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INDIAN AMERICANS IN DULUTH:
A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF RECENT RESEARCH

University of Minnesota

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compiled by
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Training Center for
Community Programs
in coordination with
Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

University of Minnesota Minneapolis, Minnesota

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

INDIAN AMERICANS IN DULUTH:

A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF RECENT RESEARCH

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I showed him how to punch in and took him around to meet some of the guys. I could tell he was kind of shy and scared - you know how it is when you start to work in a new place - and then I took him over to my line and showed him how to staple. He was good with his hands, and he caught on all right. He was just learning, you know, and it was kind of slow at first. He made some mistakes, too, but I played like I didn't notice, and after a while we were turning those things out pretty good.

But he was unlucky....

-- N. Scott Momaday

<u>House Made of Dawn</u>

(The New American Library:
1969) pp. 137-138, p. 143.

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Introduction

A survey of the Duluth American Indian population had not been accomplished prior to the decision of the Duluth Department of Economic Development to employ Mr. Eugene G. Peacock for this purpose during 1966. The following paragraphs represent a slightly edited version of the introduction to Mr. Peacock's report to the Duluth Department of Economic Development, dated July 27, 1966.

An Indian survey of this type is unique for Duluth. In order to locate all of the Indian families in the city, I used a personal referral system. I started out with those families I already knew and continued to work out from there, securing referred leads from whichever family or individuals were able to help me in this way.

Not all of the families are enumerated in this report due to their personal wishes. The individual count is accurate with the exception of those out of town at the time and those children in foster homes. I assume the personal data are correct, although in some instances the information requested was not known or was not exact. But these instances are so few that the over-all data are not noticeably affected.

The majority of the families interviewed had incomes of less than \$3000 per year. All of the families under the \$3000 per year income were those where the heads of households or working members of the family did not have permanent employment. The income source consisted mostly of part-time or seasonal work. The problem, then, is the lack of permanent work for the family man. The boon of temporary employment with its accompanying high rates of pay in many cases has proved to be a curse instead of a blessing. tendency of many is to pass up long-term employment opportunities at lower pay rates for the lure of higher pay for a short time, always expecting that the temporary situation will become more permanent. The Indian does not stand a chance without a steady income. The single man does not have as much of a problem in this case because he can generally find enough employment to keep himself as well as he desires.

Lack of education is one of the main reasons why steady gainful employment is not secured; the poor work record also does not help. This poor work record could stem from a variety of reasons -- for example, the man is probably a

poor employment risk to begin with simply because he cannot pull himself out of the rut of part-time employment. The result, of course, is no useful work record to show prospective employers. Personal problems play a big part in causing his plight; alcohol is one of the biggest factors. Many Indians also possess a suspicious nature which could stem from unfulfilled promises, and agreements that never seem to get the Indian anywhere. There are many problems, but how can they be solved? Many answers might be found in this survey, but not all of them. Whatever the case may be, something must be done in an attempt to solve these problems. The individuals involved, along with other organizations and groups can accomplish much in reaching the center of these problems and thereby create a better understanding between the Indian and other segments of our society.

The greater percentage of the Indian residents now living in Duluth are permanent dwellers, with the exception of a few who move in and out but make Duluth their head-quarters. These exceptions are mostly lumberjacks and seasonal workers. The feelings that most of the families express are that their chances of gaining employment are greater here than at the reservations, even if it means just a small part-time job now and then.

Inquiries were not made of every individual as to tribal affiliations. Some were asked (or volunteered) the information. We can be safe in saying that most of the senior Indian citizens along with their children are enrolled on their specific reservations. (The younger generation has more likely not done this because the procedure is unknown to them or it is too much bother for the tangible results to be gained.)

Most of the employed are engaged in part-time work. Very few have had the same type of job for any length of time. Some comments were given as to why there wasn't steady employment. Some individuals report they were unable to secure employment for various reasons -- for example, the reputation of the Indian in regard to tardiness. Some were unable to secure employment because of negative experiences between the employer and other Indian individuals in the past. Eventually Indians must resort to part-time work, which does not provide a good work record. Education is another stumbling block as far as getting any permanent-type work is concerned. The need for more education is definite, along with reasonable cooperation from employing agencies. In some cases, the high school graduate is in no better an income bracket than the individual with hardly any education at all.

Most of the families, especially those who are economically insecure, are not aware of the many social services that are available to them. There is no single agency that can help them to get started at work and to acquaint them with the various services offered them in the city. Medical assistance is one of the big problems. Medicine is hard to come by due to lack of sufficient income. Living conditions are sub-standard in most cases because of the amount they have available for rent payments. (Most of the people are satisfied with these conditions because they are usually better than the housing conditions on the reservations.) They don't want to return simply because there is a chance to better themselves in some way here in the city. Most of the married couples and their families are striving to be on their own and welcome the chance for advancement. Most of the families still together are looking for a chance to better their economic standards, which is a prime factor in keeping the family together. Many of those who are separated, especially mothers with children, are trying to better themselves by taking advantage of the educational programs that are available today, with hopes of being self-supporting in the future.

To the Indian there is an enormous amount of prestige in moving off the reservation into the city and -- most importantly -- in finding a job and trying to keep himself and his family self-supporting. To the Indian this is success in the city and something to boast about to his people back home on the reservation. But this is sometimes a hard chore. The Indian is a proud and sensitive person; he does not integrate as well as he should. At work he is taken for granted; out of work he is alone except where his money can change hands -- then he is with friends. His weekends are spent visiting friends and relatives out of the city -- if he has a car. If he does not have a car, he has to find his company elsewhere, which may lead him to the bowery or a similar area where the Indians can congregate.

All of the interviewed families are due a considerable amount of praise and heartfelt thanks for their exceptional hospitality shown to the interviewer. Regardless of the situation, this survey would not have been possible without the friendly attitude shown by everyone involved. The success of this program is due primarily to these families and the cooperation they displayed. 1

The University of Minnesota Training Center for Community

Programs provided funds and consultative assistance to Mr. Peacock and his

associates so that the data gathered in the course of the Peacock survey could be placed on IBM cards and made available for a more detailed analysis. The next sections of this report are concerned with an expanded analysis of data provided by Mr. Peacock, unless otherwise noted. The exceptional cases will be those in which Mr. Peacock's hand tabulations are employed to provide numerical breakdowns of responses to survey questions where these more detailed breakdowns were determined to be useful. The appendix to this report contains detailed analyses of punched data as well as a duplicate of the questionnaire employed in the field by Mr. Peacock.

The "Typical" Duluth Indian Resident

With an "N" size of two hundred, the "typical" Duluth Indian resident may be sketched according to the following breakdowns:

| Was born in | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Fond du Lac Reservation, or | 28.0% | |
| Wisconsin, or | 12.5 | |
| "Other" | <u>25.0</u> | 45 50 |
| | | 65.5% |
| Was male | | 73.5 |
| Was in the age range | | |
| 23 - 40, or | 39.5 | |
| 41 - 64 | <u>47.0</u> | |
| | | 86.5 |
| Was married | | 53.5 |
| Was not a high school graduate | | 77.0 |
| Did not report other educational | | |
| experiences. | | 75.5 |
| Was interested in more educational | | |
| programs | | 70.0 |
| Thought the most helpful type of | | |
| educational program would be one | | |
| leading to | 17 5 | |
| completion of high school, or | 17.5 26.0 | |
| skilled work, or clerical work | 9.5 | |
| clerical work | 7.5 | 53.0 |
| | | |
| Had a telephone | | 50.0 |
| Had lived in Duluth | | |
| 6 - 9 years, or | 10.5 | |
| 10 years or more | 55.5 | |
| | | 66.0 |

| Reported his occupation as unskilled labor, or semi-skilled labor, or | 40.5% 8.5 15.0 | |
|---|----------------------|-------|
| skilled work | 13.0 | 64.0% |
| Reported having children | | 54.0 |
| Did not have a hobby | | 48.0 |
| Was not a member of a club or special group | | 70.5 |
| Reported using various social agencies in the city | | 65.0 |
| Said he had <u>not</u> had difficulties in obtaining adequate housing | | 88.5 |
| Did <u>not</u> have hospitalization and medical care insurance | | 59.0 |

The "Typical" Duluth Male Indian Resident

With an "N" size of 147 men, a "typical" Duluth Indian male resident can be seen as having the following characteristics according to the indicated percentages:

| Was born in Fond du Lac Reservation, or Wisconsin, or "Other" | 28.6% 11.6 25.2 | 65.4% |
|---|-----------------------|-------|
| Was in the age range 23 - 40, or 41 - 64 | 40.1 47.6 | 87.7 |
| Was married | | 52.4 |
| Was not a high school graduate | | 74.1 |
| Did not report other educational experiences | | 75.5 |
| Was interested in more educational programs | | 68.0 |
| Thought that the most helpful type of educational program would be one leading to completion of high school, or skilled work, or clerical work | 17.0 25.9 9.5 | |
| | | 52.4 |

| | | 48.3% |
|---|--------------|-------|
| Had a telephone | | 40.3% |
| Had lived in Duluth | 9.5% | |
| 6 - 9 years, or | 56.5 | |
| 10 years or more | | 66.0 |
| Reported as his occupation | | |
| unskilled work, or | 45.6 | |
| semi-skilled work, or | 8.8 | • |
| skilled work | <u>16.3</u> | 70.7 |
| | | 70.7 |
| Reported having children | | 55.1 |
| Reported the past year's family | | , |
| income as | 16.0 | |
| \$0 - \$999, or | 16.3 33.3 | |
| \$1000 - \$1999, or \$2000 - \$2999 | 16.3 | |
| 42000 425 ,55 | | 65.9 |
| Did not have a hobby | | 47.6 |
| Was not a member of a club or | | |
| special group | | 67.3 |
| Reported using various social | | |
| agencies in the city | | 66.7 |
| Said he had not had difficulties | | |
| in obtaining adequate housing | | 87.1 |
| Did <u>not</u> have hospitalization and | | |
| medical care insurance | | 61.2 |
| | | |
| | | |

The "Typical" Female Duluth Indian Resident

From a group of fifty-three Duluth female Indian residents, the following picture emerges:

| Was born in | • | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Fond du Lac Reservation, or | 26.4% | |
| Grand Portage Reservation, or | 11.3 | |
| Wisconsin, or | 15.1 | |
| "Other" | <u>24.5</u> | |
| | | 77.3% |
| Was in the age range | | |
| 23 - 40, or | 37.7 | |
| 41 - 64 | <u>45.3</u> | |
| | | 83.0 |
| Was married | | 56.6 |
| Was not a high school graduate | • | 84.8 |
| | | |

| Did not report other educational | | = ~ |
|---|----------------------|-----|
| experiences | /5 | .5% |
| Was interested in more educational programs | 75 | • 5 |
| Thought that the most helpful type of educational program would be one leading to | | |
| completion of high school, or | 18.9% 26.4 9.4 | |
| | 54 | . 7 |
| Had a telephone | 54 | . 7 |
| Had lived in Duluth | | |
| 6 - 9 years, or | 13.2 52.8 | |
| 10 years or more | | .0 |
| Reported as her occupation | | |
| semi-skilled work, or | 26.4 | |
| skilled work, or clerical work | 7.5 11.3 | |
| Cleffcal work | | .2 |
| Reported having children | 50 | .9 |
| Reported the past year's family | | |
| income as \$0 - \$999, or | 15.1 | |
| \$1000 - \$1999, or | 28.3 | |
| \$2000 - \$2999 | 22.6 | |
| | | 6.0 |
| Did not have a hobby | 49 | 1.1 |
| Was not a member of a club or special group | 79 | 9.2 |
| Reported using various social agencies in the city | 60 | 0.4 |
| Said she had <u>not</u> had difficulties in obtaining adequate housing | 92 | 2.5 |
| Did <u>not</u> have hospitalization and medical care insurance | 5: | 2.8 |

The "Typical" Duluth Indian High School Graduate

Duluth Indian high school graduates surveyed (N = 41) provide the data for the following breakdown:

| 22.0% |
|-------|
| 14.6 |
| 26.8 |
| |

63.4%

| Was male | | 80.5% |
|---|---------------------|-------|
| Was in the age range 23 - 40, or 41 - 64 | 35.8% 47.8 | 83.6 |
| Was married | | 56.1 |
| | | |
| Did not report other educational experiences | | 53.7 |
| Was interested in more educational programs | | 58.5 |
| Had a telephone | | 56.1 |
| Had lived in Duluth 6 - 9 years, or | 4.9 | |
| 10 years or more | 48.8 | 53.7 |
| Reported his occupation as unskilled work, or semi-skilled work, or skilled work | 34.1 9.8 34.1 | 78.0 |
| Reported the past year's family income as \$0 - \$999, or \$1000 - \$1999, or \$2000 - \$2999 | 9.8 22.0 22.0 | 53.8 |
| Reported having children | | 63.4 |
| Was as likely to have a hobby as not to have a hobby | 41.5 | 83.0 |
| Was not a member of a club or special group | | 61.0 |
| Reported using various social agencies in the city | | 61.0 |
| Said he had <u>not</u> had difficulties in obtaining adequate housing | | 87.8 |
| Did <u>not</u> have hospitalization insurance | | 53.7 |
| Did <u>not</u> have medical care insurance | | 58.5 |

The "Typical" Duluth Indian High School Non-Graduate

With an "N" size of 159, the "typical" Indian residing in Duluth who does not have a high school diploma may be sketched from the following:

| Was born in Fond du Lac Reservation, or Wisconsin, or "Other" | 29.6% 11.9 24.5 | 66.0% |
|--|-----------------------|-------|
| Was male | | 71.7 |
| Was married | | 52.8 |
| | | |
| Was in the age range 23 - 40, or 41 - 64 | 35.8 47.8 | 83.6 |
| Did not report other educational experiences | | 81.1 |
| Was interested in more educational programs | | 73.0 |
| Thought that the most helpful type of educational program would be one leading to completion of high school, or skilled work, or clerical work | 20.8 28.3 7.5 | 56.6 |
| Had a telephone | | 48.4 |
| Had lived in Duluth 6 - 9 years, or 10 years or more | 11.9 57.2 | 69.1 |
| Reported his occupation as unskilled labor, or semi-skilled work, or skilled work | 42.1 8.2 10.1 | 60.4 |
| Reported his past year's family income as \$0 - \$999, or \$1000 - \$1999, or \$2000 - \$2999 | 17.6 34.6 17.0 | 69.2 |
| Reported having children | | 51.6 |
| Was not a member of a club or | | |
| special group | | 73.0 |

| Reported using various social agencies in the city | 66.0% |
|---|-------|
| Did not have a hobby | 49.7 |
| Said he had <u>not</u> had difficulties in obtaining adequate housing | 88.7 |
| Did <u>not</u> have hospitalization insurance | 60.4 |
| Did <u>not</u> have medical care insurance | 59.1 |

The Importance of Education

As the data contained in the "typical" summaries indicate, the value of a high school education to Duluth American Indians is placed in extreme doubt when high school graduates are compared with high school non-graduates. This city Indian situation is not unique to Duluth -- the same conditions were also found in comparative populations among Indian groups in Minneapolis. The many similarities between urban Indian high school graduates and non-graduates leads one to wonder about the nature of the high school experience where Indians are concerned, rather than to expect that the acquisition of the diploma automatically signifies important gains in adaptive skills. We have stated before that we believe the acquisition of a high school diploma without regard to questions about the quality of high school experiences themselves is a mistake where Indians are concerned. We believe this same line of questioning would be appropriate to many Indian college graduates as well. Far more work needs to be undertaken in attempts to understand the nature of the cultural differences separating metropolitan Indians from the major urban institutions and processes in their environments. (For an examination of the Minneapolis education data comparing high school graduates with non-graduates, see Indian Employment in Minneapolis / The Indian: Relief Recipient in Minneapolis: An Exploratory Study, both issued by the Training Center for Community Programs in coordination with the Office of Community Programs, University of Minnesota.)

The severe problems faced by migrant Indians to the urban environment have typically been met inadequately, both by white social agencies or

by under-funded and inadequately staffed Indian centers. As more and more Indians migrate to urban centers, such as Duluth, and as these Indians develop the initial generations of city-born Indian young people in significant numbers, the general problems of Indian adjustment to the urban environment take on an added dimension -- that of the plight of youth with lingering tribal heritages attempting to survive in already problem-ridden cities. Minneapolis is a major urban Indian migrant center despite the fact that, ... unlike certain other cities, Minneapolis has not had a great amount of federal assistance in the promotion of migrant Indian movements. The unassisted voluntary migrant population which has settled in Minneapolis and which is undergoing severe problems of adjustment there, especially among the young, has recently begun to set an example for the nation by initiating its own proposals and programs aimed at alleviating some of the difficulties faced by city Indians. Much of this effort has been directed toward solving the problems of Indian youngsters, and has resulted in such programs as Project S.T.A.I.R.S. (Service to American Indian Resident Students) and Project Indian Upward Bound (the only board-controlled Upward Bound program in the United States). Both of these community-controlled programs combine to form a continuous educational service to Minneapolis Indian youngsters from grades one through ten. While these programs are admittedly not enough even in Minneapolis, they do serve as an example for the attack of Indian educational problems in Duluth, and even offer an example of community control techniques which might serve as a model.

Duluth Model City Indian Survey of 1968: Significant Findings

The Indian and Black communities of the city of Duluth were surveyed in 1968 by the Duluth Model City Administration. The purpose of the surveys was to "outline the basic characteristics of the two major minority groups within the city of Duluth, Minnesota." The report focused on several population factors:

1) A description of population characteristics, such as birth and death rates, changes in population level, and residential distribution within the city:

- 2) A discussion of such socioeconomic characteristics as aging tendencies, turnover in the population, and income levels;
- 3) A description of the educational, employment, and, for the Blacks, housing problems affecting minority groups; and
- 4) An outline of the participation by the Black and Indian communities in social organizations within Duluth. 2

The writers of the survey stated that the Indian population in Duluth has been on the rise since 1950, with the 1968 population set at about 700 persons, or "approximately 0.7% of the overall city population." The survey noted the entire Indian population of the city was Chippewa and that the proportion of persons aged fourteen and under was very high in this population. The Indian population, it was found, lived in the "core areas" of Duluth -- in and around the Model Neighborhood -- in 80% of the cases. As expected, the researchers found that a great degree of intra-city movement existed within this population, accompanied by a comparatively minimum amount of movement back to the reservation. (It is likely that this movement is greater than appears to be the case, and that a great deal of movement occurs for reasons of ceremony, family relations, contacts with the law, and the like.) The Duluth Chippewa also were found to live in city areas noted for exceptional environmental health problems, and were found to exhibit a "comparatively high rate" of crime among Chippewa adults. Surprisingly, an examination of the crime rate showed a "negligible rate" among Chippewa juveniles. Some other significant findings of the Model City Indian survey were reported as follows:

Dropping out of school, lack of motivation, and a poor record of achievement while in school were noted as problems facing Duluth's Indian population in the area of education. Coupled with this was a low median educational level. An extremely high unemployment rate was also observed for this population, while those who were employed were generally employed in seasonal, unskilled, or semi-skilled work.

The degree of Chippewa participation is high in programs operated within Duluth, such as Head Start, Adult Education Programs, and the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)

designed to combat employment and educational problems. However, due to lack of stable economic and employment conditions within this population, the degree of participation in the various programs operating through the Welfare Department is also high. A large amount of participation was observed among the Indian population in the recently founded American Indian Fellowship Association within Duluth. ³

The American Indian Fellowship Association

The writers of the Duluth Model City Indian survey stated that two objectives underlay the purpose of their survey: "to update the information received from the 1966 (Peacock) survey" and "to gain information on Indian participation in the recently established American Indian Fellowship Association". Since the Indian population of Duluth was only 186 in 1950 (according to the census), but 402 by 1960 and around 700 by 1968, it was felt by some Duluth Indian people that the time was appropriate for the formation of an Indian organization. The American Indian Fellowship Association has recently prepared a history and statement of purpose for itself which we will partially reproduce below. 4

In order to present a proper picture of the need for AIFA's existence, we will have to go back to May and June of 1966. At that time, a completed survey of the Indian Community had been presented to a few concerned individuals. In as much as the Office of Economic Development had conducted this survey, it was fairly complete. The information contained in the survey was very disheartening indeed. It disclosed findings of abject poverty and deficiencies in many areas, including social and economic. A very high dropout rate was apparent in the higher grade levels of school. To many this was severe and needless. There was a substandard housing situation with little or no relief in sight. The employment situation presented a bleak outlook for the future. Economic and social well-being was practically nonexistent for the Indian. The Indian community had withdrawn from most of the social structures that could help, and did not attempt any contact with them until AIFA was organized.

After many impromptu meetings by a few determined people, it was decided to organize the Indianocommunity under one name or listing. Consequently, the AIFA was born. By organizing as a unit, it was felt that the Indian could and

would relate to his own kind, without fear of refusal or hesitation. Today, this has been found to be the case. By evaluating and appraising the many problems confronting AIFA, and by discussion, we reached some excellent solutions. In effect, this took on the form of a Brother's Keeper type of program -- a successful Do-It-Yourself approach. For the Indian community, this program worked, as far as the AIFA is concerned.

Our initial exposure was an immediate success. The responses were good. The opinions expressed gave AIFA the incentive to continue with the original ideas and format. To date, AIFA is still using many of the ideas implemented at the first meetings. This accounts for AIFA's attitude and behavior also. The one problem area with which we will always be confronted is finances. We have reached the point where the intake at The American Indian Center is beginning to apply great pressure on the management. To ease this pressure and to service our people properly, we need financing from a worthy organization or funding agency. The Center has quickly become a "Community Service" and is playing an important part in many people's lives.

Our financial needs appear to be substantial. But for the service rendered, they are indeed only nominal. To be sure, the overall financial needs have expanded greatly compared to the original request. To keep on with the overall improvement of the Indian community, we will request this funding from many sources. We cannot and will not let the Center eliminate itself due to lack of funds. We must find a way to service a deserving segment of society, which has already taken great strides toward a better and more productive life.

The following narration is designed to show the more important activities that are instituted and implemented at the Center. There are no priorities listed as AIFA considers each and every program or project important.

In order to evaluate and appreciate this narrative, we must point out several facts. Already presented is the economic situation of AIFA. The other is that the AIFA had absolutely nothing with which to start. Cur assets at the time were some very determined people with the will power and determination to try. There was no precedent to follow or definite direction to go.

Since the opening of The American Indian Center on April 21, 1968 (formally), AIFA has had a very good response from all societies. The good wishes directed to the Center are an indication of the need for this type of complex. The atmos-

phere and attitudes shown this Center's personnel are heartwarming to all concerned. The activities carry an air of business and camaraderie at all times.

I. Handicraft Activities

- A. Beadwork, with looms and deerhide
- B. Plastic flower making
- C. Ceramic war and plaster of paris objects
- D. Sewing and knitting
- E. Making of various decorative type objects, such as Christmas trimmings.

II. Youth Activities

- A. Acting as Host and Hostess for adult social and business activities
- B. Planning visitations to Homes for Seniors, making suitable gifts to present
- C. Helping to keep the Center clean and in good order
- D. Doing errand work
- E. Scheduling and attending business meetings on a regular schedule
- F. Planning and carrying on activities relating to teenagers

III. Social Activities

- A. Hairdressing for men and women
- B. Musical sing-alongs.
- C. Coffee, cakes or cookies for the homeless
- D. Card games
- E. Reading, writing, television viewing
- F. Social visits by other groups or individuals

IV. Business Activities

- A. AIFA Executive Board meetings
- B. Organizational meetings -- monthly
- C. Alcoholic Anonymous meetings every Thursday evening
- D. Providing outreach or social services for the following:
 - 1. Employment
 - 2. Housing
 - 3. Education
 - 4. Welfare
 - 5. Vocational training
 - 6. Relocation for education and employment in other areas
- E. Constant surveillance of the Indian population figures
- F. Constant communication with the Bureau of Indian Affairs

- G. Enrolling latecomers into the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe
- H. Seeking for various records and documents as per request
- I. Providing special teachers as per request
- J. Distributing food to hardship cases and newcomers
- K. Issuing good clothing to the needy
- L. Food and clothing delivered to those not able to reach the Center
- M. Meetings with other business groups
- N. Mini-tours to visitors
- O. Movies shown when requested. AIFA also previews movies subject to school showing
- P. Meetings with groups from the Federal, State, and City governments
- Q. Providing small cash loans to pensioners needing tobacco or meals
- R. Providing bus fare to other cities, usually to an individual's hometown
- S. Counseling of all types
- T. Transporting people to hospitals and admitting such cases.

V. AIFA's Outside Activities

- A. Meeting with other organizations
- B. Providing speakers to other groups
- C. Members active in Community Action Program
- D. Committees from AIFA meeting with other groups
- E. Individuals serving on various civic and business panels
- F. Members active in Foster Care
- G. All Center personnel alert to any problem entering Center
- H. Individuals and groups travel to other towns and cities to meet with other groups
- I. Constant surveillance concerning discrimination and prejudice
- J. Our AA group visiting other AA groups
- K. Youth Group visitations to Seniors
- L. Youth Group participating with other activities
- M. Counseling and providing for the non-Indian

The Center facilities are available to anyone requesting them. There are no barriers either real or artificial. To detail the listed activities would take many hours of preparation and reading. An oral interview would be the most convenient way to relate. This could be arranged without any difficulties.

In addition to the above activities we recently were able to expand to other areas. This is due in part to the fact that close cooperation with the Concentrated Employment Program enables us to receive two enrollees on a part-time basis.

This organization, AIFA, will be the delegate agency for dispersal of any funding granted to it. AIFA will cooperate to the fullest in discussions concerning the selection of personnel who will be considered for employment. At this time, we feel that we should be the deciding factor in management policies. This is due to the present day attitude of our community. In time we hope to have this relaxed.

The AIFA Executive Board is elected according to the Rules and By-Laws and the AIFA Constitution. Executive Board Officers and Members will be of Indian heritage or married to an American Indian. There will be no deviation from this policy.

Community Agency Representatives and Activities

- A. Senior Citizens (ten to fifteen)
- B. Youth Group (thirteen)
- C. Teen Club
- D. Women's Club (twenty members)
 meets every Wednesday
- E. Arts and Crafts -- meets twice a week -- Wednesday afternoon and evening
- F. Fund raising activities -- three times a week -- seven on committee
- G. Committee participation
 - 1. Duluth Schools Human Relations Committee
 - 2. Area Coordinating Committee on Indian Affairs
 - 3. State of Minnesota Indian Education Committee
 - 4. Minnesota Indian Scholarship Committee
 - 5. Duluth Round Table
 - 6. Duluth Chamber of Commerce Human Relations Project Committee
 - 7. Resident Advisory Board of CAP
 - 8. Crime Panel of Model City
 - 9. National Alliance of Businessmen
 - 10. Mayor's Commission on Fair Employment-Housing Practices
 - 11. Community Action Board

In another communication, representatives of the Duluth
Indian Fellowship Association expanded somewhat on the general purposes of

the Association, the conditions under which it was operating, and the actual and likely outcomes of the organization's work.

Despite the many obstacles that face any growing organization the AIFA in 1969 has had a very useful and productive year. Much has been accomplished toward the socioeconomic and educational plight of the Duluth Indian. This success demonstrates that a broader program can now be strived for in order that all the necessary services may be made available to the people in our Indian community. Prior to the establishment of this organization there was no outlook at all along these lines and it has only been since then that opportunities throughout the area have been explored and made use of. The members of AIFA have in the past couple of years involved themselves in nearly all facets of urban society within the Duluth area and in general have taken a closer look at just what is going on within the circles of our mixed society.

After much deliberation and hard work of the members a place has evolved whereby the existing programs would not only continue but move ahead on a much broader scale. Along with this, provisions have been made for expanded services which we feel have been necessary for a long time.

It is the feeling of the Indian community that in order to survive in this society of ours we must acquaint and guard ourselves with every possible means with which is necessary, to be part of our so-called cultural society. Disadvantages must be overcome. In order to do this they must be met head long with no giving way by our people. This we have already attempted in the past and have survived quite well. But more is to be done and in order to do this we must continue not at the usual pace but with a renewed vigor and added incentive toward bigger goals.

Our request again is primarily for the use of a building. We have managed thus far to be able to provide whatever materials were necessary for operations and maintenance. Once assured of a building we are confident that our proposal for expansion of both on-going and future programs through other sources will be met and we can then operate toward the ultimate goal of providing a suitable service for our people. Our goal is far-reaching and never ending and the necessary item right now is the continuous use of a building.

Since the formal opening of the Indian Center on April 21, 1968, AIFA has had a very good response from all societies.

The good wishes directed to the Center are an indication of the need for this type of complex. The atmosphere and attitudes shown this Center's personnel are heart-warming to all concerned. The activities carry an air of business and camaraderie at all times.

In a recent conversation with some of the officers of the American Indian Fellowship Association, the compilers of this report found that financial difficulties continued to hamper the organization late into 1969. officers and other Indians present stated that the Association needed funds for certain developmental education programs on an immediate basis, especially for the estimated two hundred or more Indian children located in Central and Washington high schools and in Emerson, Franklin, and Nettelson elementary schools. These representatives of the Association stated that the job market was still very bad in 1969, with such well-known industries as "Jeno's" being a "last resort" for Indians and others seeking employment. According to the Indians spoken with, a private foundation donated rent for the Center (\$2,400 per year), but services had been supplied by all-volunteer or "in kind" personnel and resources for the past four years. At last report, the incorporated American Indian Fellowship Association was still seeking funds for such basic necessities as rent and a modestly paid director or assistant director.

Duluth Indian Action Council

The compilers of this report recently interviewed some members of the Duluth Indian Action Council, the only other formal Indian organization in Duluth. No printed material was available from this organization at the time, but 'they were then told that the group's primary interests lay in "action" and "political pressure", especially as these techniques would alter the educational "system" in Duluth. There was also mention of some activity with the Duluth police department. The members of the Duluth Indian Action Council who spoke with the compilers stated that their organization was not interested in parties, social events, and social services, but rather in "direct" political-legal influence upon white agencies and institutions.

Duluth Model City Indian Survey: Details of Findings

The following sections of this summary and analysis are concerned with a more detailed breakdown of the findings from the 1968 Model City survey. An attempt has been made to be as brief as possible in detailing these data, findings, and recommendations, while retaining respect for the qualified nature of some of the material.

Reservation Affiliations of Duluth Indians: The Model City surveyors compared tribal information volunteered by respondents in both the 1966 and 1968 surveys. 5

| | | | 1968 | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|
| Reservation | <u>1966 Total</u> | Male Male | <u>Female</u> | <u>Total</u> |
| Fond du Lac | 47 | 26 | 36 | 62 |
| Red Lake | 13 | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| Nett Lake | 12 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Leech Lake | 8 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Cass Lake | 6 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Grand Portage | 4 | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| White Earth | 4 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Bad River, Wisc. | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lac Court Orielles, Wisc. | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Red Cliff, Wisc. | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 104 | 54 | 74 | 128 |

Proportion of Indian Persons 65 Years of Age and Older: The Model City survey found a low proportion of Indian persons in the 65 and over age group, probably caused by "the shorter life expectancy noted among the Minnesota Indian population" and "a tendency for older persons living in the city to move back to the reservation." 6

Comparison of Total Duluth and City Chippewa Populations:
Surveyors found "a greater proportion of persons in the 'young'
and 'wage earning' age groups combined than in the total city
population." The surveyors suggested that this finding resulted
from: "the higher birth rate among the Chippewa than among the
total city population"; "tendency toward loss in the total
city population of a high proportion of persons 20-40 years
of age who are leaving Duluth for better economic opportunity
elsewhere"; and movement of primarily this same younger
group of people among the Chippewa from the reservation to
Duluth looking for increased economic opportunity." The

researchers noted that a tendency toward white out-migration was being accompanied by a tendency toward Indian in-migration, both related to differing economic reasons. ⁷

<u>Chippewa Marital Status in Duluth</u>: The 1968 survey noted the following breakdown of the Chippewa population: 8

| Single | 55% |
|-----------|-----|
| Married | 33% |
| Divorced | 5% |
| Widowed | 4% |
| Separated | 3% |

Chippewa Family Distribution: The surveyors noted the following demographic breakdown among Duluth Indian families: 9

| | Number | Percent |
|-------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Total families | 129 | 100.0 |
| Families in five core areas | 112 | 86.8 |
| Families in Model Neighborhoo | od 56 | 43.7 |

<u>Indian Population Distribution in Duluth</u>: The 1968 Model City survey revealed the following demographic pattern for the Chippewa population: 10

| | Number | Percent |
|-------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Total persons | 360 | 100.0 |
| Persons in five core areas | 303 | 84.2 |
| Persons in Model Neighborhood | 162 | 45.0 |

<u>Indian Median Income Level</u>: The Model City survey of 1968 found that, while family income seemed to have increased from the time of the 1966 survey, it was still quite low:

Model Neighborhood:

| Total Chippewa | | \$2,936 \$3,375 |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Duluth: | Total Chippewa | \$5,323 \$3,810 |

The same problems noted in the 1966 survey -- "lack of full-time and permanent work among the Chippewa in Duluth" -- seemed to contribute greatly to the continuingly dismal economic picture typical for most Duluth Indian residents.11

Duluth Indian Juvenile and Adult Arrests during 1967, 1968: Data gathered from the City of Duluth Police Department for 1967 and 1968 by the Model City research group indicated the following pattern of arrests:

| · | Juvenile | Adu1t |
|---------------------------|----------|-------|
| Model Neighborhood | 0.0% | 54.8% |
| Central Business District | 0.0 | 15.5 |
| East Hillside | 0.0 | 10.7 |
| West End | 0.0 | 6.5 |
| West Duluth | 0.0 | 3.8 |
| Total Core Area Arrests | 0.0% | 91.3% |

The researchers state that "the most significant fact to notice from this table is the lack of juvenile arrests. It was found in a survey of the juvenile records that the proportion of Indian arrests among the total number of juvenile arrests in the city was negligible. Thus, statements concerning the high number of arrests in the state as a whole among the Indian population are not true for juvenile Chippewa in Duluth." The researchers added that 91.3% of the Chippewa arrests were made in the core areas of Duluth as "compared to 71.2% of the total number of arrests made in the city." Presumably, these differences are related to population concentrations of the Chippewa. 12

Chippewa Arrests and Areas of Arrests: The table below from the Model City report indicates that nearly forty percent of the arrests made in the core areas during 1967 and 1968 involved Indians. The data were gathered from the City of Duluth Police Department. 13

| Model Neighborhood | 15.6% |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Central Business District | 12.1 |
| East Hillside | 5.7 |
| West End | 3.9 |
| West Duluth | 2.4 |
| Total | 39.7% |

Chippewa Crime and Arrest Record: Data obtained from the City of Duluth Police Department for 1967 and 1968 resulted in a profile of the total number of arrests for each crime involving the Chippewa:

| Vagrancy | | 13.9% |
|-------------|----|-------|
| Drunkenness | | 13.2% |
| Weapons | 48 | 9.1% |
| Fraud | | 8.3% |

| Liquor Laws | 6.0% |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Sex Offenses | 4.9% |
| Disorderly Conduct | 4.7% |
| Other Assaults | 4.7% |
| Theft | 4.1% |
| Burglary Say | 4.0% |
| Drunk Driving and Major | |
| Traffic Offenses | 3.1% |
| Tota ¹ | 76.0% |

The Model City researchers note that "examination of the total number of arrests for each crime discloses that the proportion of arrests involving alcoholism -- Drunk Driving and Major Traffic Offenses, Liquor Laws and Drunkenness -- accounted for 82% of the total number of Chippewa arrests during the time period covered by the crime survey." [Emphasis added.] The researchers went on to say that "the comparable figure for the white population involved in these arrests was only 64.4% -- almost a twenty-point difference. It was also found that the majority of the Chippewa committing the three crimes were above thirty years of age. Thus, this seems to be a problem which is both more prevalent and more visible among the Chippewa population -- and one which seems to increase with age."

The researchers noted that the possible inflating influence of repeaters upon these statistics could not be disallowed. 14

<u>Duluth Chippewa Educational Attainment</u>: The 1968 survey of the Chippewa population in Duluth directed by the Model City Administration resulted in the following breakdown of Chippewa persons by educational level and age ranking:

| • | Age Groups |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| Model Neighborhood | 20-24 25 and over |
| Completed no more than grade 6 | 0.0% 8.9% |
| Completed no more than grade 9 | 9 21.4% 42.5% |
| Completed no more than grade 1 | 12 64.3% 44.6% |
| City | |
| Completed no more than grade 6 | 0.0% 10.3% |
| Completed no more than grade 9 | 19.2% 42.1% |
| Completed no more than grade 1 | 12 73.1% 41.4% |

The researchers concluded from these data that the "differences between the two age groups indicate those between the ages of twenty and twenty-four have a generally higher level of educational attainment than do the older persons. Thus, the overall situation in regard to educational attainment among Duluth's Chippewa residents seems to be improving, with a far greater proportion now completing high school than in the past."15

Indian Educational Attainment by Grade Level: The 1968 survey conducted by the Model City Administration on the Duluth Chippewa population resulted in the following figures on educational attainment and age level as related to place of residence within the city:

| Model Neighborhood | Appropriate Grade | Below Grade Level |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Persons aged 5 - 9 | 70.0% | 30.0% |
| Persons aged 10 - 14 | 87.5% | 12.5% |
| Persons aged 15 - 19 | <u>71.4%</u> | 28.6% |
| Average of all ages | 76.3% | 23.7% |
| City | | |
| Persons aged 5 - 9 | 73.0% | 27.0% |
| Persons aged 10 - 14 | 80.0% | 20.0% |
| Persons aged 15 - 19 | 66.7% | 33.3% |
| Average of all ages | 73.2% | 26.8% |

The researchers concluded that "according to Duluth's figures, approximately one quarter of the (Indian) students are behind their age group in school between the first and the twelfth grades and, thus, are more likely to be future dropouts." The researchers went on to note that "information on the actual dropout rate among Duluth's Indian students corroborates the information on potential dropouts" related in the table. "The rates over a two year period (1966-1967, 1967-1968) for each grade from ten to twelve ranged from 18.2% to 37.5%." Utilizing information from the Duluth Board of Education's Guidance Department, contained in a report entitled "Survey of American Negro and American Indian Dropouts, 1967-1968", the Model City surveyors stated that the combined dropout rates for the two year period were: junior high, grades 7 - 9 -- 7.1%; senior high, grades 10 - 12 -- 24.6%.

"Thus," the Model City researchers went on, "at least one-fourth of the Indian pupils of high school age in Duluth dropout before graduation. This number could be higher if persons leaving in the spring who don't return in the fall are also counted: the figures . . . represent only those who have left sometime during the school year." The Model City research team estimated that the rough estimate of one-quarter dropouts among the Duluth Indian population compared favorably to the estimated state-wide Chippewa dropout figures of fifty to sixty percent. Even then, they noted, that the one-quarter figure might be low for several reasons. 16

<u>Duluth Indian School Attendance</u>: The 1968 survey of Duluth Indian people also looked into the relationship between school

attendance for Indian males and females and place of location within the city:

| Model Neighborhood | Males | Females |
|--------------------|-------|---------|
| Grades 1 - 6 | 69.0% | 31.0% |
| Grades 7 - 9 | 47.8% | 52.2% |
| Grades 10 - 12 | 44.9% | 55.1% |
| a | | |
| City | | |
| Grades 1 - 6 | 70.0% | 30.0% |
| Grades 7 - 9 | 50.0% | 50.0% |
| Grades 10 - 12 | 45.5% | 54.5% |

The data indicated a decrease in the proportion of Indian males in school as school years progressed. The economic and employment implications of this finding were reviewed. 17

<u>Duluth Indian Vocational Training</u>: The Model City survey team noted an extremely low proportion of Chippewa residents in Duluth involved in vocational training programs:

| Model Neighborhood | Percent of Total Age Group |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Ages 15 - 24 | 17.1 |
| Ages 25 - 64 | 21.8 |
| City | |
| Ages 15 - 24 | 13.1 |
| Ages 25 - 64 | 18.8 |

The researchers noted that the requirements of many jobs involve a high school diploma and/or adequate vocational training. 18

Chippewa Employment in Duluth: The 1968 Model City surveyors stated that the 1966 Peacock survey showed: "only 24% of the (Indian) families considered themselves safe in their present employment: 47% of the families were supported by part-time employment such as seasonal construction or were longshoremen; and 29% were on some sort of pension or relief, including ADC, direct welfare, Social Security, or a Veteran's Pension. Thus, 71% of the population had some source of income outside of relief at this time, and somewhat less that one-third (29%) were dependent on relief."

After the 1968 survey, the researchers concluded that "35.6% of the Chippewa in the city who listed an occupation in the survey other than retired, housewife, or student were unemployed at the time of the survey." A table was constructed from the Model City survey data of Chippewa unemployment:

| | | | | Unemployed |
|----------|----|-------|--------------|------------|
| Chippewa | in | city | | 35.6% |
| Chippewa | in | Mode1 | Neighborhood | 39.1% |

These data, it was felt, may have been positively effected by the fact that Duluth employment was at an all-time high in 1968. Thus, it was possible, according to the Model City researchers, that Indian unemployment figures were artificially low at that time. The data were also complicated by the fact that, while "61% (of the respondents) listed their occupations as a form of semi-skilled or unskilled labor", 45.5% of this 61% "indicated they were not employed at the time of the survey." [Emphasis added.]

Furthermore, the Model City research team found that "the figures for the city Chippewa population show that: 45.5% who received vocational training were employed at the time of the survey: 54.5% who received vocational training were not employed at the time of the survey." The researchers concluded that "the existence of further education among Duluth's Chippewa population does not seem to have the positive correlation with employment status which has been noted on the state-wide level."

The researchers also found that, among those who had had some form of vocational training, "only slightly less than one—third of them -- 29.7% -- were working in an occupation for which they had received training. Thus, a positive correlation between type of training and type of occupation does not seem to exist to a significant degree." 19

<u>Indian Job Satisfaction</u>: The 1968 Model City survey found the following with respect to Chippewa satisfaction with jobs in Duluth:

| City Chippewa Population | Percent |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Satisfied with job | 43.2 |
| Not satisfied with job | 56.8 |

The researchers noted that these data were somewhat suspect because only 60% of those listing an occupation indicated whether or not they were satisfied with it. They did feel, however, that the data might be suggestive of future employment difficulties for Duluth Chippewa.²⁰

Indian Participation in Project Headstart and Headstart

Follow-Through: The Duluth Office of Economic Development
provided data to the Model City survey team indicating:
Chippewa participation in two Federal programs as follows:

| Project | Percent of Program Participants |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Summer Headstart | 1.9% |
| Full Year Headstart | 1.2% |
| Full Year HeadstartFollow | w |
| Through | 3.9% |

The Model City research team noted that, while the proportion of Chippewa in the total Duluth population was 0.7%, Indian participation in the Federal programs noted above was as high as 3.9%. Thus, they concluded, that some progress was being made in involving Indians in these programs.²¹

Adult Education courses, also sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, were found to be enrolling 6.3% Indian students, "indicating some advantage . . . toward a better educational level among the Chippewa." Statistics on Chippewa participation in certain other Duluth poverty programs were unavailable at the time of the 1968 survey, with the following exceptions:

| State Employment Office | | |
|--------------------------|-------|------------|
| (June, 1968 - May, 1969) | 1.36% | [variable] |
| Youth Opportunity Center | | |
| (1967 - 1968) | 1.2% | |
| Concentrated Employment | | |
| Program | 14.8% | |
| County Welfare Office | 3.7% | |
| | | |

The survey team noted that, "a survey of the St. Louis County Welfare Department conducted by the Community Renewal Program during the summer of 1969 indicated that there were approximately 115 Chippewa families receiving some type of welfare aid. Thus, according to these figures, approximately 46% of the total number of Chippewa families in Duluth had at least one member receiving some type of welfare aid at the time of the survey. This . . . represents the actual proportion of the Chippewa families receiving welfare aid in Duluth." 22

The survey team found that "very general" information was also available on several other types of welfare assistance received by Chippewa families: General Aid, in which "the incidence of Chippewa families in Duluth receiving (assistance) was approximately twice of any other of the programs noted": Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Medical Assistance, in which the incidence "was approximately equal to that for AFDC among the Chippewa families in Duluth"; and Old Age Assistance, in which, due to the Chippewa population profile in Duluth, participation . . . was very low." 23

Alcoholism: Both the 1966 and 1968 surveys indicated some important influences of alcohol upon Chippewa life-styles. The 1968 survey found that the Duluth Center on Problem-Drinking had assisted at least 3.7% Indian enrolless within their client population.²⁴

American Indian Fellowship Association: The 1968 Model City survey team also attempted to learn something about the relationship of the American Indian Fellowship Association (AIFA) to the Duluth Chippewa population. Survey information indicated that the organization was "fairly well-known to Duluth's Chippewa population. Of those surveyed, 73.6% indicated that they had heard of this organization — which has as one of its prime goals the function of operating as an information and referral service." The surveyors felt that these data pointed to the tentative conclusion that the organization might be fulfilling its purpose, since "almost three-fourths of Duluth's Indian population are aware of its existence and, thus, will be able to turn to it if the need arises." They survey team also found that 26.4% of the surveyed population indicated membership in AIFA. 25

The 1928 "Meriam Report"

In 1928 a report entitled The Problem of Indian Administration was released by the Institute for Government Research. 26 A lengthy chapter of this massive report was concerned with what were called "migrated Indians", including some who had come to Duluth, Minnesota and Superior, Wisconsin from nearby reservations. The writers of the Meriam Report categorized Indians in Duluth and Superior as "not colonized; that is, living independently in the ordinary life of the community and scattered through many kinds of neighborhoods, more or less absorbed into the several social classes in which their labor and economic standing have placed them."

The following table from the report indicates how some non-colonized city Indian populations compared at the time of the report. 27

| Locality | Both Sexes | Men | Women |
|----------------------|------------|-----|-------|
| Cities of the desert | 113 | 58 | 55 |
| Phoenix | 60 | 29 | 31 |
| Albuquerque | 36 | 19 | 17 |
| Santa Fe | 17 | 10 | 7 ^ |

| Locality | Both Sexes | <u>Men</u> | Women |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------|--------|
| Pacific coast cities | 131 | 55 | 76 |
| Los Angeles and Torrance | 105 | 41 | 64 |
| Sacramento | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| Salem | 4 | 2 | 2 5 |
| Tacoma | 12 | 7 | 5 |
| Cities of the lakes and plains | 343 | 163 | 180 |
| Minneapolis | 100 | 45 | 55 |
| St. Paul | 66 | 32 | 34 |
| Duluth-Superior | 40 | 17 | 23 |
| Milwaukee | 88 | 43 | 45 |
| Sioux City | 49 | 26 | 23 |
| [Total - not colonized] | 587 | 276 | 311 |

The Meriam Report went on to say that "proportionally and actually marriage with whites was found more frequent [sic] among the Chippewas in the Minnesota cities than elsewhere." The report stated that the majority of persons in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth "who claim to be Chippewas are persons whose Indian blood is so diluted that its presence would never be guessed from their personal appearance." The researchers stated that the children of these "Indians" tended to marry whites, "or at any rate the Indians, so called, who appear to be white." A comparative breakdown of the mixed marriages appeared as follows: 28

| Locality | Total Mixed Marriages | Non-Indian men married to i Indian women | Non-Indian womer married to Indian men |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| Los Angeles | 10 | 8 | 2 |
| Sacramento | 4 | 4 | - |
| Needles | 1 | 1 | . - |
| Phoenix | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Albuquerque | 1 | | 1 |
| Sioux City | 1 | 1. | - |
| Minneapolis | 24 | 14 | 10 |
| St. Paul | 22 | 13 | 9 |
| Duluth-Superior | 8 | 6 | 2 |
| Milwaukee | 8 | 4 | 4 |
| All cities | 81 | 52 | 29 |

Since the Meriam Report writers were interested in the educational level of migrated Indians, they attempted to "test the assumption that Indians

in cities are as a rule the better educated of their race."²⁹ A tabulation of replies from 226 men and 294 women who responded to the survey indicates comparative completed grade levels:³⁰

| | Men | Women |
|--------------------------|------|-------|
| Never attended school | 5.35 | 3.1 |
| First grade | 0.9 | 0.0 |
| Second grade | 1.8 | 0.3 |
| Third grade | 4.9 | 1.4 |
| Fourth grade | 4.4 | 7.5 |
| Fifth grade | 10.6 | 7.1 |
| Sixth grade | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| Seventh grade | 11.0 | 16.7 |
| Eighth grade | 28.3 | 26.2 |
| Ninth grade | 5.8 | 8.5 |
| Tenth grade | 7.6 | 11.6 |
| Eleventh grade | 0.9 | 1.4 |
| Twelfth grade | 3.5 | 2.4 |
| Normal school or college | 2.7 | 2.4 |

The writers concluded that "if it be assumed that those who went to normal school or college completed the fourteenth grade, then the last school grade completed, in terms of the average, was 7.2 for men and 7.5 for women (in the cities)."³¹

The writers of the Meriam Report found, "according to the most reliable local estimates available," that the Indian populations of the cities of the lakes and plains existed at the following approximate levels in 1928, with the accompanying tribal make-ups: 32

Number of Indians visited in

| Tribe | 1 | s of th | ne lakes ains | | nneap | | 1 | Oulut operi | | Mi | 1wau | kee | Sid | oux C | ity |
|---------------------------|-----|----------|------------------|-----|----------|----|----------|----------------|-------------------------|----------|------|--------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | A | <u>М</u> | W | A | <u>M</u> | W. | <u>A</u> | <u>M</u> | $\overline{\mathbf{W}}$ | <u>A</u> | M | \overline{M}_{i} | <u>A</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>W</u> |
| All tribes | 343 | 163 | 180 | 166 | 77 | 89 | 40 | 17 | 23 | 88 | 43 | 45. | 49 | 26 | 23 |
| Brotherton | 6 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | O. |
| Chippewa | 132 | 57 | 75 | 94 | 41 | 53 | 31 | 11 | 20 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Menominee | 4 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Oneida | 53 | 24 | 29 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 53 | 24 | 29 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sioux | 32 | 14 | 18 | 19 | 8 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 6 | 7 |
| Stockbridge | 7 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 00 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Winnebago | 31 | 16 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 29 | 14 | 15 |
| Other tribes ^a | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Not reported | 10 | -5 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1. | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Non-Indian ^b | 63 | 38 | 25 | 46 | 27 | 19 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 1 | 0 |

[A= A11; M = Men; W = Women]

^a One person in each of the following tribes: Mission, Mohegan, Omaha, Ottawa, and Sac and Fox.

b Non-Indian husband or wife of an Indian.

The Indian populations of Minneapolis and St. Paul were found to be about three hundred each at the time, with Duluth and Superior from 150 to two hundred each. The researchers were quite concerned with the existence and extent of genetic mixing:

In Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, and Superior, and to a lesser extent, in Milwaukee, there are many mixed bloods. In fact one gets the impression in St. Paul and Minneapolis that most of the persons claiming to be Indians have but a slight degree of Indian blood. From "lists of Indians" furnished by the several reservations, many were reached whose personal appearance indicated French or Scandinavian blood rather than Indian. In a number of cases the claim of only one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second, or one-sixty-fourth Indian blood was made, yet great insistence was put upon the right to be designated as "Indian". Some of the so-called Indians were found to be persons generally believed to be white, who were living in the type of home that fairly prosperous young professional or business folk generally enjoy. [Emphasis added.] 33

Stating that Indians in the cities of Wisconsin and Minnesota evidenced a "more sharp break from the reservation and . . . an adjustment to the need for making a permanent home (in the city),"³⁴ the Meriam Report writers found a great range of housing, occupational, and life styles in the north central cities. The following table, which indicates that "among those interviewed nearly one-eighth were in professional, clerical, and mercantile pursuits,"³⁵ shows the occupations of Indians visited in the cities of the lakes and plains:³⁶

Indians visited in

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Occupation | Cities or the lakes and plains | Minne- apolis and St. Paul | Duluth and Superior | Milwaukee | Sioux City |
| All occupations | 163 | 77 | 17 | 43 | 26 |
| Laborer | 31 | 9 | 5 | 13 | 4 |
| Factory operative | 30 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 14 |
| Carpenter | 12 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Other building tra | ades 8 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Auto mechanic | 7 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Merchant | 6 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Railroad employee | 6 | 5 | 1 | 0 | - 0 |
| Clerk and salesman | n: 5 | 5 | 0 | :0 | 0 |
| Electrician | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 |

Indians visited in

| Occupation | Cities of the lakes and plains | Minne- apolis and St. Paul | Duluth and Superior | Milwaukee | Sioux City |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Stationary engine | er 4 | 2 | 0 | . 1 | 1 |
| Trucker | 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Tailor | 4 | , 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lawyer | . 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Janitor | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine manufact | urer 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Pharmacist | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Baker | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Farmer | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Other occupation | 11 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Not reported | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| None | 11 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 4 |

^a One person in each of the following occupations: Auditor, barber, chef, machinist, machinist's helper, molder, motorman, policeman, printer, stationary fireman, taxi owner.

The Meriam Report noted that the need for employment was a fundamental causal factor in city work migration in the 1920's -- as it is in the 1970's. In the cities of the lakes and plains, and in the other cities surveyed in the Meriam Report, it was commonly found that Indians living within the limits of the metropolis were characterized by a great spread of social class and life styles with most of these Indians living upwardly mobile and reasonably "successful" lives. Little if any tendency was found to ghetto-If the Meriam Report focused upon a representative sample of Indians in the cities it surveyed, including the cities of Minnesota, then the conditions which prevail today in Duluth, St. Paul and Minneapolis -- a fairly narrow spread of social class and life style with a heavy skewing toward the blue-collar and poverty levels -- represent a distinct change in the nature of upper-midwest and national city Indian population characteristics. Even if it is allowed that the range of incomes, occupations and life styles of Indians living in the metropolis remains the same since the Meriam Report (or even if the range has expanded), the stark realities of recent surveys and other reports point toward a significant redistribution of Indian socioeconomic characteristics toward the working class and poverty strata of the socioeconomic spectrum.

Conclusions of the Model City Survey

The Model City Administration researchers who conducted the 1968 Duluth Indian Survey concluded that "barring major future changes in the residential structure of the city (of Duluth)" the following Chippewa minority profile extending over a thirty-five year period should emerge: 37

| RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTIO | N OF CHIPPEWA | A POPULATIO | ON: 1985 | ٠ . |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| • | | Chippewa | a Percent | |
| | 1950 | 1960 | 1968 | 1985 |
| West Duluth | 13.2 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 12.5 |
| West End | 7.5 | 19.8 | 13.6 | 16.0 |
| Model Neighborhood | 29.8 | 28.5 | 45.0 | 48.0 |
| Central Business District | 13.2 | 8.4 | 8.9 | 2.5 |
| East Hillside | 6.4 | 11.8 | 6.7 | 11.0 |
| TOTAL | 70.1 | 77.6 | 84.1 | 90.0 |
| OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS | 29.9 | 22.4 | 15.9 | 10.0 |
| CITY TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| | | | | |

The Model City researchers forecast an increase in the total proportion of minority persons living inside "core areas" in the city of Duluth because of the following factors: 38

- a. The high number of low-rent or ownership value and low income dwelling units available in these areas, especially in the Model Neighborhood;
- b. The existing concentration of minority persons within these areas which would tend to draw future migrants and new arrivals to the city to reside in them also.

Certain population growth prediction curves were also attempted by the Model City Survey staff, but the difference between the "high" forecast (1.9%) and the "low" forecast (1.6%) was too small to justify a full description of the means used to obtain these forecasts. 39

Recommendations of the 1966 Peacock Report

Recommendations were made by Eugene G. Peacock for increased agency service to migrant Indians in the city of Duluth. With some considerable editing these suggestions are reviewed below: 40

The 1966 survey shows that part-time and seasonal employment are some of the reasons for the low income status of Duluth Indians. Lack of medicine and medical care are due to insufficient income. All in all, the Duluth urban Indian situation may be summarized as the most problematic population within the city. Essentially, these problems are due to poverty and to cultural differences. We now wish to suggest some recommended changes in agency services which might help to alleviate some of the difficulties.

If an information service were available the Duluth Indian would have someone to turn to for assistance, and thereby clear up many important questions he might have. This service is essential, especially for the new family or individual moving into the city. Many of the older Indian persons, some of whom may have been in the city for quite some time, are still unfamiliar with the many opportunities available there for them through Duluth agencies. This information service, then, could also provide continuous contact between the agency and the individual. Continuous contact must be maintained or the individual will quickly lose interest in his environment. Encouragement could mean a lot for the improvement of his situation, and this is the major reason why constant contact must be maintained. Throughout the 1966 survey the struggle for economic survival and the prestige that attends it are well identified. While it may be true that Indians are probably not making much comparative headway at this time, it is also true that they are trying very hard. Credit must be given to those Indians who leave the reservation to start an urban life style on their own, and if they find someone who will guide and encourage them on the way, they stand a better chance of making the economic grade. These Indians do not ask for much, just for a chance to fend effectively for themselves in the city. A little encouragement along the way from non-Indians, and from Indians themselves, could mean the turning point for many Indians attempting satisfactory adjustment to the city.

An Indian outreach program could be set up in Duluth which would take care of most of the problems that face Duluth Indians today. The program could be designed to reach out to the individual Indian or his family rather than waiting for Indians to voluntarily come seeking services. The Indian must be oriented in ways of city

life regardless of the length of time he may have resided within the city. The community relations programs should be set up so the urban Indian can show interest in urban activities and awareness of his duties as a participating citizen. The urban Indian must be encouraged to take part in public affairs as well as in various subsistence affairs. Through a community relations program, confidence could be built up in the Duluth Indian through the recognition and treatment of problems which are sometimes not brought into the open under current conditions. Many of these problems faced by urban Indians are not solved simply because they are never identified; but once these problems are identified, a chance is open for development of proper procedures to eliminate the difficulties.

An Indian contact man is essential to a community relations program simply because Duluth Indians probably feel much more at ease with a fellow Indian. The contact man could be of much assistance with those individuals having employment problems, a matter of grave concern already identified in this report. The feeling expressed by some Duluth Indians is that they would positively adapt much more rapidly if they had a "big brother" encouraging them. In many instances all that would be needed is verification of specific helpful information—and to many, this is all they want.

It is apparent from the data examined in this report that some urban Indians must have guidance in certain phases of urban living. Employment and education are two of our biggest problems, and these difficulties might eventually be alleviated through the "big brother" procedure suggested above. Alcohol is another issue which could be pursued through this same technique. Progress can be made on all of these issues only if we work through an appropriate type of community development program. Our youth problem could be handled in the same manner. Here, a follow-up procedure is distinctly called for. We have also noted that our Indian young people are having difficulties in school, dropping out of school, or planning some kind of post-graduation experience. of these Indian young people could be seeking special vocational training or college education, while others might just be seeking employment of some particular kind. Many of these Indian children do not tend to express themselves openly or to the appropriate persons, and may eventually be caught up in a difficult, unpredictable problem of part-time employment experiences offering no future to look forward to but instead, offering the prospect of continuous struggle in order to survive minimally in the urban setting. Again, constant contact with these individuals could play a vital part in effective modification of this pattern.

Regardless of the amount and severity of problems facing Indians in the city today, we must work methodically toward solutions. Progress must be made in order to better the relationship between Indian styles of life and

the styles and structures of the urban environment. In order to help accomplish this, some of the distrust that has been bred through years of contact between Indians and non-Indians will have to be moderated and, eventually, dissolved entirely. Realizing that the essential conditions between Indians and non-Indians have obtained for well over one hundred years without important modification, we realize the magnitude of our task but also recognize that if there is anything to be done about the plight of the urban Indian in Duluth, now is the time to do it.

Placing the Duluth Indians in Perspective

As the rural-urban migratory movement in the United States continues to have an influence upon American Indians, more and more of them are leaving behind comparatively poor reservation backgrounds and substituting for them some style of urban existence. Indians have migrated to urban areas, along with other rural citizens, in search of employment and a more agreeable standard of living. As with other migrant Americans, native Americans have suffered from adjustment problems connected with their relocation. These problems are partly a function of being Indian or tribal, partly the result of previous rural living and poverty, and partly a function of the condition of American cities in the 1960s and 1970s. As more Indians have moved into the cities, the old Meriam Report findings, which indicated a broad social class spread and an encouraging upward mobility tendency, have given ground to a vast movement toward proletariat and lumpen proletariat strata within the urban Indian social class spectrum. This quantitative increase in Indian poverty in the cities, measured both in raw numbers and in the distribution of Indian social class make-up, is accompanied by a positive attempt on the part of urban Indians to communicate on the basis of shared experiences and to attempt the development of various adaptive life styles with which to meet the challenges of the urban future.

Recently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs paper, <u>Indian Record</u>, introduced its readership to some of the problems faced by urban Indians in the late 60s and reviewed some of the activities of selected urban Indian centers which were attempting to deal with Indian adaptation problems: 41

AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER, Chicago, Ill. Established in 1953, the Center now owns its own building. Special programs include a Family Services program and a year-round Explorers program for grade school children which maintains a summer day camp and tutoring during the school year. Members serve in community agencies, on local youth councils and committees for urban progress centers, Model Cities programs, human relations groups, and in church organizations. The Center actively participates in urban affairs, and successfully shared sponsorship of an Indian Festival with the Chicago Field Museum, took part in an urban study of Indian education, provides training experience for VISTA workers, shares in the annual Chicago Folk-Fair, Christmas parades and similar ceremonies, and provides speakers for service groups and public school classroom programs

AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIETY, Washington, D.C. Formally organized in 1966, the Society is unique in that it serves a special purpose as an Indian host organization in the Nation's Capital to both non-Indian and Indian individuals, groups, or dignitaries who may have occasion to visit Washington, D.C. Entertainment may include a dance program, dinner, reception, or other formal activity. Each year the Society stages a reception for Miss Indian America which is attended by the Secretary of the Interior and other officials. A major participant in Inaugural activities for President Nixon, the Society also takes part in foreign embassy programs, national festivals, area-wide educational programs, and benefit programs for the underprivileged. A major Society goal is the establishment of a scholarship fund for younr Indian boys and girls. The first scholarship will be awarded in September.

CALL OF THE COUNCIL DRUMS, Denver, Colo. A new agency, the Council was formed to help solve the problems of those who leave the reservations to move into the Denver area. Through an Indian staff, both paid and volunteer, counselors work with newly-arrived families and individuals finding summer jobs for the young, arranging welfare assistance for a family or locating adequate housing. Visits are also made to homesick students at a boarding school or to counsel Indian boys at the nearby Federal Correctional Institute (FCI) - art classes were recently organized at FCI which resulted in an exhibit of the youths' works at Denver's International House. The Council has recently started a fund drive to purchase larger quarters to expand its activities.

LOS ANGELES INDIAN CENTER, Los Angeles, Calif. Established in 1935, the Center is maintained by a volunteer staff of members. It provides the Indian people of the area with such services as job placement and training, recruitment for higher education, recreation and social welfare. The Center has recently submitted a proposal to the California Council on Criminal Justice for a grant to operate a half-way house. It now provides administrative assistance at the Los Angeles police and probation departments. Now in rented quarters, the Center is working toward building its own home which will allow it to greatly expand its programs and services.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ASSOCIATION, Cleveland, Ohio. Recently formed, the Association participated in Cleveland's first Christman Parade last year; has started a publication, "The Buckeye Smoke-Signals," distributed to the local Indian community, and held its first beauty pageant in January to select a Junior Miss Indian Cleveland. Without a central home at present, a major goal of the Association is to establish an Indian center for the Cleveland area.

PHOENIX INDIAN CENTER, Phoenix, Ariz. In May 1969 the Center initiated the Phoenix Urban Indian Project to be of service to the urban and migrant Indian population. During the summer it conducted a drama and culture program for Indian teenagers "to develop a positive self-concept through creative dramatics and to express their feelings on social issues." Guided by an Indian director, 16 participants representing 12 different tribes, met daily for field trips, panel discussions, Indian culture studies, and drama activities.

SEATTLE INDIAN CENTER, Seattle, Wash. Opened in 1960 by the American Indian Womens' Service League, the Center provides a lounge area for Indian men fresh from the reservation, between jobs, or seeking advice and counseling, where they can meet, read, listen to the radio and relax. A large social lounge provides a meeting place for Indian-oriented groups and is a showroom for the sale of Indian arts and crafts especially Northwest Coast arts. The Canter is especially proud of its Upward Bound Indian education counseling program, the only one of its kind in the United States, which assists Indian students to develop realistic plans and to carry them out. Counselors cover the entire Washington State area making direct contact with students at the junior, senior, and post high school levels. The Center also sponsors a three-credit course annually at Western Washington State College for those who teach in or near reservation areas. Among its activities, the Center sponsors education workshops and presents an annual arts and crafts show. Since 1961, the Center has been a United Good Neighbor Agency.

TULSA INDIAN CENTER, INC., Tulsa, Okla. Established in 1966, the Center conducts a summer recreation program for disadvantaged Indian children. Since January 1969 its referral service maintained by volunteer staff, has made a total of 9,913 contacts in helping Indian people utilize programs of existing agencies to meet their needs. A community-initiated organization, the Center's goals are to implement an Indian education program and to establish a permanent center.

WHITE BUFFALO COUNCIL, Denver, Colo. Formed in 1955, the Council has a strong program of traditional social functions and sponsors monthly pow wows and a continuing arts and crafts program. An annual pow wow is held during the summer and the competitive dance exhibitions for cash prizes draw Indian participants from throughout the West. Educational meetings, introduced in 1964, bring to members information about topics of importance to their life in an urban environment. The Council has no center, but meets in various set locations for its monthly activities.

As a review of these brief descriptions of several American Indian centers will suggest, the drive toward the development of an effective service-oriented center in Duluth already has precedents elsewhere in the nation. However, Indian centers serve as more than structures through which services may be provided, however needed and necessary. Indian urban centers are also foci of identification, shared experiences and concerns. The burgeoning Indian in Duluth and its less well-developed counterpart there are both attempting in different ways to meed the service-identification-social needs problems of Duluth Indians.

While Duluth's Indian Center is as yet in a fairly early stage of development, many other Indian centers not reviewed in the Indian Record of October, 1969 are also in incipient growth stages, and it should be noted that many of these new centers are in such large cities as San Francisco, Baltimore, Denver, and Minneapolis. Indian centers have a tendency in many cases to rise and fall rather quickly, in part based upon the fundamental and often insoluble problem of financing, but also because of directly Indian reasons and problems (often not so easily received) related to the urban environment itself — especially the environment provided for Indians by social service agencies.

In 1969 William H. Hodge of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee published a monograph on the Navahos of Albuquerque. Hodge suggested a list of several "forces" that "push and pull" Navahos within the framework of a reservation-urban system. With some modifications to suit the requirements of the Duluth situation, let us review Hodge's suggested influences below: 43

"Pulling" Forces Toward the Reservation

- 1. Congenial reservation family ties;
- 2. A relaxed reservation atmosphere;
- 3. A chance to use acquired skills to better advantage;
- 4. Appearance of traditional reservation niche unavailable before;
- 5. The appearance of a non-traditional reservation niche unavailable before;
- 6. An inability to make a living in the city regarded as basically certain;
- 7. Langauge barriers (including non-standard English difficulties);
- 8. The presence of unfulfilled obligations to reservation kinsmen.

"Pulling" Forces Toward the City

- Opportunity for a job appears to exist in the city;
- 2. Escape from an unsatisfactory reservation life style appears
- 3. A higher standard of living appears to exist in the city;
- 4. Better medical care appears to exist in the city;
- 5. Urban life appears preferable to or for children;
- 6. A viable living is determined as impossible on the reservation;
- 7. Language barriers operate to make the city more attractive (most often barriers created by the use of English or a non-standard variety of English for the reservation setting).

"Pushing" Forces Toward the City

- 1. Poverty;
- Friction with relatives;
- 3. Schooling influences (BIA, mission, or public schools);
- 4. Non-Indian spouse;
- 5. Physical handicap (probably extreme);
- 6. Military service;
- 7. Friction with the law.

"Pushing" Forces Toward the Reservation

- 1. Unsatisfactory job aspirations by city standards;
- 2. Unsatisfactory job experience;
- 3. A lack of satisfying inter-personal urban relations;
- 4. General dissatisfaction with the urban way of life;
- 5. Presence of an Indian spouse desiring a return to the reservation:
- 6. Friction with relatives or with the law.

In Duluth and Albuquerque, most American Indians who relocate from the reservation environment to the city, whether or not they remain there, are not the products of the Relocation or Employment Assistance Programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While we do not intend to review these programs here, since they have little or no relevance for the Duluth situation, it seems important to note that Indians, whether they arrive in the urban environment through the Employment Assistance or Relocation Programs, or whether they come without Federal assistance, often tend to end up in the same socio-economic boat. In this sense both assisted and unassisted relocation movements by American Indians have had the effect in most cases of removing reservation ghetto residents from their rural surroundings and transplanting them in the ghettos of large American cities. For those who are interested in learning more about contemporary urban Indian life-styles and problems from the Indian vantage point, there is little currently available in the form of thorough and competent literature. One modern publication, The New Indians, 44 suffers from a total lack of a central theme and organization, but does offer disjointed and highly selected points of view by some Indian people and politicians regarding the reservation-urban migratory phenomenon and its more unpleasant sides. An even more recent publication, Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto. 45 provides some casual points of view about urban Indians and the migration system with an emphasis upon the Indian political correlates of these movement patterns. The author's assertions about the political meanings of the urban-reservation system do have value because they come from an "experienced" Indian, but their unsubstantiated quality makes one wonder if they are undergirded by a truly penetrating understanding of the developing urban Indian.

Whether there really is a new Indian nationalism developing, whether it has stability and a future, or whether urban Indians are the "cutting edge" of the "new Indian nationalism" (as Deloria suggests), the fact is that urban Indians must make a living in their new environment one way or another. To a

great extent, especially where Indians are concerned, rural migrants to city environments must make psychological, cultural and social "connections" with the urban institutions or the likelihood of their "success," in occupationincome terms, is small. Most Indians, whether living in the city or in the country, appear to be making superficial adjustments to a technocratic society. The structural nature of Indian tribal personality characteristics and social characteristics appears to be a powerful and lasting independent variable in the continuation of "Indianness." Even "apples", or perjoratively labelled Indians accused by others of having "sold out," are still "Indians" capable of being redeemed in the eyes of their critics by appropriate adjustments away from the world of the whiteman. In addition, the situation is made more complex by the recognition of "apples" as "real Indians" by their non-critics. (In many instances, of course, putative "apples" may be "real Indians" to themselves, and scornful of Indian militants who are really "Afro-Indians.") There is much more to all this labelling and identity shifting business in the urban environment, but it will do for now to suggest that it exists. Ablon, in paragraphs referring to the San Francisco Bay Area but largely suitable to the Duluth Indian population of the 1970s, treats identity and socio-economic problems of the urban Indian as follows:46

Most Indians prefer to associate socially with other Indians, and most frequently these are relatives and members of their own tribal group. Their strong feeling of identity motivated most of the Indians I interviewed to go to Indian centers of interaction in their early years here. Ultimately it seems to be the Indian himself who makes the choice of association. In the Bay Area Indians live in an open society of open associations, yet they have tended largely to limit their contacts to other Indians.

Likewise, few have aspirations of social mobility, although they may wish to obtain some of the same sort of material possessions as are owned by those who are obviously of a higher social status than themselves. The general lack of the kind of motivation that first generation European ethnics have exhibited toward climbing the social ladder or even toward the amassing of money and social skills to prepare themselves or their children for this climb appears to be due partially to Indians thinking of themselves in a unique Indian social niche which is alien to the community social hierarchy, and partially to Indian basic inhibitions against economic planning for the future and the amassing of personal wealth or material goods.

Ablon notes that the city environment tends to create a heightened awareness of "Indianness" among Indian migrants, and has the tendency of pushing Indians together across tribal lines, at least to some extent. In Duluth, where the population is almost entirely Minnesota Chippewa, pan-Indianism in the cross-tribal sense referred to by Ablon is replaced by pan-famialism, pan-factionalism, and other forms of increased contact and communication within Chippewa Indian groups arriving in Duluth from varying Minnesota and Wisconsin backgrounds. Yet the problems faced by a mono-tribal group in Duluth are quite identical with the problems faced by a poly-tribal Indian "community" in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Much concerted, cooperative Indian-white effort to identify and attempt to solve these problems has already gone on in Duluth - so much, in fact, that this small city appears to offer a positive model of action to the nation.

Footnotes ---

- 1. Eugene J. Peacock, <u>Indian Resident Survey</u>, (Duluth: Department of Economic Development, July, 1966), pp. 1-3
- 2. Duluth Department of Research and Planning, Community Improvement Division, Community Revewal Program, (Duluth: Department of Research and Planning, October, 1969), Introduction
- 3. Ibid., Significant Findings
- 4. The American Indian Fellowship Association, "Background of AIFA", (Duluth: The American Indian Fellowship Association,), pp. 1-6
- 5. Duluth Department of Research and Planning, Community Renewal Program, p. 6
- 6. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 7
- 7. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 8
- 8. Ibid., p. 8
- 9. Ibid., p. 9
- 10. Ibid., p. 9
- 11. Ibid., pp. 17-18
- 12. Ibid., pp. 21-22
- 13. Ibid., p. 22
- 14. Ibid., pp. 22-23
- 15. Ibid., p. 26
- 16. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.27-28-
- 17. Ibid., p. 28
- 18. Ibad., p. 29
- 19. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 30-32
- 20. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 32
- 21. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.33
- 22. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 33-35
- 23. Ibid., p. 36

- 24. Ibid., p. 36
- 25. Ibid., p. 37
- 26. Lewis Meriam, The Institute for Government Research, The Problem of Indian Administration, (Baltimore, Maryland, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1928)
- 27. Ibid , p. 676
- 28. Ibid., p. 678
- 29. Ibid., p. 678
- 30. Ibid., p. 679
- 31. Ibid., p. 679
- 32. Ibid. p. 727
- 33. Ibid., pp. 727-728
- 34. Ibid., p. 728
- 35. Ibid., p. 729
- 36. Ibid., p. 730
- 37. Duluth Department of Research and Planning, <u>Community Renewal</u>
 <u>Program</u>, p. 95
- 38. Ibid., p. 95
- 39. Ibid., p. 93
- 40. Eugene J. Peacock, pp. 6-7
- 41. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Record, October, 1969. PP. 4-6
- 42. William H. Hodge, <u>The Albuquerque Navajos</u>, the University of Arizona Press (Tucson: 1969)
- 43. Ibid., p. 48.
- 44. Stan Steiner, The New Indians, Harper & Row, (New York: 1968)
- 44. Vine Deloria, Jr., <u>Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto</u>, Macmillan: 1969.
- 45. Joan Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area."

 Human Organization: XXXIII:4: 296-304. Winter, 1964.

APPENDIX

Appendix I: Duluth Indian Residents, Males and Females Combined

Appendix II: Indian Resident Survey (Peacock 1966 Survey Format)

DULUTH INDIAN RESIDENTS (Males and Females combined) (N = 200)

| SEX | | ê — | TELEPHONE | | g, |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| | \overline{N} | <u>%</u> | | 2 <u>N</u> | <u> %</u> |
| NA | - | | NA | | $1\overline{4}.5$ |
| Male | 147 | 73.5 | Yes | 100 | 50.0 |
| Female | <u>53</u> | <u> 26.5</u> | No | 71 | 35.5 |
| | 200 | 100.0 | • | 200 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| AGE | | | MARITAL STATUS | | |
| | N | % | | N | $\frac{\%}{1.0}$ |
| NA | $\frac{N}{3}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{1.5}}{1.5}$ | NA | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\overline{1.0}$ |
| Up to 16 | _ | | Single | 29 | 14.5 |
| 16 - 22 | 4 | 2.0 | Married | 107 | 53.5 |
| 23 - 40 | 79 | 39.5 | Separated | 22 | 11.0 |
| 41 - 64 | 94 | 47.0 | Divorced | 24 | 12.0 |
| 65 and over | 20 | 10.0 | Widowed | 16 | 8.0 |
| os and over | 200 | $\frac{10.0}{100.0}$ | Widowed | $\frac{10}{200}$ | 100.0 |
| | 200 | 100.0 | | 200 | 100.0 |
| LENGTH OF RESIDENCE | CE TN | ПППППП | PLACE OF BIRTH | | |
| | N | | | N | % |
| NA | <u>::</u> | $\frac{\%}{2.5}$ | White Earth | 1 <u>5</u> | $\frac{\%}{7.5}$ |
| Under 1 month | 14 | 7.0 | Mille Lacs | 2 | 1.0 |
| 1 - 3 months | 7 | 3.5 | Fond du Lac | 56 | 28.0 |
| 4 - 6 months | 5 | 2.5 | Red Lake | 13 | 6.5 |
| | 2 | | | 9 | |
| 7 - 11 months | | 1.0 | Leech Lake | | 4.5 |
| 1 - 2 years | 17 | 8.5 | Nett Lake | 14 | 7.0 |
| 3 - 5 years | 18 | 9.0 | Grand Portage | 16 | 8.0 |
| 6 - 9 years | 21 | 10.5 | Wisconsin | 25 | 12.5 |
| 10 years & more | 111 | 55.5 | N or S Dakota | _ | |
| | 200 | 100.0 | Other | _50 | 25.0 |
| | | | | 200 | 100.0 |
| 0.0000 4 mm c = - | | | | | |
| OCCUPATION | | - | APPROXIMATE FAMI | | |
| | \overline{N} | $\frac{\%}{6.5}$ | | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{8}.0}{}$ |
| NA/unknown | 13 | | NA/unknown | 16 | |
| Housewife | 53 | 26.5 | \$0 - \$999 | 32 | 16.0 |
| Unskilled work | 81 | 40.5 | \$1000 – \$1999 | 64 | 32.0 |
| Semi-skilled work | 17 | 8.5 | \$2000 – \$2999 | 36 | 18.0 |
| Skilled work | 30 | 15.0 | \$3000 & above | _52 | 26.0 |
| Clerical | 3 | 1.5 | | 200 | 100.0 |
| Professional | _ | | | | |
| None | 3 | 1.5 | | | |
| | 200 | 100.0 | • | | |
| | | | | | |

| EDUCATION | | | OTHER EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES |
|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| | <u>N</u> 5 | $\frac{\%}{2.5}$ | <u>N</u> <u>%</u> |
| NA/unknown | | | NA/unknown 151 75.5 Vocational 25 12.5 |
| 0 - 5 years | 13 | 6.5 | Vocational 25 12.5 Clerical 2 1.0 |
| 6 - 8 years 9 years | 67 28 | 33.5 14.0 | Nursing 3 1.5 |
| 10 years | 26 34 | 17.0 | Beautician |
| 11 years | 12 | 6.0 | Nurse's aide 9 4.5 |
| 12 years | 38 | 19.0 | Military <u>10</u> <u>5.0</u> |
| 13 years | - | | $\overline{200}$ $\overline{100.0}$ |
| Some college | - | | |
| College degree | 3 | 1.5 | |
| | 200 | 100.0 | |
| | | • | · |
| CHILDREN | | C) | INTERESTED IN MORE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS |
| 37.4 | 8 <u>N</u> 84 | $\frac{\frac{\%}{2}}{42.0}$ | NA $\frac{N}{17}$ $\frac{\%}{8.5}$ |
| NA Yes | 108 | 54.0 | NA 17 8.5 Yes 140 70.0 |
| No | 8 | 4.0 | No 43 <u>21.5</u> |
| 1/10 | 200 | $\frac{4.0}{100.0}$ | $\frac{49}{200}$ $\frac{21.9}{100.0}$ |
| | 200 | 10010 | |
| USE OF SOCIAL AG | PNCTEC : | TNI CTTV | TYPE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DESIRED |
| USE OF SOCIAL AG | | | |
| NA/unknown | $\frac{N}{12}$ | $\frac{\%}{6.0}$ | $\frac{N}{NA/unknown} \qquad \qquad \frac{N}{59} \qquad \frac{\%}{29.5}$ |
| Yes | 130 | 65.0 | None 22 11.0 |
| No | 58 | 29.0 | Finish school 35 17.5 |
| | 200 | 100.0 | Unskilled work 1 0.5 |
| | | | Semi-skilled work 8 4.0 |
| | | | Skilled work 52 26.0 |
| | | | Clerical 19 9.5 |
| | | | Skilled Profession 4 2.0 |
| | | · | Other Professional $\frac{-}{200}$ $\frac{-}{100.0}$ |
| | | | |
| DIFFICULTIES IN | HOUSTN | G | MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS, GROUPS, ETC. |
| | | | |
| NA/unknown | $\frac{N}{13}$ | $\frac{\%}{6.5}$ | |
| Yes | 10 | 5.0 | Yes 42 21.0 |
| No | <u>177</u> | 88.5 | No $141 	 70.5$ |
| | 200 | 100.0 | 200 100.0 |
| | | | |
| HOSPITALIZATION | | | MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE |
| 37 A /1 | $\frac{N}{20}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{10.0}}{10.0}$ | $\frac{N}{NA/unknown}$ $\frac{N}{21}$ $\frac{\%}{10.5}$ |
| NA/unknown | 20 62 | 31.0 | NA/unknown 21 10.5 Yes 61 30.5 |
| Yes No | 118 | 59.0 | No 118 59.0 |
| NO | $\frac{110}{200}$ | $\frac{39.0}{100.0}$ | $\frac{110}{200} \frac{33.0}{100.0}$ |
| | | | |
| HOBBIES | | | |
| HODDING | N | % | |
| NA/unknown | <u>N</u> 38 | $\frac{\frac{\%}{19}.0}{}$ | |
| Yes | 66 | 33.0 | |
| No | 96 | 48.0 | |
| | 200 | 100.0 | |
| | | | |

DULUTH INDIAN RESIDENTS (Males only) (N = 147)

| SEX | | g, | TELEPHONE | NT. | 9/ |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| Male | $\frac{N}{147}$ | $\frac{2}{100.0}$ | NA/unknown | $\frac{N}{23}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{15.6}}{15.6}$ |
| 11020 | | 20010 | Yes | 71 | 48.3 |
| | | | No | <u>53</u> | <u>36.1</u> |
| | | | | 147 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | |
| ACE | | | MARITAL STATUS | | |
| AGE | N | 9/ | FIARTIAL STATES | N | % |
| NA | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\frac{\%}{1.4}$ | NA | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\frac{\%}{1.4}$ |
| Up to 16 | | | Single | 20 | 12.6 |
| 16 - 22 | - 3 | 2.0 | Married | 77 | 52.4 |
| 23 - 40 | -59 | 40.1 | Separated | 18 | 12.2 |
| 41 - 64 | 70 | 47.6 | Divorced | 20 | 13.6 |
| 65 & above | _13 | 8.8 | Widowed | 10 | 6.8 |
| | 147 | 99.9 | | 147 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | |
| LENGTH OF RESIDE | VCE TN | טייון דוות | PLACE OF BIRTH | | |
| LENGIR OF RESIDE | | | TEACE OF BIRTH | N | % |
| NA | $\frac{N}{4}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{2}}{2}.8$ | White Earth | $\frac{N}{13}$ | $\frac{\cancel{8}}{8}$.8 |
| Under 1 month | 10 | 6.8 | Mille Lacs | 2 | 1.4 |
| 1 - 3 months | 5 | 3.4 | Fond du Lac | 42 | 28.6 |
| 4 - 6 months | 4 | 2.7 | Red Lake | 9 | 6.1 |
| 7 - 11 months | 1 | 0.7 | Leech Lake | 7 | 4.8 |
| 1 - 2 years | 10 | 6.8 | Nett Lake | 10 | 6.8 |
| 3 - 5 years | 16 | 10.9 | Grand Portage | 10 | 6.8 |
| 6 - 9 years | 14 | 9.5 | Wisconsin | 17 | 11.6 |
| 10 years & more | _83 | <u>56.5</u> | N or S Dakota | | |
| | 147 | 100.1 | Other | 37 | $\frac{25.2}{122}$ |
| | | | | 147 | 100.1 |
| , | | | | | |
| OCCUPATION | | | APPROXIMATE FAM | ILY INCO | ME |
| 00001111111 | ·N | % | | | $\frac{\%}{8.2}$ |
| NA/unknown | $\frac{N}{6}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{4.1}$ | NA/unknown | $\frac{N}{12}$ | 8.2 |
| Housewife | 33 | 22.4 | \$0 – \$999 | 24 | 16.3 |
| Unskilled work | 67 | 45.6 | \$1000 – \$1999 | 49 | 33.3 |
| Semi-skilled wor | k 13 | 8.8 | \$2000 - \$2999 | 24 | 16.3 |
| Skilled work | 24 | 16.3 | \$3000 & above | 38 | 25.9 |
| Clerical | 2 | 1.4 | | 147 | 100.0 |
| Professional | · — | 1 / | | | |
| None | $\frac{2}{147}$ | $\frac{1.4}{100.0}$ | | | |
| | T4 / | TOO • 0 | | | |

| EDUCATION | | | OTHER EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| NA/unknown | <u>N</u> 5 | $\frac{\%}{3.4}$ | NA/unknown $111 	 75.5$ |
| 0 - 5 years | 8 | 5.4 | Vocational 20 13.6 |
| 6 - 8 years | 54 | 36.7 | Clerical 2 1.4 |
| 9 years | 20 | 13.6 | Nursing 1 0.7 |
| 10 years | 21 | 14.3 | Beautician |
| 11 years | 6 | 4.1 | Nurse's aide 4 2.7 |
| 12 years | 31 | 21.1 | Military $\frac{9}{147} \frac{6.1}{100.0}$ |
| 13 years | *** | | $\overline{147}$ $\overline{100.0}$ |
| Some college | _ | | |
| College degree | $\frac{2}{147}$ | $\frac{1.4}{100.0}$ | |
| | 147 | 100.0 | |
| CHILDREN | | | INTERESTED IN MORE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS |
| OHILDREN | N | % | |
| NA | 60 | $\frac{\frac{\%}{10.8}}{40.8}$ | NA $\frac{N}{14}$ $\frac{\%}{9.5}$ |
| Yes | 81 | 55.1 | Yes 100 68.0 |
| No | 6 | 4.1 | |
| | 147 | 100.0 | No $\frac{33}{147}$ $\frac{22.4}{99.9}$ |
| | | | |
| USE OF SOCIAL AG | ENCIES I | | TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DESIRED |
| | $\frac{N}{12}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{8.2}}{8.2}$ | NA/unknown $\frac{N}{46}$ $\frac{X}{31.3}$ |
| NA/unknown | | | NA/unknown 4 6 31.3 |
| Yes | 98 | 66.7 | None 18 12.2 |
| No | 37 | 25.2 | Finish school 25 17.0 |
| | 147 | 100.1 | Unskilled work Semi-skilled work 5 3.4 |
| | | | Semi-skilled work 5 3.4 Skilled work 38 25.9 |
| | | | Clerical 14 9.5 |
| | | | Skilled Profession 1 0.7 |
| | | | Other Professional |
| | | | $\overline{147}$ $\overline{100.0}$ |
| | | | |
| DIFFICULTIES IN | | % | MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS, GROUPS, ETC. |
| NA/unknown | $rac{	ext{N}}{11}$ | $\frac{\cancel{x}}{7.5}$ | NA/unknown $\frac{N}{14}$ $\frac{\%}{9.5}$ |
| Yes | 8 | 5.4 | Yes 34 23.1 |
| No | | | |
| | $\frac{128}{147}$ | $\frac{87.1}{100.0}$ | No $\frac{99}{147} = \frac{67.3}{99.9}$ |
| • | | | |
| HOSPITALIZATION | | | MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE |
| | $\frac{N}{17}$ | $\frac{\%}{11.6}$ | NA/unknown $\frac{N}{18}$ $\frac{\%}{12.3}$ |
| NA/unknown | 17 | | |
| Yes | 40 | 27.2 | Yes 39 26.5 |
| No | $\frac{90}{147}$ | $\frac{61.2}{100.0}$ | No $\frac{90}{147}$ $\frac{61.2}{100.0}$ |
| | 147 | 100.0 | 147 100.0 |
| HOBBIES | | | |
| | N | % | |
| NA | $\frac{N}{28}$ | $\frac{2}{19}.0$ | |
| Yes | 49 | 33.3 | |
| No | _70 | 47.6 | |
| | 147 | 99.9 | |
| | | | |

DULUTH INDIAN RESIDENTS (Females only) (N = 53)

| SEX | •• | α _t | TELEPHONE | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Female | 5 <u>N</u> | $10\overline{0.0}$ | NA Yes | <u>N</u> 6 29 | $\frac{\frac{\%}{11.3}}{54.7}$ |
| | | | No | <u>18</u> 53 | $\frac{34.0}{100.0}$ |
| AGE | | | MARITAL STATUS | | |
| | $\frac{N}{1}$ | $\frac{\%}{1.9}$ | | N | <u>%</u> |
| NA | 1 | 1.9 | NA | - | |
| Up to 16 | - | | Single | 9 | 17.0 |
| 16 - 22 23 - 40 | 1 | 1.9 | Married | 30 | 56.6 |
| 41 - 64 | 20 24 | 37.7 45.3 | Separated Divorced | 4 | 7.5 |
| 65 & above | 7 | 13.2 | Widowed | 4 6 | 7.5 |
| | 53 | 100.0 | WIdowed | 53 | 99.9 |
| LENGTH OF RESIDEN | ICE IN | מידיו זוות | PLACE OF BIRTH | | |
| | | <u>%</u> | I DAGE OF BIXIN | N | % |
| NA | $\frac{N}{1}$ | $\frac{\tilde{1}}{1}$.9 | White Earth | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\frac{\%}{3.8}$ |
| Under 1 month | 4 | 7.5 | Mille Lacs | _ | |
| 1 - 3 months | 2 | 3.8 | Fond du Lac | 14 | 26.4 |
| 4 - 6 months | 1 | 1.9 | Red Lake | 4 | 7.5 |
| 7 - 11 months | 1 | 1.9 | Leech Lake | 2 | 3.8 |
| 1 - 2 years | 7 | 13.2 | Nett Lake | 4 | 7.5 |
| 3 - 5 years | 2 | 3.8 | Grand Portage | 6 | 11.3 |
| 6 – 9 years 10 years & over | 7 | 13.2 | Wisconsin | 8 | 15.1 |
| 10 years a over | <u>28</u> 53 | 52.8 | N or S Dakota | - | |
| · | 23 | 100.0 | Other | <u>13</u> 53 | 24.5 |
| OCCUDATION | | | | | |
| OCCUPATION | 2.1 | σ _f | APPROXIMATE FAMI | | g, . |
| NA/unknown | <u>N</u> | $\frac{\frac{\%}{3}}{3}.2$ | NA/unknown | $\frac{N}{L}$ | <u>%</u> _ |
| Housewife | 20 | 37.7 | \$0 - \$999 | 4 8 | 7.5 15.1 |
| Unskilled work | 1 | 1.9 | \$1000 - \$1999 | 15 | 28.3 |
| Semi-skilled work | | 26.4 | \$2000 - \$2999 | 12 | 22.6 |
| Skilled work | 4 | 7.5 | \$3000 & above | 14 | 26.4 |
| Clerical | 6 | 11.3 | 10230 | 53 | 99.9 |
| Skilled professio | | 1.9 | | 20 | |
| Other professiona | 1 | | | | |
| | 53 | 99.9 | | | |

| EDUCATION NA/unknown 0 - 5 years 6 - 8 years 9 years 10 years 11 years 12 years 13 years Some college College degree | 5. 9 13 24 8 15 13 24 6 17 7 15 - 1 | 7 9.4 4.5 5.1 4.5 1.3 3.2 | NA/unknown Vocational Clerical Military Nursing Beautician Nurse's aide | EXPERI N 40 5 - 1 2 - 5 53 | 75.5 9.4 1.9 3.8 9.4 100.0 | |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|---------|
| CHILDREN NA Yes No | 27 5 2 | ½ 5.3 0.9 3.8 0.0 | INTERESTED IN MORE NA Yes No | EDUCA N/3 40 10 53 | 75.5 18.9 100.1 | ROGRAMS |
| USE OF SOCIAL AG | N 6 21 3 | ITY 0.4 9.6 0.0 | TYPE OF EDUCATIONA NA/unknown None Finish school Unskilled work Semi-skilled work Skilled work Clerical Skilled profession Other professional | N 13 4 10 1 3 14 5 | 24.5 7.5 18.9 1.9 5.7 26.4 9.4 5.7 | RED |
| DIFFICULTIES IN NA/unknown Yes No | N/2 2 | \frac{\chi}{3.8} \\ 3.8 \\ (2.5) \\ (0.1) | MEMBERSHIP IN CLUB NA/unknown Yes No | $\frac{N}{3}$ $\frac{8}{42}$ $\frac{42}{53}$ | OUPS, ETC $\frac{\frac{\%}{5.7}}{15.1}$ $\frac{79.2}{100.0}$ | |
| HOSPITALIZATION NA/unknown Yes No | $\frac{N}{3}$ 22 28 5 | $\frac{\frac{8}{5}}{5.7}$ $\frac{62.8}{00.0}$ | MEDICAL CARE INSUE NA/unknown Yes No | RANCE N 3 22 28 53 | $\frac{\frac{\%}{5.7}}{1.5}$ | |
| HOBBIES NA Yes No | 17 3 | $\frac{\frac{\%}{18.9}}{\frac{19.1}{00.1}}$ | | | | |

DULUTH INDIAN RESIDENTS (Non-high school graduates only) (N = 159)

| SEX | N | % | TELEPHONE | N | % |
|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Male | $\frac{N}{114}$ | $7\frac{2}{1}.7$ | NA | $\frac{N}{23}$ | $1\frac{3}{4}.5$ |
| Female | 45 159 | 28.3 | Yes | 77 | 48.4 |
| | 159 | 100.0 | No | _59 | <u>37.1</u> |
| | | | | 159 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | |
| ACE | | | MARITAL STATUS | | |
| AGE | N | 9 | MARITAL STATUS | N | % |
| NA | $\frac{N}{3}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{1.9}}{1.9}$ | NA | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\frac{\cancel{8}}{1.3}$ |
| Up to 16 | | 1.9 | Single | 23 | 14.5 |
| 16 - 22 | 4 | 2.5 | Married | 84 | 52.8 |
| 23 - 40 | 57 | 35.8 | Separated | 17 | 10.7 |
| 41 - 64 | 76 | 47.8 | Divorced | 19 | 11.9 |
| 65 & above | 19 | 11.9 | Widowed | 14 | 8.8 |
| | 159 | 99.9 | | 159 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| LENGTH OF RESIDEN | | | PLACE OF BIRTH | | 97 |
| | $\frac{N}{3}$ | $\frac{\%}{1.9}$ | | 13 | $\frac{\%}{8.2}$ |
| NA | | | White Earth | | |
| Under 1 month | 9 | 5.7 | Mille Lacs | 2 | 1.3 29.6 |
| 1 - 3 months | 7 | 4.4 | Fond du Lac | 47 8 | 5.0 |
| 4 - 6 months | 5 2 | 3.1 | Red Lake Leech Lake | 7 | 4.4 |
| 7 - 11 months | 8 | 1.3 5.0 | Nett Lake | 11 | 6.9 |
| 1 - 2 years 3 - 5 years | 15 | 9.4 | Grand Portage | 13 | 8.2 |
| 6 - 9 years | 19 | 11.9 | N or S Dakota | 1.7 | |
| 10 years & more | 91 | 57.2 | Other | 39 | 24.5 |
| 10 years a more | $\frac{-51}{159}$ | 99.9 | Wisconsin | 19 | 11.9 |
| | 1.77 | 22.7 | WISCONSIN | $\frac{15}{159}$ | $\frac{11.5}{100.0}$ |
| • | | | | 1,00 | 100.0 |
| OCCUPATION | | | APPROXIMATE FAM | ILY INCO | |
| | $\frac{N}{13}$ | $\frac{\%}{8.2}$ | | $\overline{\mathbf{N}}$ | $\frac{\%}{6.9}$ |
| NA/unknown | | | NA/unknown | 11 | |
| None | 2 | 1.3 | \$0 - \$999 | 28 | 17.6 |
| Housewife | 46 | 28.9 | \$1000 - \$1999 | 55 | 34.6 |
| Unskilled work | 67 | 42.1 | \$2000 - \$2999 | 27 | 17.0 |
| Semi-skilled work | | 8.2 | \$3000 & above | 38 | $\frac{23.9}{100.0}$ |
| Skilled work | 16 | 10.1 | | 159 | 100.0 |
| Clerical | 2 | 1.3 | | | |
| Professional | 150 | 100.1 | | | |
| | 159 | 100.1 | | | |

| EDUCATION | | | OTHER EDUCATIONAL E | XPER | IENCES | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--------|
| | <u>N</u> | $\frac{\frac{\%}{3}}{3}.1$ | | N | <u>%</u> | |
| NA | | | NA/unknown 1 | .29 | 81.1 | |
| 0 – 5 years | 13 | 8.2 | Vocational | 12 | 7.5 | |
| 6 – 8 years | 67 | 42.1 | Clerical | 2 | 1.3 | |
| 9 years | 28 | 17.6 | Military | 6 | 3.8 | |
| 10 years | 34 | 21.4 | Nursing | 2 | 1.3 | |
| 11 years | 12 | 7.5 | Beautician | | - - | |
| 12 years | - | | Nurse's aide | 8 | 5.0 | |
| 13 years | - | | . 1 | .59 | 100.0 | |
| Some college | | | | | | |
| College degree | _ | | | | | |
| - | 159 | 99.9 | | | , | |
| | | | | | | |
| CHILDREN | | | INTERESTED IN MORE | EDIIC | ATTOMAT DD | OCDAMS |
| CHILDREN | N | gj | INTERESTED IN MORE | | | OGRAMO |
| NA | 6 <u>N</u> | $\frac{\frac{\%}{43.4}}{43.4}$ | NA | <u>N</u> | $\frac{\%}{5.7}$ | |
| Yes | 82 | 51.6 | | 116 | 73.0 | |
| No | | | | | | |
| NO | $\frac{8}{159}$ | $\frac{5.0}{100.0}$ | No | <u>34</u> 159 | $\frac{21.4}{100.1}$ | |
| | 139 | 100.0 | 1 | 139 | 100.1 | |
| | | | | | | |
| USE OF SOCIAL AG | | | TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL | | | ED |
| 374 | $\frac{N}{8}$ | $\frac{\%}{5.0}$ | | $\frac{N}{44}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{7}}{27}$.7 | |
| NA | | | NA/unknown | | | |
| Yes | 105 | 66.0 | None | 16 | 10.1 | |
| No | 46 | $\frac{28.9}{99.9}$ | Finish school | 33 | 20.8 | |
| | 159 | 99.9 | Unskilled work | 1 | 0.6 | |
| | | | Semi-skilled work | 7 | 4.4 | |
| | | | Skilled work | 45 | 28.3 | |
| | | | Clerical | 12 | 7.5 | |
| | | | Skilled profession | 1 | 0.6 | |
| | | | Other professional | - | 100.0 | |
| | 4 2. | ` | 1 | L59 | 100.0 | |
| TEPTOUT THE THE | UOUCTIC | | MUMPURGUER THE CLUSS | | OTTDO TOO | |
| DIFFICULTIES IN | | 9/ | MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS | | | |
| NA/unknown | $1\frac{N}{1}$ | $\frac{\%}{6.9}$ | NIA | $\frac{N}{13}$ | $\frac{\frac{\%}{8}}{8}$.2 | |
| Yes | 7 | 4.4 | NA V | | | |
| No | · - | | Yes | 30 L16 | 18.9 | |
| MO | $\frac{141}{159}$ | 88.7 | | L10 L59 | $\frac{73.0}{100.1}$ | |
| | 139 | 100.0 | J | L39 | 100.1 | |
| | T1101-0 1-00 | | | | | |
| HOSPITALIZATION | | | MEDICAL CARE INSURA | | σj | |
| NTA / | $\frac{N}{15}$ | <u>%</u> 9.4 | NA / 1 | $\frac{N}{16}$ | <u>%</u> | |
| NA/unknown | T2 | | NA/unknown | | 10.1 | |
| Yes | 48 06 | 30.2 | Yes | 49 | 30.8 | |
| No | <u>96</u> | 60.4 | No | 94 | $\frac{59.1}{100.0}$ | |
| | 159 | 100.0 | 1 | 159 | 100.0 | |
| HODDIEC | | | | | | |
| HOBBIES | እፕ | 9/ | | | | |
| NA | 3 <u>N</u> | $\frac{\frac{\%}{19.5}}{19.5}$ | | | | |
| Yes | 49 | 30.8 | | | | |
| 169 | 47 | 20.0 | | | | |

No

DULUTH INDIAN RESIDENTS (High school graduates only) (N = 41)

| SEX | | | | TELEPHONE | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| W-1 - | 3 <u>N</u> | $\frac{\frac{\%}{100}}{100}$ | | *** | $\frac{N}{6}$ | <u>%</u> |
| Male Female | 33 | 80.5 | | NA V | | $1\overline{4.6}$ |
| remate | $\frac{8}{41}$ | $\frac{19.5}{100.0}$ | | Yes No | 23 | 56.1 29.3 |
| | 41 | 100.0 | | NO | $\frac{12}{41}$ | $\frac{29.3}{100.0}$ |
| | | | | | 41 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | | |
| AGE | | | | MARITAL STATUS | | |
| | <u> </u> | <u>%</u> | | | <u> </u> | <u>%</u> _ |
| NA | - | *** | • | NA | | |
| Up to 16 16 - 22 | - | | | Single | 6 | 14.6 |
| 23 - 40 | | | | Married | 23 | 56.1 |
| 41 - 64 | 22 18 | 53.7 43.9 | | Separated | 5 5 | 12.2 |
| 65 & above | | | | Divorced Widowed | | 12.2 |
| os a above | $\frac{1}{41}$ | $\frac{2.4}{100.0}$ | | widowed | $\frac{2}{41}$ | $\frac{4.9}{100.0}$ |
| | . 71 | 100.0 | | | 41 | 100.0 |
| I ENGEN OF BUGTONS | . | | | | | |
| LENGTH OF RESIDENCE | | | | PLACE OF BIRTH | 37 | Ø/ |
| NA | 1/1 | % 4.8 | | Made Dank | $\frac{N}{2}$ | $\frac{\%}{4.9}$ |
| Under 1 month | <u>N</u> 2 5 | 12.2 | | White Earth Mille Lacs | 2 | 4.9 |
| 1 - 3 months | _ | 12.2 | • | Fond du Lac | 9 | 22.0 |
| 4 - 6 months | _ | | | Red Lake | 5 | 12.2 |
| 7 - 11 months | _ | | | Leech Lake | 2 | 4.9 |
| 1 - 2 years | 9 | 22.0 | | Nett Lake | 3 | 7.3 |
| 3 - 5 years | | 7.3 | | Grand Portage | 3 | 7.3 |
| 6 - 9 years | 3 2 | 4.9 | | Wisconsin | 6 | 14.6 |
| 10 years & more | | 48.8 | | N or S Dakota | | |
| • | $\frac{20}{41}$ | 100.0 | • | Other | 11 | 26.8 |
| · | | | | | 41 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | | |
| OCCUPATION | | | | APPROXIMATE FAMI | LLY INCO | ME |
| | \overline{N} | <u>%</u> | | | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
| NA/unknown | _ | | | NA/unknown | 5 | $1\overline{2}.2$ |
| None | 1 | 2.4 | | \$0 – \$999 | 4 | 9.8 |
| Housewife | 7 | 17.1 | | \$1000 - \$1999 | 9 | 22.0 |
| Unskilled work | 14 | 34.1 | | \$2000 - \$2999 | 9 | 22.0 |
| Semi-skilled work | 4 | 9.8 | | \$3000 & above | 14 | 34.1- |
| Skilled work | 14 | 34.1 | | | 41 | 100.1 |
| Clerical | 1 | 2.4 | | | | |
| Professional | | | | | | |
| | 41 | 99.9 | | | | |

| EDUCATION 12 years $\frac{N}{38}$ $\frac{\%}{92.7}$ Some college $ -$ College degree $\frac{3}{41}$ $\frac{7.3}{100.0}$ | OTHER EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES NA/unknown $2\frac{N}{22}$ 53.7 Vocational 13 31.7 Clerical Military 4 9.8 Nursing 1 2.4 Beautician Nurse's aide $\frac{1}{41}$ $\frac{2.4}{100.0}$ |
|---|--|
| CHILDREN NA 15 36.6 Yes 26 63.4 No | Yes 24 58.5 No 9 22.0 |
| USE OF SOCIAL AGENCIES IN CITY NA $\frac{N}{4}$ $\frac{\frac{7}{9}.8}{9.8}$ Yes 25 61.0 No $\frac{12}{41}$ $\frac{29.3}{100.1}$ | None 6 14.6 |
| DIFFICULTIES IN HOUSING NA $\frac{N}{2}$ $\frac{\%}{4.9}$ Yes 3 7.3 No $\frac{36}{41}$ $\frac{87.8}{100.0}$ | Yes 12 29.3 No <u>25</u> 61.0 |
| HOSPITALIZATION NA | Yes 12 29.3 |
| NA $\frac{N}{7}$ $\frac{\%}{17.1}$ Yes 17 41.5 No $\frac{17}{41}$ $\frac{41.5}{100.1}$ | |

DULUTH INDIAN RESIDENTS (Non-high school graduates vs. high school graduates) (Percentages only)

| SEX Male Female | NHSG 71.7 28.3 100.0 | HSG 80.5 19.5 100.0 | NA 14.5 1. Yes 48.4 5. No 37.1 2. | SG 4.6 6.1 9.3 |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| NA Up to 16 16 - 22 23 - 40 41 - 64 65 & above | NHSG 1.9 2.5 35.8 47.8 11.9 99.9 | HSG 53.7 43.9 2.4 100.0 | NA 1.3 Single 14.5 1 Married 52.8 5 Separated 10.7 1 Divorced 11.9 1 Widowed 8.8 | SG 4.6 6.1 2.2 2.2 4.9 0.0 |
| NA Under 1 month 1 - 3 months 4 - 6 months 7 - 11 months 1 - 2 years 3 - 5 years 6 - 9 years 10 years & over | NHSG 1.9 5.7 4.4 3.1 1.3 5.0 9.4 11.9 57.2 | HSG 4.8 12.2 22.0 7.3 4.9 48.8 100.0 | White Earth 8.2 Mille Lacs 1.3 Fond du Lac 29.6 2 Red Lake 5.0 1 Leech Lake 4.4 Nett Lake 6.9 Grand Portage 8.2 Wisconsin 11.9 1 N or S Dakota - - Other 24.5 2 | SG 4.9 2.0 2.2 4.9 7.3 7.3 4.6 6.8 |
| OCCUPATION NA/unknosn None Housewife Unskilled work Semi-skilled work Skilled work Clerical Professional | NHSG 8.2 1.3 28.9 42.1 8.2 10.1 1.3 | HSG 2.4 17.1 34.1 9.8 34.1 2.4 99.9 | NA 6.9 1 \$0 - \$999 17.6 \$1000 - \$1999 34.6 2 \$2000 - \$2999 17.0 2 \$3000 & above 23.9 3 | SG 2.2 9.8 2.0 2.0 34.1 |

| EDUCATION NA 0 - 5 years 6 - 8 years 9 years 10 years 11 years 12 years Some college College degree NHSC 3. 3. 42. 3. 17.0 7. 17.0 7. 19.0 99.0 | 1 | OTHER EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES NA 81.1 53.7 Vocational 7.5 31.7 Clerical 1.3 Military 3.8 9.8 Nursing 1.3 2.4 Beautician Nurse's aide 5.0 2.4 100.0 100.0 |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| CHILDREN NA 43. Yes 51. No 5. 100. | 36.6 6 63.4 0 | INTERESTED IN MORE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS NA NHSG 19.5 Yes 73.0 58.5 No 21.4 22.0 100.0 |
| USE OF SOCIAL AGENCIES NA Yes No 28. | G HSG 0 9.8 0 61.0 9 29.3 | TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DESIRED NA/unknown 27.7 41.5 None 10.1 14.6 Finish school 20.8 Unskilled work 0.6 Semi-skilled work 4.4 2.4 Skilled work 28.3 17.1 Clerical 7.5 17.1 Skilled profession 0.6 7.3 Other professional 100.0 100.0 |
| DIFFICULTIES IN HOUSIN NA 6. Yes 4. No 88. | 6G HSG 9 4.9 .4 7.3 .7 87.8 | MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS, GROUPS, ETC. $ \frac{\text{NHSG}}{8.2} \frac{\text{HSG}}{9.8} $ Yes $18.9 29.3$ No $\frac{73.0}{100.1} \frac{61.0}{100.1}$ |
| HOSPITALIZATION | 12.2 .2 34.1 .4 53.7 | MEDICAL CARE NA 10.1 Yes 30.8 159.1 100.0 100.0 |
| HOBBIES NA 19 Yes 30 No 49 | .5 17.1 .8 41.5 .7 41.5 | |

INDIAN RESIDENT SURVEY (Peacock 1966 Survey Format)

| 1. | NAME | | | | 2. PHONE | · | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|-----------|--------|-------------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | ADDRESS | | | | | | | |
| 5. | DATE OF BIRTH | 6. WHI | ERE | | 7. MAF | RITAL STAT | rus | |
| 8. | OCCUPATION | 9. | • PRES | SENT EMPLO | DYMENT | * | | |
| 10. | DATE BEGAN | | _ 11. | FULL OR F | PART TIME | - | | |
| 12. | FAMILY INCOME LAST YEAR O | - \$1,000 | | Γο \$2,000 | to | 3,000 |] Over | |
| 13. | EDUCATION | YEARS | 14 | OTHER | | | | |
| 15. | MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD | D.O.B. | SEX | RELATION- SHIP | - EDUC. | WHERE | EMPLO YES | OYED NO |
| | 1. | | 1 | | | | | |
| | | i | 1 | | | | | |
| | 2 | ĺ | | | | | | |
| | 3. | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 4. | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 5. | 1 | | | | | _ | |
| | 6. | i | | | | | | |
| - | 7. | | | | | | | |
| | 8. | | | | | | | |
| | 9. | | | | | | | |
| | 10. | | | | | | | |
| 16. 17. | Have you made use of the va | | | | | | | |
| 18. | What type would be most hel | pful to y | /ou? | | | Yes / | No No | |

| 19. | Have you had any difficulty in obtaining adequate housing? If so, for what reason? |
|-----|---|
| 20. | Do you belong to any clubs, groups, etc? Yes No |
| 21 | Hospitalization? Yes / No / |
| 22. | Medical care? Yes / No /] |
| 23. | Hobbies? |

Remarks:

Indian Americans in Duluth. Harkins, Woods.

Copy 1

INDIAN AMERICANS

Indian Americans in Duluth. Harkins, Woods.

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INDIAN AMERICANS