioux	72%
Navajo	86%
California	86%
Other	77%

The sharing of resources is an important part of Native American life. One mother told us: "We help our relatives with everything we can. If we're broke and they need food we share what we have with them." Yet this deep-seated cultural value makes it difficult for individual families to accumulate any form of wealth, and is a value little understood in the white world.

Employers may be unable to accept irregular attendance by an Indian employee who may take off to help relatives in trouble. One family returned to the reservation, despite their general economic security in the city, because, as one mother told us: "We came back because my husband wanted to take care of his mother."

Relatives are the first line resource, but other Native Americans, individuals and organizations, also play an important role in helping new arrivals find themselves in the city. Many of our respondents told us about going to Indian Centers, pow-wows and Indian bars in order to find other Indians. Many of the parents felt the social activities of dancing, of sharing picnics and attending Indian pow-wows helped them maintain the "tribal feeling" and make adjustment to the city.

We recognize the emergence of cultural norms in the city based on Indian ways--sharing, cooperation, helpfulness and generosity to one's relatives and family. Yet the norms may indeed be dysfunctional in the larger white society, and this problem is ever-present in our lives, to share or not to share, to give or to hold back, to go or to stay. Such a constant value conflict is little understood by the employer whose employee fails to come to work because a relative needed help, or a creditor who doesn't get paid because a sister came to the city. Thus, every urban Indian family is torn between the "Indian ways" of sharing and the "white ways" of selfishness. Out of such a psychologically destructive situation, many defense mechanisms can emerge, apathy (not doing anything), getting drunk (not facing problems), flight (leaving the scene), getting depressed (turning against oneself), going into a rage (getting angry at the world), doing and undoing (giving and getting)...in short, all types of tension-release activity may occur. Children reared in such a conflictual cultural structure form the nucleus for this study.

These conflicting cultural norms are further complicated by the urban Indian residential patterns. At the time of relocation, many families are placed by the BIA in available slum housing throughout the inner city of Oakland. As one of the mothers put it: "We Indians don't even have our own ghettos." But, in fact, Indians do reside in the most impoverished residential areas, and look to upward mobility as moving to a place where they would be able to find trees, grass, and space.

The residential patterns follow the BIA selection of "relocation residence" for Indians they move in from the reservation. Indians look for housing in areas where other Indians live, but find they must compete for the lowest cost housing (which they must find) with all other minority people of the urban areas. Thus, a feeling of homogeneity and closeness is difficult to maintain within the residential structure. Thus, the symbolic closeness to other Indians achieves even greater importance to urban Indian families.*

*According to the 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report American Indians, urban Indians tend to live in poverty and working class neighborhoods and in the rural fringes of major cities. In urban areas, the proportion of Indian households living in dwellings without toilets is 14 times greater than it is for the total U.S. urban population.

Many Indians talk about the need to be with other Indians, and actively seek contact, both within their own tribal group and with other Indian groups in the city. "Indians seek out Indians" is the rule. There are many places in the city such as the Indian centers and churches, where the people can gather to meet and to feel "at home." This desire of immigrants everywhere to meet their own kind has been fully documented for many ethnic and racial groups. However, for Indians, the finding of one's own kind is more complex, due to tribal diversity and a great variety in life style. Further, Indians have few other options for socialization. In the city, an Indian is an object of curiosity, pity or contempt, depending on the circumstances. He is a "rare event," and thus often unable to blend into the surroundings or to mingle naturally with other residents.

Over one-half of our sample families still reside in an apartment, and 70 percent stated they would prefer to move elsewhere if they could possibly afford to do so. They stated they would prefer to live on the edge of the city--where they could see a tree, view the sunrise, or just see the hills. Yet, many accepted their place of residence in the face of reality. We asked them where they would prefer to move, if they could, and their answers are reflected below:

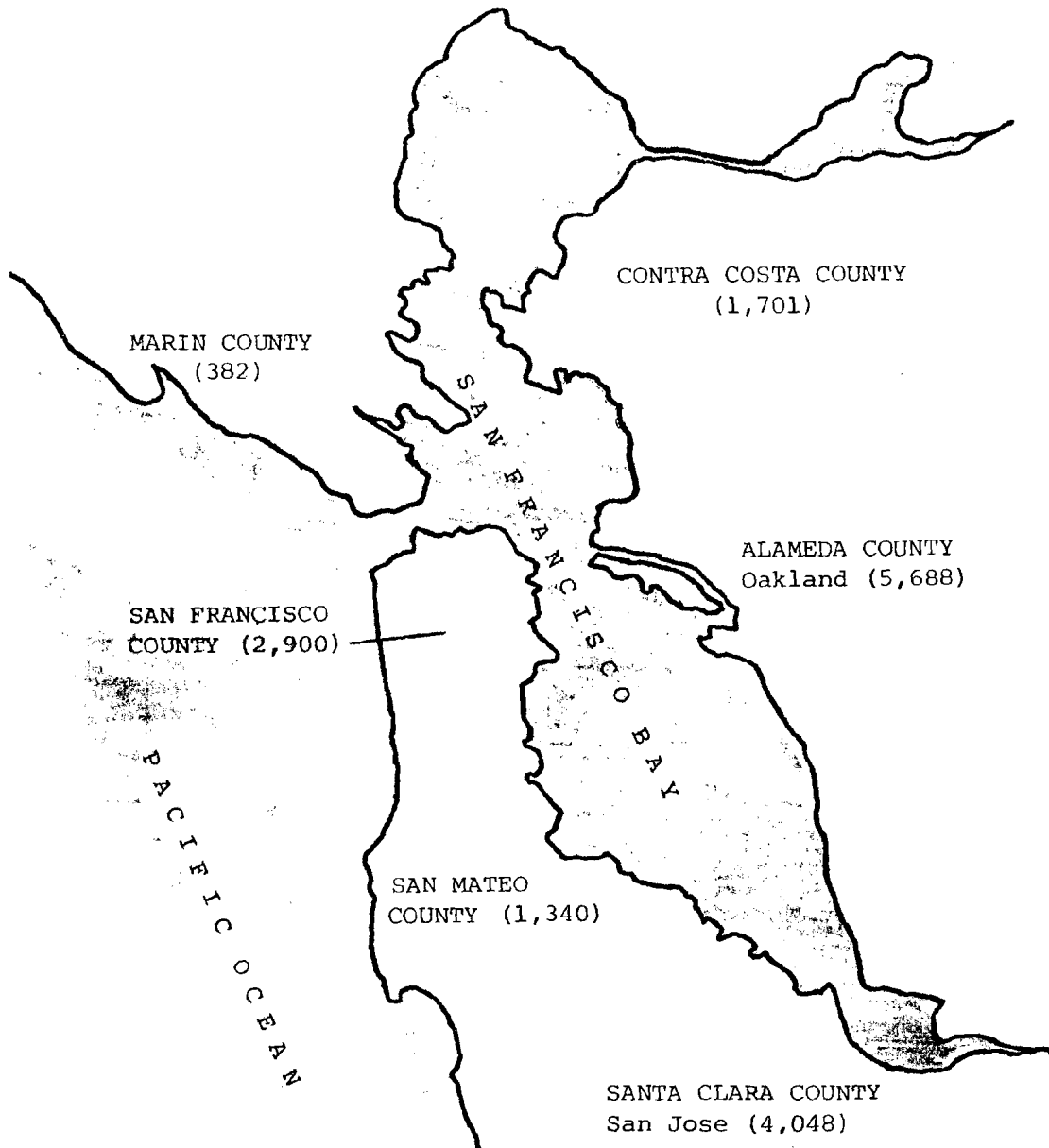
TABLE 8. RESPONDENT'S PREFERENCE FOR PLACE TO LIVE BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=117)

MOVE WHERE	SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Alright Here	32%	30%	31%	14%	27%
Better Area	60%	53%	55%	79%	61%
Back Home (Reservation)	8%	17%	14%	7%	12%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	29	28	117

As noted, while 70 percent were dissatisfied with their present residence in the city, still most would like to remain in the urban area, residing in a "better area" (with grass, trees, etc.). Almost one-fifth of the Navajos and California Indians stated, however, that they would like to move "back home" if it would be possible to make a living there. These findings reflect the ambivalence among a certain segment of the urban families, many of whom actually do leave the city to return to their "homes" on the reservation. This "flight-pattern" is a noticeable aspect of urban Indians' prolonged attempt to come to terms with the city, while maintaining close ties with their reservations.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA URBAN INDIAN POPULATION

1970 CENSUS*



*It must be noted that these figures have been disputed by many Native Americans who believe they are misleading and undercount our people, who are, as a population, very mobile in the urban centers. The special U.S. Census report on American Indians also elaborates on this issue. (A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol III: American Indians, 1974, p. 7.)

The city residential pattern is that of semi-isolation in many cases , especially among Native American families who resided in black neighborhoods. In such cases, the mothers told us they were not acquainted with their neighbors, and didn't "like them" (43%).

The isolation was furthered by the limited transportation means available to many families, one-fourth of whom had no car, and had to walk or use public transportation.

The Urban Indian Family

Family life is the core of Native American culture and families are large, complex, extended and intensively interdependent. On the reservation, life is close, all family members, both nuclear and extended, maintain close ties. One of the most serious adjustment problems urban Indians face is the harsh and difficult interaction within the nuclear family pattern. For some families there are no ready grandparents, sisters, aunts or cousins available to help meet the daily problems. Instead, a man and wife must provide all care and resources for their children. Nuclear family life creates many tensions for all, but for relocated Indians, this family type is especially difficult. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census, 19% of the urban Indian families are headed by a female, as compared with 11% for the population as a whole. In our sample, one-third of our families were headed by unmarried or separated mothers. We feel this is possibly due to the fact that the Census data does not accurately reflect the sensitive nature of marital status among Indian mothers.

Among the Sioux mothers, 47 percent were single as contrasted with 13 percent of the Navajo mothers. This contrast may well reflect the different cultural values regarding the conjugal family. It may also reflect the greater cultural support for the Navajo family as contrasted with the serious pressures faced by Sioux women, so distant from their families, their homes, and their supporting cultural network.

The marital status of our families by tribe is shown in the following table.

TABLE 9. MOTHER'S MARITAL STATUS BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=120)

MARITAL STATUS	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Single	47%	13%	40%	33%	33%
Married, Same Tribe	33%	67%	10%	17%	32%
Married, Other Tribe	3%	17%	40%	43%	26%
Married, Non-Indian	17%	3%	10%	7%	9%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	30	30	120

The Navajo family is the most intact, with most Navajo mothers being married to a Navajo, while only one-third of the Sioux mothers, 10 percent of the California Indian mothers and 17 percent of the mothers from other tribes were married to husbands from their own tribes. Further, Sioux mothers were more likely to be married to non-Indians (17%) as compared with 10 percent of the California Indian mothers, seven percent of mothers from other tribes and three percent of the Navajo mothers. Outmarriage is generally a reflection of "assimilation," of a blending of different cultures, and this appears to be occurring less frequently among the Navajos than other mothers.

The problem of Indian outmarriage presents a serious threat to the children of these marriages in view of the various "blood quantum" definitions held by some tribes, i.e., children of Indian descent may lose their tribal membership as intermarriages continue. The 1970 Census report stated that barely three-fifths of all births registered as Indian show both parents as Indian. This "blood quantum" distinction divides us per BIA registration (tribal roll number) into "full-blood," "half-breed," "quarter-breed," leading eventually to the labeling of Indian people as "registered" and "non-registered." This is a living example of the manner in which bureaucratic definitions held by the government have divided and controlled the identity of Indian people.

In the light of census data, our findings appear to indicate the greater degree of solidarity within the Navajo culture itself, and may be a reflection of the role and strength of the Navajo woman within her family.*

Among the urban Indian families with a male head of household (married or not), 15 percent of these household heads were stepfathers. This was greatest among the California Indian families (22% had stepfathers in the home).

The urban Indian family is also affected by the formations of sub-families within the nuclear family structure. A sub-family is either a husband and wife unit living with a related head of the household or a single parent and children living in their relatives' home. According to the 1970 Census, a large proportion of American Indian families, compared to the total U.S. population, contain sub-families, i.e., six percent as compared to two percent or three times as often.

Among our respondents we found relatives residing with 14 percent of the families, as shown in the table below.

*According to the 1970 Census, more than one-third of all Indians marry non-Indians and this high level of Indian intermarriage occurs more frequently among urban Indians, 51% of all married urban Indian women have a non-Indian spouse. (A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. III: American Indians, 1974, p. ii.)

TABLE 10. RELATIVES LIVING WITH FAMILY

	Relatives of Mother	Relatives of Father	Total
Sioux	6%	0	6%
Navajo	6%	6%	12%
California	20%	6%	26%
Other	10%	3%	13%
Total	10%	4%	14%

As can be seen, there were more sub-families among our California Indian families, which may reflect the nearness of relatives' homes. But again, our data show the continued existence of the more traditional Native American life style in the city.

Not only did our families contain sub-families, but also many homes contained other visitors; Indians from "back home," other friends or relatives, etc. A non-relative was living with 6% of our families. Thus, these urban Indian families are more extended than most nuclear families. The mother-headed families, in particular, tended to have relatives or friends present, all important defenses against feelings of isolation, abandonment, and loneliness. Many Indian mothers told us of their feelings of being alone, and of missing the closeness of family and friends in the city.

We asked what work these other relatives and friends were doing in the city, and we found that nearly one-half were seeking employment, one-third were employed, while 22 percent were students.

Parents' Educational Background

In general, the relocation policies over the past two decades have served to bring many of the young families, often those best educated, to the city. The U.S. Census, 1970, shows that 48 percent of all adult male Indians and 50 percent of all adult female Indians live in the city, most of them are from 20 to 30 years of age. The median age for males living in the city is 22 years and for women 23.2 years.

Educational levels among urban Indians are higher than those of rural Indians as is shown in the following table from the U.S. Census. We offer this table as background material only for the educational differences between all rural and urban Indians. It does not consider age grading such as that reflected in data from our young families.

TABLE 11. SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FEMALE AMERICAN INDIANS: URBAN VS. RURAL, U.S. CENSUS, 1970

	Urban	Rural
% with less than eighth grade	28	47
% attaining grades 8-12	26	29
% high school graduates	42	23
% four years college or more	3.6	1.1

There is a high mobility of high school graduates from rural to urban areas. This is reflected in the educational status of the Indian mothers we interviewed.

TABLE 12a. EDUCATION OF MOTHERS BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=120)

MOTHERS' EDUCATION	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Less than 8th grade	6%	23%	0%	0%	8%
8th-12th GED	80%	67%	80%	90%	79%
Some College	13%	10%	20%	10%	13%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	30	30	120

As can be seen, our urban Indian mothers were somewhat better educated than other Indian females reported in the 1970 Census (42% high school graduates to 71% in this sample). We feel there are three reasons for this difference: (1) the number of Indian women high school graduates is increasing each year, and our percentage reflects a five year increase since the Census figures; (2) the age spread of the total Urban Indian sample in U.S. Census is all over 14 while our sample includes women 20-40 years of age; (3) we took into account GED certificates as well as formal graduation from high school; and (4) our snowball sample tended to reflect the Indian women who are actively involved in the urban Indian community.

As can be seen in the above table, Navajo women tended to be the least well-educated group among all Indian women, again reflecting the greater degree of Indian cultural influence as distinct from the somewhat more "acculturated" tribal women.

Many Indian mothers obtained their secondary education at BIA Boarding Schools or in private religious boarding schools. We asked each mother where she attended school, and this is reflected in the table below.

TABLE 12b. MOTHER'S SECONDARY SCHOOL TYPE, BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=120)

<u>MOTHER'S SECONDARY SCHOOL</u>	<u>SIoux</u>	<u>NAVAJO</u>	<u>CALIF.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
BIA Boarding School	40%	67%	3%	37%	36%
Public School	27%	20%	90%	50%	47%
Private (Mission) School	33%	13%	7%	13%	17%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	30	30	120

As can be seen, over one-half of our Indian mothers were educated in an institutional boarding school, either a BIA or a religious private boarding school.

The impact of boarding school education upon the mothering behavior of Indian women has been studied by Metcalf⁶ who found that child-rearing practices were greatly influenced by the negative results of boarding school experiences of the mother.

Among our mothers, nine percent were currently attending either a trade school or other educational facility. Among the fathers living in the home, 12 percent were currently attending some type of school. As can be seen, many of our families came to the city to obtain further education or training, yet only a few are actually attending school at this time.

Source of Support

These young urban Indian families find economic hardship in the city, as they had on the reservation. One new hardship for many is the payment of rent and health care which is a new experience for many reservation Indians. The amount earned by working in the city sounds "big" on the reservation. In the city, rent, medical and dental care, babysitting and transportation (all once a part of reservation life) cost a great deal. Many Indians complain about these changes.

One mother told us, "I think the marriages were better on the reservation because you don't have to worry about bills. It's easy to stay together on the reservation, but in the city you worry about rent . . . too much responsibility."

⁶Metcalf, Ann, The Effects of Boarding School on Navajo Self-Image and Maternal Behavior, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1975.

Another mother who returned from the city to live on the reservation told us, "Our marriage was happier on the reservation because of the lack of financial strain."

Another mother who returned with the family to the reservation told us, "The rent was more than we could make; my husband wasn't making enough money. What he had he drank up, and finally he couldn't work, so we came back."

The unhealthy conditions of the city and the difficulty in obtaining and paying for medical care also served to move some families back to the reservation.

"We left the city because the rent was too high. We wanted to come home--better for our kids to work with their own people. The city was too noisy; there were too many people; and the air is polluted."

Health care on the reservation is free, and although often distant and inadequate, is nevertheless thought to be an Indian "right." In the city, obtaining medical care was often confusing and expensive. One mother told us, "I had all kinds of problems when I got sick in the city. The hospital was full of problems. I had to go through too much red tape."

We asked our urban mothers where they obtained needed medical care in the city. Some families had medical insurance, or received Medi-Cal services from public welfare. Nearly one-half of the mothers told us they had no hospital or medical insurance. We asked where they did turn at times of medical need, and the responses are in the following table:

TABLE 13. LOCATION OF RESPONDENT'S HEALTH SERVICES BY TRIBE (Percentage; (N=119)

LOCATION OF HEALTH SERVICE	SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Hospital/Clinic	61%	87%	50%	80%	69%
Urban Indian Clinic*	14%	10%	17%	10%	13%
Private Doctor	25%	3%	33%	10%	18%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	29	30	30	30	119

*The Urban Indian Health Clinic is situated in the city of San Francisco, and a large percentage of our respondents live in the Oakland and San Jose areas, which are 15 miles and 45 miles away from the clinic respectively.

We asked the urban mothers about the reasons for difficulty in obtaining adequate medical care in the city. Forty-one percent stated they had insufficient money, 28 percent stated their medical insurance rates were too high, and 10 percent had inadequate transportation. Over one-fifth of the mothers complained about the type of medical care and treatment that they received, particularly at the public hospitals and clinics. Some of these complaints had to do with responses made to attitudes they have toward their own bodies (attitudes of modesty, pride and need to be "brave" in the face of pain). Some complaints have to do with being poor and sick in the city--problems of waiting for services, problems of paperwork, of referral, of not knowing "the system." For over one-fourth of our mothers, even using a telephone to arrange for goods or services becomes something of a problem, since they do not have a telephone, but must rely on friends, neighbors or the public telephones. Further, as previously noted, many mothers do not have the use of a car, and must rely on friends or public transportation.

Thus, urban life means living on "money"--and life without money isn't possible in the city--a difficult fact for Indian people to learn and understand. Where is the money to be found?

Employment

BIA job-training programs affected many of these urban Indian families, although not many actually completed training or were placed in jobs as a result of the training. Among the mothers of the families, two-thirds had not completed job training, while seven percent had been trained as beauticians, 18 percent as clerical workers, and eight percent had training as medical assistants. Nearly two-thirds of the mothers were housewives, or unemployed, while nine percent were in trade school or other educational settings.* More California tribal women were employed or in training than was true of other tribal women, reflecting perhaps a greater degree of "socialization" into the white work world among California Indians, who had the least amount of tribal structure or identity.

Two-thirds of the families studied had a father present in the home. Among the fathers in the families under study, 14 percent were unemployed, while 12 percent were in some type of training. Among those in the labor market, nearly one-half were employed at blue-collar, low-skill jobs, many on a part-time or a temporary basis. Employed fathers were present in only one-half of the urban Indian homes and many of those were in temporary work. The role of the Indian father in urban society presents a difficult model to his children.

*According to the U.S. Census report, urban Indian women are moving into the labor force at the same rate as the women in the general population. Employment opportunities are greater for Indians in urban areas than in rural areas. However, the urban Indian unemployment rate (in 1970) was more than twice the total national rate. In the present period of recession, the urban Indian unemployment rate may be as high as one-third to one-half of the labor force.

The Indian father faces a difficult transition in the city. Indians have the lowest rate of male labor force participation of any group in the U.S. Only 63 percent of men 16 years of age and over are in the labor force, 14 percent below the U.S. total average, and urban Indian males have an unemployment rate three times greater than the total U.S. rate.

The traditional role of the male in the Indian home is an important cultural feature of Indian life although there are variations in the particular practice among different tribes. As traditional tribal life eroded, Indian men have fallen in battle, been killed in accidents or by their own hand, or died of tuberculosis or alcoholism in large numbers. Indian mothers and grandmothers have assumed the major job of caring for the family.

For example, among the Sioux, the traditional cultural pattern was organized around the male warrior as the central figure for providing and caring for and protecting the family and the tribe. The Sioux family may have contained more than one wife, but always the role of the father was central to family and tribal life. Now, after a century of struggle, Sioux family life has taken on the nuclear family type as one of the residual attributes of the white culture, i.e., one man and one wife. Yet there has been almost no way a man could provide for, protect and defend even a nuclear family, given the lack of opportunities on the reservation. As is true of all Plains Indians, the traditional Sioux family life has been greatly affected by the destruction of the patrilocal, consanguine family life. As one Sioux mother told us, "My great grandmother used to say, 'If the boys are lazy, there is no family, there is no home.'" Statements such as this highlight the importance of the father in an Indian home.

In the table following, we can see that Indian marriages vary by tribe.

TABLE 14. MOTHERS AS HEADS OF FAMILIES BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=120)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Not Presently Married</u>
Sioux	53%	47%
Navajo	87%	13%
California	60%	40%
Other	67%	33%

As can be seen, 47% of the Sioux, as contrasted with 13% of the Navajo mothers head their families. One-third of the other tribes and 40% of the California Indian families are headed by women.

Navajo culture is matrilineal; the mother is the holder of the wealth and status. This attitude was restated by one of the Navajo mothers who told us, "My mother makes the ultimate decision. After she decides, the brothers and the sisters carry out her decisions. All of us know this, and expect things to go as she says. Of course, there are some brothers or sisters who would go against this, and that is not good, I feel." Navajo mothers were best able to hold their husbands and families together.

Among the Navajo families, all fathers in the home were working. Thus, in terms of employed fathers present in the home, the Navajo family was more intact than was the Sioux family. The California Indian families, whose culture and heritage had also been decimated by the conqueror, were only slightly better off than the Sioux in this respect.

Many urban Indian families are broken by the onslaught of city life, as even the remaining nuclear family is weakened by unemployment and economic pressure.*

One-half of the Indian mothers work, either full or part-time, outside the home, either as the sole breadwinners or to supplement the earnings of their husbands. Eight percent are presently unemployed and seeking work, while another 10 percent are students in

*The nuclear family, as a type, poses problems for all people. The nuclear family is a unique and rather dysfunctional emergent from the industrial revolution. Slater (1970) drawing on the traditions of Sorokin, Louis Worth, Thomas and Znaniecki, argues that basic human desires for "community, for engagement, and for dependents are frustrated by the American lifestyle. Americans no longer, as in the past, take refuge in institutions such as the extended family and stable local neighborhoods." Other writers such as Parsons and Bales (1955) have called attention to the increased vulnerability of the family in time of rapid social change. Defects are thought to fall most heavily on the urban poor (Raab and Selznick, 1959). The urban Indian family is caught up in these broader stresses, as well as the cultural conflict situation. (See Raab, and Selznick, Major Social Problems, New York; Harper & Row, 1959; Parson Talbot and R. Bales, Family Socialization and Interaction Process, New York, Press, 1955; and Slater, P., The Pursuit of Loneliness; American Culture at the Breaking Point, Boston; Beacon Press, 1970).

some type of educational facility.

In one-third of the Indian families last year there was no income from wages or salaries, while 14 percent of the families earned insignificant amounts from wages over the previous year. Thus, one half of our families were not "earning a living" in the labor market.

Twenty-seven percent of the urban Indian families we interviewed were receiving some form of public welfare, while another ten percent reported their only income as being from unemployment insurance. According to the 1970 census, nearly 15 percent of all urban Indian families were receiving public welfare, three times the rate for the rest of the U.S. urban population.

Among our urban families, only nine percent were receiving any financial assistance of any kind from BIA programs. Of these, most were receiving some form of training stipend or relocation aid, for a temporary period only.

As can be seen, the economic problem of the urban Indian population has not greatly improved from that found in reservation life. According to data from the 1970 census, the economic status of the Indian continues to be far below that of the total national population. Of all urban Indian families, one sixth has an income under \$3,000, while on the reservation one third of the Indian families has an income under \$3,000. The dreams of the affluence of the city have bypassed one-half of the urban Indian families.

For another portion of the urban families, wages from employed heads of households have been sufficient to allow for modest upward mobility--buying a tract home, a good truck or van, or providing for "vacations back home." In general, when the nuclear family remains intact and the father is regularly employed, the urban Indian family is able to achieve modest economic gains. But these gains are easily wiped out by family problems, illness or layoffs, and the city affluence is more of a myth than a reality for many urban Indian families.

One "successfully adjusted" Indian mother told us that other tribal people have been telling her that "she doesn't act like an Indian." She married a white man and doesn't feel close or obligated to her Indian relatives. She came to the city when she was eleven years old and told us she was brought up in the white world and "could handle it." This is one of the few mothers we talked with who felt "assimilated" in the white world, and was rejecting her Indian family and cultural ties.

Such cultural ties appear to be closely associated with self-identity, and we now turn to the life and identity structure of our Native American children who are growing up in the city, away from their cultural roots, away from the land, away from the tribal land.

CHAPTER IV: THE URBAN INDIAN CHILD

In this chapter, we will describe the life of a group of Native American children who are growing up in the city.

We have described some of the sociodemographic characteristics of the urban Indian families. Many live in mother-headed families; some with other relatives and friends in the home; others live in homes where both parents work; most live in shabby apartments or houses in the inner city, surrounded by the black ghetto. Many of the families are poor, and all are struggling with the new ways of the city.

These young Indian families have, on the average, approximately three young children in the home.* The mean number of children per family varied by tribe as follows:

TABLE 15: MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY BY TRIBE

<u>MEAN NUMBER</u>	<u>SIOUX</u>	<u>NAVAJO</u>	<u>CALIF.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
Mean Number	3.3	3.0	2.0	2.8

For purposes of this study, we asked each mother to select one of her children as the "focal child," i.e., that child which she felt most represented her family experiences in the city. The ages of focal children studied varied from one year to 17 years of age. Fifty-three percent were boys and 47 percent were girls. The average age of these focal children was 9.2 years, although they varied considerably, as can be seen in the following table.

*According to the 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report American Indians, Indians had the largest percent of population increase of any group in the country in the past decade; 40 percent of the urban Indian population is under 18 years of age. Over one-third of the Indian families contain one or more children under the age of six. One-third of the urban Indian families contain five or more persons.

TABLE 16: AGE OF FOCAL CHILD, BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=120)

AGE	SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Less than 6 years	20%	27%	17%	23%	22%
6 - 11 years	40%	40%	53%	44%	44%
12 - 14 years	20%	17%	23%	23%	21%
15 - 17 years	20%	16%	8%	10%	13%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	30	30	30	30	120

These young Indian children are among the first all-urban generation, 56 percent of them being born in the city and residing there all of their lives.

The following table shows the birth place of these children by tribe, as compared with the place where mothers were born.

TABLE 17 : BIRTHPLACE OF FOCAL CHILD, COMPARED WITH MOTHER BY TRIBE (Percentage; N=120)

PLACE BORN		SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
RESERVATION	Mother	100%	93%	73%	87%	88%
	Child	43%	56%	40%	36%	44%
URBAN	Mother	0	7%	27%	13%	12%
	Child	57%	44%	60%	64%	56%

As the preceding table clearly shows, there is a great inter-generation mobility from the reservation to the city. While only 12 percent of all mothers were born in an urban area, 56 percent of the children were born in the city.

Child care among extended families has always been taken for granted. On the reservation, a child may stay for extended periods of time with relatives or clan members. But in the city, child care becomes a matter of great concern to Indian parents. Only 28 percent of our families had close relatives living in the urban areas.

Since over one-fourth of the children were of preschool age, and 44% were of elementary school age, urban Indian mothers were facing child care problems if they were to obtain job training, attend school or seek employment. One mother told us, "If we go anywhere, we go together--This is the Indian way." Children are everywhere a total part of Indian life, and the age-grade separation of children into various classes in schools or separate child care centers is looked upon as a practice which divides the family. Another mother told us, "I always take the children with me. If I can't take them, I don't go." Thus, at community gatherings, children are always present. At pow-wows, children dance along with adults--there is no sense of separation of age among Indian people.

We asked the mothers who they would prefer to take care of their child when they worked or attended school. Over three-fourths of the mothers stated they would prefer to leave their child with relatives or friends. Of those who wanted some form of institutional child care, one-half stated they would like to have an all-Indian day care center available for their children, while the other half preferred some other type of day care or Head Start program for their small children.

The urban schools where Indian children go are spread throughout the city area. There is no single school with a significant number of Indian students in attendance. Thus, Indian children go to school with all other inner city youth. The 92 school children in our study attend 69 different schools.

Friendship patterns are of particular importance for Indian children, since so much of the socialization process involves eye-to-eye continuous contact with significant others. Indian mothers indicated a sense of social and cultural isolation, of living separate from other Indian families, and of traveling to pow-wows and social events in order to meet and be with other Indian people. This isolation factor is of particular significance for Indian children who attend schools with a very small or non-existent Indian population. Indian children still manage to form and maintain an Indian peer group, even though their school mates are most often non-Indian. Most young Indian adolescents socialize with other Indians, meeting at centers, parks, etc. after school .

Some of the Indian mothers were particularly concerned about this cultural isolation, feeling that their child was losing out on experiences that had been valuable to themselves as children on the reservations.

Many of the mothers recalled their own schooling experience with a great sense of bitterness, especially those mothers who had been educated in reservation boarding schools (53 percent

of our mothers attended boarding schools) and one such mother told us:

I had no choice. I didn't have parents, so I had to stay at the school throughout the summer and winter, year round. I should be smart, but I'm not. [joke] It was good in the summer--we would go swimming, but during the winter months, if you didn't have proper clothes, you were always freezing. I had an education behind the axe, that's all we did all year round, chop wood, that's my education!

A mother's attitude toward her own child's education would be, in part, based upon her own experiences with her own education. For example, we asked our mothers about their own parents' attitude toward their education. They told us that only one-third of their parents had felt an education was important, and thus their own educational attainment has been forged, in part, out of the general ambivalent attitude of older Indians toward "white man's schooling."

These ambivalent attitudes toward education are directly related to the history of Indian people. Early schools for Indians were viewed as prisons, or as hostile and foreign experiences. The early schools run by various religious groups and the BIA forced "education" upon Indian children, who were picked up from their homes each fall by agents who were sent out to "harvest" the children, and sent hundreds of miles from their homes.

Some of our mothers recall their own boarding school educational experiences with rancor. One mother told us:

When they say, "What do you think of BIA boarding school?" That kind of gets me mad, when they say that. I used to mind, I paid attention, and I obeyed; yet if I ran in the hall, they punished me. I used to spend a whole hour kneeling down in front of the matron's office, just for running through the hall.

Another mother stated:

I think anyone who gets out of a boarding school has a rough time. I'd never send my children to a BIA boarding school or to a Catholic school.

Another mother said:

When I started school, they punished us
for using our own language.

Among mothers who had attended BIA boarding schools or religious schools, only 10 percent stated they would like their child to attend such a school.

Neither were the mothers who attended public school totally satisfied with their own experiences, where they encountered assimilation pressures, prejudice as well as a sense of isolation. They, too, are concerned about their children's school experiences, based upon their own public school experiences. Many of the mothers had attended public schools in small towns near the reservation, and had experienced prejudice and stereotyping in white schools. They had felt ashamed of being "a poor dumb Indian," and had few friends among white students. Other mothers had attended parochial schools where they were strictly taught and where religious training was heavily emphasized. A mother of seven children told us that despite her desire to limit the number of children she could care for, her strict religious training made her feel very guilty and ashamed.

A recent study (Metcalf, 1975) investigated the hypothesis that education in reservation boarding schools would "impair the development of a positive self-image in a Navajo girl and that such impairment would involve a negative influence on the girl's later maternal attitude and behaviors." And she reported that:

. . . education in reservation boarding schools before adolescence can be associated with impaired development of Navajo women's self-image . . . but that while there appeared to be some association between the educational experience of the women and their later attitudes toward themselves as women and mothers, the relationship was not strong or consistent.⁷

However, nearly all mothers we interviewed felt that it was important that their children attend school in the city. They were all concerned about the type of schooling their child was getting in the urban schools.

7. Op. Cit. Metcalf., p 178

We asked them how important their child's grades were, and what was most important for the child to gain from school. These questions probed the mothers' attitude and knowledge about their children's schooling and are reported below.

TABLE 18: MOTHER'S ATTITUDE AND KNOWLEDGE OF CHILD'S SCHOOL BY TRIBE (Percentage)

MOTHER'S ATTITUDE	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER
Grades Important	12%	33%	27%	17%
Knows Child's Subjects	73%	78%	87%	83%
Attendance Important	39%	38%	57%	27%
Child Has Problems	13%	4%	7%	28%

Most of the mothers reported they knew what their child was learning in school. However, many Indian mothers did not feel either grades or attendance were of great importance for their child, rather placing importance on their child's satisfaction with his school. Most of the mothers thought their child "liked his school." (Twenty-one percent of the Sioux, 8 percent of the Navajo, 4 percent of the Californian and 16 percent of the other tribal group mothers said their child did not like school.)

Among the mothers who stated their child liked school (88%), we asked why they thought this was the case. Their responses to this question was coded into their child's interest in school, interest in peer group or interest in sports or recreation (social) programs.

TABLE 19: MOTHER'S ASSESSMENT OF PRIMARY REASON HER CHILD LIKES SCHOOL BY TRIBE (PERCENTAGE)

REASON LIKES SCHOOL	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER
Interest in School Subjects	68%	74%	56%	53%
Interest in Peers	23%	26%	22%	32%
Interest in Sports/Recreation	9%	0	22%	16%

One-fourth of the mothers felt their child's school satisfaction was definitely related to having friends, while two-thirds felt the child had a general interest in school, in learning, etc.

A few of the mothers indicated their child was having "problems" in school--these were generally adolescent children who were finding school boring, or were fighting with black students.

The participation of parents in school programs is an important indication of the impact of the educational program in the community. Native American families tend to feel isolated and distant from the school and do not seem to feel able to deal with such an impersonal system. Most Indian parents feel demeaned by the large bureaucratic urban school system and tend to avoid any formal relationship with a system they feel is distant and overpowering. How can they express their concern for their children?

One mother told us:

He's doing poorly now--I don't know why
and it worries me.

Another mother stated:

I only went to one PTA meeting. Most
Indian ladies don't go.

During the course of this research, an Indian parent group was formed to examine the school problems of their children. These parents helped develop a "Drop-in Center" for their Indian youth who were dropping out of school. They have also consulted with Native American teachers and have established a preschool program, with maximum involvement from parents. They are working on ideas for a Native American alternative school for their children, one which would be based on Native American culture and heritage.

Yet Indian parents do not interact directly with the school. Rather, they seek to support their children within their own cultural group.

Despite their discontent with many aspects of public school, most Indian mothers did not want to send their children to the same type of educational system they had attended, but felt their child should have a "better chance" than they had.

The mothers had few specific complaints about school. They were concerned about keeping the child in school as he becomes older, but are not certain how this can be done.

We asked mothers a series of questions about their child's school behavior, and their responses are shown in the following table.

TABLE 20 : CHILD'S SCHOOL BEHAVIOR, BY TRIBE (Percentage)

SCHOOL BEHAVIOR	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER
Likes School	79%	92%	93%	78%
Does Homework	40%	57%	63%	50%
Comes Directly Home	60%	73%	90%	77%

One mother summed up her feelings about the impact of urban life in the following way:

The children need to know the old way, but they need to live in society. I have mixed feelings, because I like the peace of traditionalism, but I have to work to support my family.

It is these "mixed feelings" which often emerge in the relationships between Native American parents and children--how to live in both worlds.

In addition to talking with the parents, our research team also interviewed a number of the Indian youth, asking them about their general attitudes toward the city, the schools and their situation.

These interviews were with children aged nine through 16 years, both boys and girls, by Native American staff who arranged a camping trip with them. Rapport was excellent, and the Indian children talked openly about their own lives.

We asked them a series of questions about their school--all attended one of the Oakland public schools. About one-half of the children said they felt the teachers were fair in grading them, although over half of the children said their grades were average or below. We asked the children if they bring work home from school, and 73 percent said they did. We asked if anyone helped them, and over half of the children said either their mother or an older sibling helped them with their homework. One-half of the

children indicated they would prefer to go to some other type of school than the one they now attend, and two-thirds of the children said they would like to go to school on the reservation "where there was space and clean air, and where you can be free."

Of those who wished to live on the reservation, we asked why, and their responses were varied, but covered essentially the areas of being with their family, riding horses, etc., and can be summed up by one child's poignant statement:

Here there's too many problems--there
wouldn't be any problems there.

Among those children who said they did not like the reservation were children who had never been there and whose parents had "left the reservation."

We asked the children, "What does a reservation mean to you?" and we quote some of the responses which are expressive of the two major streams of responses. The children were equally divided into these two sets of response types.

One set of responses indicated little knowledge or meaning attached to the concept of "the reservation." Some of these comments were:

All I know is that Indians live on it.

I've never seen it, it's just another place.

Where a lot of Indians live.

The other major theme in the responses was generally idealistic, as illustrated by the following comments:

A homeland--someplace to go when you can't
stay in the city.

A place where Indians can live without being
bothered.

There's not a bunch of mean people there.

These are the comments of urban Indian children, growing up with only vague or idealized views of the reservation life. One young boy epitomized the conflict in definitions by telling us that the reservation "is a place where poor Indians live."

Such comments highlight the culture conflict facing these young urban Indian children. The children talk of their feelings of being crowded, of being frightened by violence, of being robbed, of having troubles and of preferring to live elsewhere.

One child said he didn't like where he lived because there were "mean whites. I don't like blacks and I have no good friends living there." Other children spoke of living in the Oakland hills where there would be trees and clean air. One boy wanted to move to be close to the beach.

These are city children, living crowded, living poor, and struggling with the social structure of the inner city ghetto. One girl told us that she tried to make friends with blacks, because, "If you have a black friend, then the other black kids will leave you alone."

The racism of the society is a living threat to these Indian children. They are caught up in a non-white world, yet they feel separated from, but frightened by the racial violence all about them.

We asked each child the question, "Should the people of the world be one big family, or should they be separate, like Mexicans, whites, Indians, etc.?" Forty-five percent of the children felt people should "be one big family." Some of their comments were:

Forget the difference and be one big family. Some people think they're better because of skin color. Whites feel this way.

Be one family. They can protect each other when they're sick and help each other.

I think it should be all together. I would be bored knowing the same people.

Normal, like it is now, like a family, we are mixed.

If they are one big family, they would fight a lot, but they would be one big family.

But over one-half of these children indicated that people should be "separate," merely stating, "It's better off that way," or because "all of them can't live together."

Racism is one of the most powerful malignant forces facing the children of this country. In the report of the Joint Commission on

the Mental Health of Children, Dr. Price Cobbs, psychiatrist, stated that racism is the number one mental health problem facing the nation.

Certainly our urban Indian children are facing this racism in their everyday lives. The traditional Indian style is to accept all peoples as they are. Yet, living in the city, these Native American families find themselves caught up in the powerful forces of racism. Many react to these virulent forces by retreating and isolating themselves as much as possible. One urban Indian mother told us that when the family was relocated, they were housed by the BIA in an apartment house where all neighbors were black. She had never met or seen black people before, and she was very frightened. She kept her two small children with her all day in the apartment with the shades drawn when her husband was away. The family lived in this fear and isolation for six months, until they found another apartment away from the inner city ghetto.

The clash between Indian life styles and the ghetto black life style is immediate. The loud music, the free and colorful language, the open expressions of violence heard in ghetto neighborhoods frighten and repel Indians, who are accustomed to a quieter, less crowded, more reserved way of life.

Yet, in spite of these clashes of life styles, some friendship bonds do develop across racial groups. One Indian mother told us her first friend in the city was a black neighbor lady who is still her closest friend, who babysits for her, and with whom she shares her experiences and problems. Thirteen percent of the Indian mothers said a non-Indian was her first friend in the city.

Many other Indian families seek out Indian friends throughout the city, holding themselves aloof from their own neighbors, of whatever race. Seventy-two percent of our Indian mothers said they knew their neighbors, but about one-half of these indicated they had no close relations with these neighbors.

In general, Indians in the city seek out other Indians, partly as a defense against the tenseness of the racism that is so apparent to any non-white person in this society.

If the Indian parents are buffeted by the racism of the inner city, how is this experienced by their children? We asked the Indian children who their friends were and where they went to play.

Fifty-five percent of the young Indians stated that they had friends only among other Indians. One said, "I don't like the other kind." Another said, "Indians are nicer than other guys." Another said, "All my friends are Indian, because it seems they play more than other kids and they go more places."

Many of these Indian children attended the Intertribal Friendship House, and used it as a nucleus for forming and maintaining an all-Indian peer group. But all children still play in their own neighborhoods and attend school with all other urban children.

Forty-five percent of the urban Indian children said they have friends of several nationalities. Some comments to "Who are your friends?" were:

All kinds--some are white, black and Indian
--some Chinese.

Mixed--white, black, Indian and Mexican--if
I like a person, then we're friends.

Some are Indian, some are Mexican, some are
all kinds.

The friendship patterns of the Indian children are an indication of the degree of their acculturation to the city. While their parents relate to relatives, both in the city and "back home," some of the urban Indian children are choosing their peers from the school and neighborhood pattern.

Parents and family are the primary socializing instrument, and all urban Indian children refer to their own family life as the center of their life. We asked the children who was the person who was responsible for them, who provided the discipline in the home. Two-thirds of the children stated that their mother was the person who disciplined them, 18 percent said it was their father, and 18 percent said it was another relative (older sibling, aunt, grandparent). We asked the children if they felt their parents were strict with them, and nearly three-fourths said their parents were not at all strict, but allowed them to do many of the things they chose to do. This "permissiveness" is part of the Indian view of children, that each child is a separate person with his own feelings, actions, responsibilities and capabilities.

We asked the parents about their method of disciplining, and presented them with a standardized format of items derived from a study of child-rearing practices of white and black urban women.⁸ These structural items were full of interesting methodological problems that always occur, but so often go unnoticed, whenever white norms are uncritically applied to minority populations. We were asking the mothers to tell us if they would discipline their child

8. Kallen, David and Dorothy Miller, Public Images of Foster Care San Francisco, Scientific Analysis Corporation, 1972, funded under a contract with NICHD.

the first time he or she behaved in this manner. The first item, "Would you punish your child for being impolite to visitors?", was open to a variety of interpretations by our subjects. One Navajo mother told us that a "visitor" meant a white person, or some form of government official. Other mothers felt that no Indian child would be "impolite," meaning that he would attack, interrupt or interfere with a guest in their home. If such an event would occur, it would be most shocking and shameful and they would hardly know how to react.

The second item was, "Would you punish your child for talking back to their parents?" Some women misunderstood the question at first, thinking it referred to their own parents (the child's grandparents). In a traditional Indian home, the child's grandparents are almost sacred--they are loved and respected. No children would think of "talking back" and if they did do so in a disrespectful manner, they would indeed be punished and shamed. "Talking back" was also a phrase which had different meanings to respondents. One Navajo mother thought "talking back" would mean answering in Navajo. She said her child "talks in Navajo and speaks in English." Only by understanding these delicate interpretive problems can we have any understanding of the range of meanings attached to concepts derived in the white middle class culture, and then applied to other cultures, as cross-cultural measures.

For that reason, we do not present the comparisons with white and black women, since we feel these responses must be understood within their own cultural and social context.

The Native American interviewers tried to carefully interpret the "meaning" of each of the discipline questions, but the respondents generally were uncomfortable about the answers, often noting that while they would "discipline" "if such a thing" should happen, they would "discipline" in different ways--or they felt such behavior would occur only with other inputs, such as a children's fight, or picking up "bad language" from the black gang in the neighborhood (in the case of swearing) or exposure in some other fashion to such specific behaviors by others.

We present the table as an illustration of the methodological problems, and with the caution that any interpretations must be made within the appropriate cultural and social context.

We asked our Indian children about their discipline at home, and they told us of some examples of "discipline" by their parents.

TABLE 21: DISCIPLINE AT FIRST OFFENSE, BY TRIBE
(Percentage)

BEHAVIORS	SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Being impolite to visitor	50%	27%	50%	33%	40%
Talking back to parents	47%	43%	63%	43%	49%
Swearing	50%	30%	60%	33%	43%
Fighting with siblings	37%	40%	40%	40%	39%
Disobeying	53%	50%	63%	40%	52%
Break something - careless	33%	40%	33%	43%	38%
Break sibling's toy deliberately	47%	27%	60%	40%	43%
Goes away without permission	53%	43%	50%	43%	50%

Nearly one-half of the children said that discipline was generally a "talking to" or a restriction of freedom, such as "they make me stay in the house" or "after telling me three times, they punish me with no television." Even then, many of the children qualified their statements by saying, "I don't get this too often," or "I don't need much--I mind pretty good."

Another half of the children told us that they were sometimes "whipped" or "spanked" but "only if real, real bad." One example of "bad behavior" was "beating up my sisters." Another statement was "my sister scolds me--if that doesn't work, sometimes my parents whip me."

We asked the Indian parents about the type of discipline they used if a child had done something serious enough to require disciplining, using the behavior items discussed with them previously. Given the modifications we have already mentioned, parents reported they utilized various types of discipline, as reported in the following table.

TABLE 22: TYPE OF DISCIPLINE, BY TRIBE (Percentage)

DISCIPLINE	SIOUX	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL
Talk to, lecture child	73%	63%	70%	57%	66%
Take away privileges	43%	37%	60%	43%	46%
Isolate, restrict, etc.	53%	30%	70%	30%	46%
Repair, replace	20%	20%	27%	23%	23%
Tease or ridicule	20%	30%	20%	27%	24%
Spank, whip	70%	57%	90%	70%	72%

As can be seen, the type of punishment used varied by type of tribe. Most Indian parents talked to or lectured the child, and that failing, would spank or whip. Navajos were least likely to need to fall back on physical punishment, since they feel they were best able to discipline the child by "talking." This, again, might be interpreted as an indication of the greater degree of cultural and social cohesion present in these Navajo families, as compared with the other tribal families, many of whom are single-parent or socially disorganized groups. Both the Sioux and the California Indian parents seem to indicate a loss of parental control over their children and the greater use of stricter discipline modes.

The use of "teasing" or "ridicule" among the Indian families is much greater than that reported by white or black families, but this is an important social control mechanism in traditional tribal life. The psychological subtleties of interpersonal relationships in the Indian world are most sharply noticeable in the use of ridicule, teasing or gossip. These "hurt" much more than a mere beating, and most Indians are so skilled at its use that outsiders never notice the sharp sting of satire or the crushing word of ridicule.* Thus, disciplining children varies within families, within tribes, and within social and cultural contexts of behavior.

* One of the more honest anthropological reports of the use of ridicule for disciplining children is that of Jules and Zunin Henry (Doll Play of Pilaga Indian Children). For example, "Tapani (a nine year old child) is openly called 'bad'; she is 'stingy'; she is 'ugly'; she is 'undersized'; she is 'an old lady.'" With the exception of the last, poor Tapani is all of these. As a matter of fact, Tapani would be treated much worse in our culture than she is among the Pilaga. She is a bully and a glutton and uses her bullying to satisfy her gluttony." (p. xii)

Cross-cultural comparisons can be misleading and irrelevant and may reflect the power structure of the researcher's world, rather than an indicator of the subject's meaning.

We did attempt some cross-cultural comparisons in this study, using child-rearing behavioral items which we felt might be relatively common to all urban dwellers. Here again, we become sensitized to the many problems in such methods--and one of the indicators (among many others) was the "no response" category, as indicated on the following table. The "no answer" response to these child-rearing questions varied from a high of 43 percent (on age child can be left alone in the evening) to a low of 18 percent on age child has "regular chores," or age child "can date persons of the opposite sex." Indian parents had views on "regular chores" and "dating," but they were unclear as to the "proper" answer to questions of "leaving child alone" or "drinking from a glass."

Given the social structure of the Indian extended family, children are rarely "alone." Parents do not think about "leaving the child alone." Relatives or friends are usually present or nearby--children roam at will on the reservation. Parents may be gone for days--children merely stay with someone else until they return. It is difficult for urban Indian parents to assess the age of "alone-ability" for a child. Yet in the city, Indian children may well be left alone, and considerable trouble with legal and social work agencies has occurred around incidents classified as "child neglect" when a mother has been gone, leaving her children alone overnight or for several days. The city is not the reservation: this is one of the observable problem areas for Indian child welfare.

In the Oakland area, a group of concerned Indian professionals has established an Indian Child Center, geared to help Indian parents who have problems with "child neglect" or "child abuse." One of the services available is 24-hour child care and short-term respite child placement to help hold Indian families together in times of stress, heavy drinking or problems with the authorities.

The high "no response" for age child could drink from a glass is probably self-explanatory. Using a glass for drinking water is a "city" practice, and many Indian mothers simply have never given attention to such a child development "milestone."

The following table presents the Indian mothers' responses to these child development questions in mean years by tribe with percent of nonresponses for each of the items.

TABLE 23: MEAN AGE AT WHICH CHILD WILL ACCOMPLISH
VARIOUS STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT, BY TRIBE

	SIoux	NAVAJO	CALIF.	OTHER	TOTAL	NO RESPONSE
Weaned	9.4 mo	1.2 yr	8.9 mo	1.2 yr	1.1 yr	28%
Toilet-trained	1.5 yr	1.7 yr	1.4 yr	1.5 yr	1.5 yr	34%
Drink from glass	9.8 mo	10.7 mo	9.6 mo	8.4 mo	9.6 mo	42%
First solid food	8.7 mo	6.9 mo	9 mo	9.2 mo	8.5 mo	33%
Dress self	3.2 yr	2.8 yr	2.4 yr	2.8 yr	2.8 yr	37%
Feed self	1.5 yr	2.8 yr	1.5 yr	1.3 yr	1.8 yr	30%
Have regular chores	6 yr	5.1 yr	5.3 yr	5 yr	5.4 yr	18%
Tie shoelaces	5.2 yr	5.1 yr	6.5 yr	5.4 yr	5.1 yr	28%
Care for own room	6.5 yr	5.7 yr	6.5 yr	5.4 yr	6 yr	29%
Wash hands and face	4.8 yr	4.3 yr	4.1 yr	3.7 yr	4.2 yr	30%
Comb hair	5.7 yr	5.4 yr	6.1 yr	5.7 yr	5.7 yr	21%
Brush own teeth	5.3 yr	6.1 yr	4.9 yr	4.9 yr	5.3 yr	29%
Go downtown alone	10.4	11 yr	10.5 yr	10.3 yr	10.6 yr	29%
Left alone in evening	9.9 yr	8.6 yr	8.9 yr	10.4 yr	9.2 yr	43%
Pick out clothes	11 yr	11.2 yr	11.5 yr	11 yr	11.2 yr	19%
Take care of younger siblings	10 yr	10.6 yr	9.4 yr	9.5 yr	9.9 yr	24%
Date others	16 yr	15.6 yr	15.8 yr	15.2 yr	15.7 yr	18%

As can be seen, there are some minor variations of age norms between the tribes. In general, Navajo mothers and mothers from all Other tribes felt their children were autonomous at a slightly earlier age than did Sioux or California Indian mothers.

From the literature which utilized many of the same child development items, we made a comparison of the responses of our Indian mothers with a sample of white and black urban women.

TABLE 24: COMPARISON OF SELECTED CHILD NORMS BY MEAN AGE FOR WHITE, BLACK AND NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN

	WHITE	BLACK	NATIVE AMERICAN
Dress self	3.7 yr	4 yr	2.8 yr
Do regular chores	6.1 yr	6.3 yr	5.4 yr
Take care of room	8.2 yr	8.1 yr	6 yr
Go downtown alone	13.5 yr	12.8 yr	10.6 yr
Left alone in evening	14.4 yr	13.6 yr	9.2 yr
Pick out own clothes	14.5 yr	13.3 yr	11.2 yr
Take care of younger siblings	13.1 yr	12.9 yr	9.9 yr
Date opposite sex	16.4 yr	16.5 yr	15.7 yr

This comparison of age norms reveals that Indian mothers expect significantly earlier performance on developmental tasks than do either white or black mothers. This earlier autonomy is observable with our Indian children, who have early ability to dress, feed and care for themselves and others. These findings agree with many anthropological accounts of Indian child-rearing practices.

Indian children talk about being "free," of moving about without restrictions; they complain about school because it is "boring," "there isn't anything to do." Indian children enjoy participating in athletic activity--their most "preferred" subject in schools is often P.E. This physical movement need, the desire to be "unfettered," is a theme that runs through our children's lives, and is a theme that clashes with much of the city life style.

For example, we asked the children when they were happiest, and many told us of "going camping," "riding horses," playing active sports, or being on the beach or in the hills. Growing up on concrete, there is still much enjoyment of their physical selves and the outside environment.

The urban Indian parents try to provide camping trips, outdoor activities, and sports for their children, but most activities are closed to Indian groups, and funds for group activities are difficult to obtain. Many Indian parents spoke of the community need for summer camping, winter sports, outdoor activities for their children. Plans are being developed for a summer visit-to-the-reservation program for urban Indian children who have not had such an experience.

The urban Indian child is blending into the non-white life styles of the city, but retains many aspects of his own Indian identity.

We now turn to the question of Indian identity and the impact of the city upon the children.