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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969
URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART II: INTERRACIAL ASPECTS

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by

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in coordination with
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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were:

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with interracial aspects. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties

as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

City life as contrasted with the reservation culture inevitably brings accelerated and more complex contact with non-Indians. The establishment and preservation of an Indian enclave within the city which is as insulated from outsiders as many reservations is next to impossible to achieve. School personnel, social workers, policemen, and neighbors from different ethnic backgrounds, who serve in some ways as competitors, are among those who are present in abundance in most large cities where Indians have come to live.

A Minority Among Minorities

Indians sometimes see themselves as disadvantaged and powerless not only with respect to the large majority of white people, but also in relation to other ethnic and minority groups within the city. In San Francisco, one Indian person appraised the situation in this language:

San Francisco is very different. It's probably the same in other areas, but San Francisco is divided up into five target areas which the Economic Opportunity Council is concerned with. That's Hunter's Point, which is 90% black; Chinatown, which is 75% Chinese. Then you have your Western Addition, another 90% black, and you have your Central City, which is all ethnic groups, minority, white. And then you have your Mission. Now, your Mission is, say 50% Spanish and other minority groups. So then, when you get into San Francisco, the Indian tends to be a minority amongst the minorities, so any of the poverty programs, he gets the last, the very, very last.

So, say, in the Mission, you have around, I think, thirty Head Start classes in all of the San Francisco area. Each of these classes are in these five different target areas, and your boards which control these target areas, are mainly whatever minority group -- well, that control it. Your Indian has very little political pull in these poverty programs.¹

Quite similar testimony emerged in Dallas:

In some discussion prior to entering the room, we spoke about Indian problems within the poverty areas of Dallas. It's a fact we know approximately where the Indians are in Dallas

because of a survey we ran last year. It began December 1967 and ended the latter part of January or first part of February 1968. They're primarily located in far West Dallas, East Dallas and the section in Oak Cliff. With reference to the Indian population, I find in going to neighborhood council meetings, I can't remember any council meeting where I observed a person of the Indian origin present. Now, needless to say, the whole structure of the war on poverty depends upon the needs, the requests and sometimes, unfortunately, protests of the people. Now, the voice of the people, as far as their needs, requests, and priorities, are heard through neighborhood council meetings.²

A representative of the League of Women Voters in Dallas elaborated:

...Indians seem largely invisible in Dallas...Many people I encounter...are quite surprised that there is a substantial number of Indians in Dallas. Also, the confusion which I think Joe Carmouche mentioned, people not knowing the difference between Mexican-American, with which they are more familiar, and the Indian. I have even inquired at the school offices where I know Indian children attend and have been told "we have no Indian children, only Latin Americans." Indians are not only not seen by the larger community, but as has been indicated, they have not been heard. The Negro and the Mexican-American have had their spokesmen. The Indian in Dallas has had little attention given to his problems.³

And in Minneapolis an Indian woman staff member of Pilot City Regional Center, an anti-poverty agency on the North Side, described the impotence of Indians in relation to anti-poverty programs:

I am trying to do everything humanly possible to try to meet the needs of the Indian people, whatever they may be. I truly believe there could have been more funds provided to the Northside Indian Center. I have said this to the Board of Directors, but again, Indian people are always last.⁴

In Los Angeles, Chairman Harris explained:

One of the real reasons for holding these hearings on urban Indians is because half of the Indian population in the United States now lives in urban centers, and they do not have a voice and are just left out. Other ethnic groups

are moving ahead, and they are not. They are not able to catch hold of anything because of their lack of organization.⁵

Difficulties with involving Indians in anti-poverty efforts were noted by a social service consultant to the State Department of Social Welfare in California during the Los Angeles hearings:

As you know, Indians in California have full citizenship and have the right to full participation in all of our social services or other programs. All programs for the poor in California, Indians may participate in. This is not to say they do, but they may. Our experience has been that Indians tend not to participate in the programs that are so often available --- preferring Indian programs. I am not offering this as a criticism, simply as a fact.⁶

One description of the position Indians hold with respect to the larger society appeared in Los Angeles, and is worth repeating here:

There are fewer cultural differences and barriers in this state than in other Indian populated areas of the United States. It is often difficult to recognize a person as a California Indian. They speak and write English and wear the same type of clothes. Since many of the reservations are small and unproductive, many of the Indians work off of the reservation. This involves them in the non-Indian community. They are further drawn into the non-Indian community since all California Indian children attend public schools. Their culture is largely Spanish, their way of life is not so much Indian as it is poverty. The main "cultural" differences are due to the fact that the Indians are a conquered people, have been forced to live under adverse conditions on the reservation, and are not respected by the non-Indian populace.⁷

A San Francisco Indian witness chided Chairman Harris for urging Indian utilization of organizations structured to help poor and minority persons:

You have constantly brought up the Civil Rights Commission, the FEPC and the EOC. These people aren't effective. One of the reasons why they are not effective is because we don't have any Indians on them.⁸

A tendency of many Indian people not to publicly proclaim their grievances was noted by a representative of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing who testified in San Francisco:

...Statistically, we made an analysis of the number of housing complaints during the work of the Commission. We found black people complained more than any other people, that Mexican-American people complained considerably less. The American Indian almost not at all.

However, we did find there was considerable discrimination against all minority groups, but the reason the blacks complained more, is because since, say, 1946 or 1947, they have been getting a little more of the economic pie than the other minority groups. This means they have the economic resources to want to move out, whereas it wouldn't make much sense for large numbers of Mexican American and American Indian people to complain. You have to complain about a specific house you have been discriminated against in, and that means you have to have the wherewithal to pay for it. The economic base is the obvious reason for the difference, but the discrimination, of course, is very subtle.⁹

There was some indication that Indian representatives did not feel that programs designed for non-Indians as well as Indians were appropriate. A proposal for the training of indigenous researchers among the American Indian migrants into an urban area, submitted for the record in San Francisco noted:

Needless to say, the programs designed for Negroes, Mexican-Americans or Oriental Americans are not suitable for American Indians because of great cultural differences.¹⁰

The remedy for Indian difficulties in a mostly non-Indian society, according to young Indian militants appearing in Los Angeles, was self-determination and the development of a positive self-image:

We have found, when we are talking about self-determination and assimilation, if a person has developed a pride, if the people themselves have nationalism, they will assimilate themselves. It will not be necessary for the white dominant populace to do this.

What we are advocating is Red Power, and we are not doing it statistically, or militantly, but realistically. It has to come about.

Many programs have been suggested about things that could improve the American Indian's plight. It has not been specifically said who is going to run these programs. It should be brought out that it would be better if the Indian runs them.¹¹

Evidence of Indian dissatisfaction about powerlessness in the urban setting comes from a Minneapolis militant:

I don't say they should beg any more. I say Indian people should get out and demand. They should say their representation on the Minneapolis Human Rights Commission is inadequate. The representation they have in the Minneapolis Civil Rights Department is inadequate. They are inadequately represented on the Urban Affairs Commission. Other Minneapolis coalitions, the Catholic and Lutheran Arch-Dioceses, are gearing their attention toward minority problems. I have made a move already to have those Indian people taken off the Urban Coalition who are just window dressing. There are four or five Indian people who have their names on the list and do not turn out for meetings. We have to take the same avenues in our Indian way that the black community has taken. We have to get together and go to these meetings. We have to show force. We have to show we are not going to back down. We have to show this to the Office of Economic Opportunity.¹²

And, an Indian man in Los Angeles said:

I don't believe...treating an Indian on a cradle-to-grave basis is the answer. We are going to have to get out and hustle, fight and compete just like our fellow man.¹³

Thus, witnesses indicated that Indians tend not to participate vigorously in programs designed for all disadvantaged persons for a number of reasons. They often feel out-numbered and over-powered in multi-ethnic committee or board control situations. Grievance machinery established for all citizens may not be used by Indians. While some persons complain that Indians are not adequately represented on public bodies and anti-poverty boards, others indicate that multi-ethnic programs are not appropriate; they

argue for all Indian programs, justified on the bases that "cultural differences" demand them and that the drives for nationalism and self-determination require them. Undoubtedly, much of the pressuring for Indian-oriented programs stems from the perceived need for the protection from "outside" influences -- including competition -- which an Indian environment could provide.

The Influence of History

But contact with non-Indians continues with persistence in the city. For many Indians these contacts prompt a reawakening of feelings of historic injustice and traditional reservation Indian-white relationships.

In Los Angeles, a representative of the American Indian Association gave his perception of the contemporary Indian image in terms of the influences of history:

I believe a certain image has been imposed on the Indian people for years in the past. I believe this image is outdated. But I believe it was for a definite purpose. The image was made when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was under the War Department, it was probably a war tactic to put the Indian in submission. It was probably geared so that the settlers could come and take their land. It was probably geared so that the cavalry could come in and kill off the Indians. It was probably geared to inspire the different church organizations -- I'm a Catholic myself, and a very strong Catholic -- but I believe that it was probably geared to inspire the different church missionaries to come in and impose upon the Indians a middle class white culture or white religion.¹⁴

In Minneapolis, an Indian member of the Urban Coalition complained:

Somehow, Western man has the ability to push off the Indian as an insignificant problem.¹⁵

In San Francisco, an Indian witness thought language differences had let to legal injustice for Indians:

This is the thing people do not understand about the Indian. He has this lack of communication. All of you who are Indian know what your languages are like. I am a Winnebago Indian. The Winnebago language is very limited in its vocabulary. In other words, we have only one word for "white", and we have no "is" or "was" in our language. We have no way of changing time. If we say "forever" in the Indian language, it means forever.

The white man's language can be construed in any way that he wants it. He can utilize this language in any way and form. One thing can mean one thing today, and in twenty years from now, these words can be changed to the direct opposite of what they were, when they were made. This has been proven. Look at your law books. You've got all the written proofs you need. These words have been changed, and rewritten, so that everything changes.

What I am leading up to is the Indian treaties. Every Indian group I've ever talked to, has always looked to the Indian treaties. This is a wrong statement -- "Indian treaties." In many instances, the Indian thought he was signing a treaty of friendship with the white man, when in truth, the only thing he signed was an unconditional surrender of all his lands and properties. This is what the Indians did. This is the reason why these treaties are no good to the Indian. They are not Indian treaties. This is the reason why we need to have our existing laws changed to benefit the Indian.¹⁶

An Indian man in Dallas indicated that the usual white tactic of "divide and conquer" was being continued in contemporary times:

The BIA keeps all the Indians in separate places, say, the Five Civilized Tribes, the Plains Indians, and the Indians on reservations. If you get down and talk to these Indians, they're all the same. If you're on the white man's side, he isn't Indian, I don't care where he comes from, even if he comes from India, he isn't Indian. They put you on the same level, you know, which all Indians should be. They should all be grouped together, but the white man keeps them separated so they won't be very strong. That's what we need to do, get together, and they'll all think alike.¹⁷

The same witness saw a conspiracy in the home loan program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

It is so hard for an Indian to get a loan to buy a home. A lot of these Indians don't really have good-paying jobs to qualify for these loans and the BIA doesn't help you one bit. I've tried it from here, I think, almost to Washington. All I get is you're qualified for this, and you're qualified for that, which I knew...Like the grants they have on these Indian loans, I know some of the people that work for the BIA need the job, too. That's how they get their jobs, by giving some Indian a loan they know will not keep a job or not make the house payments on these loans. They'll give them a loan, and in a few months these people have moved out and gone again. Then they turn it in, that the Indian isn't up to standard. That takes it away for all Indians. That's the white man's way of thinking, all Indians are down. There are some good Indians.¹⁸

In Los Angeles, one witness felt that the effects of historic maltreatment of Indians were so devastating that only the development of Indian nationalism could restore Indian people:

We strongly feel there is a need for nationalism within the Indian groups, and the National Council should realize this, and work from this philosophy. When we talk about restoring Indian culture, Indian dances, this is nationalism. This means self-determination of a people. If we are talking about justice, we really think this has been overlooked as far as the United States and Indian affairs.

What has occurred in the United States and California, is the result of conquerors versus conquered people. You have the result of a social-psychological effect, which you are calling negative attitude or the self-negative image the Indian has about himself. The first step to change the self-image, is to change the culture, to develop their pride.

So far, the expressed purpose of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been to assimilate Indians. However, it has been to assimilate Indians into a white culture and, you know, you just don't do this. If you are going to instill a pride in the American Indian, the American Indian has to determine his own destiny.¹⁹

Contemporary Indian-White Relationships

There were numerous references to difficulties Indians have with "communications." Sometimes these comments seemed to refer to language difficulties, but at other times they were apparently indicative of a general cultural impasse.

"The Indian Will Talk Only to His Kind"

In San Francisco, an Indian man explained it this way:

I'm able to speak to some extent to the white man, but this is lacking with most of the Indian people. I was raised on a reservation. I went to Indian schools. I was fortunate enough to go through high school, but the thing that has hamstrung the Indian so much, is the fact that he has only contact with other Indians until he gets out of school. Then he has to go out and compete with the white man for a white man's job. He hasn't got the ability to go out to make an application to effectively express himself about what he would like to do.²⁰

In Dallas, a witness affirmed:

It's true the Indian will talk only to his kind.²¹

Another witness, an Indian woman who operated a boarding house for Indian men undergoing vocational training, said this:

I never mixed the boys, because they don't mix so well. Sometimes they do, but Indians talk Indian language, whites talk white language, so it's better to have the Indians. They like it better, and whatever they like, that's what they get at my house.²²

Again, in Dallas, an Indian witness put it this way:

The Indian guy that comes here doesn't know how to communicate with whoever he's dealing with too good. But they don't know that, see. That's what was wrong with me, when I first come out. I flunked English in college. I still can't speak too good.²³

An Indian witness in Phoenix recalled:

I was told to respect your elders. When there was an elder in the room, don't talk. I found that is the best time to talk. But at the time I was told that every time a grown-up person or an elderly person came in, that this was the time for you to be quiet and sit and listen. Well, I found this to be the biggest handicap that I have ever had. In fact, I couldn't even speak up until I finally took the Dale Carnegie course, which is another good thing, because that is part of helping you to speak and express yourself and to think ahead of yourself.²⁴

Another Phoenix witness, a Navaho man, agreed:

...I would like to communicate with you. I think this is what we need to do -- that a great deal of the problems of Indian people are due to a lack of communication. I find this in my job at the State Employment Service. As I talk to the people, I just have them come out and list what their problems are. A lot of times we spend more time than we are allowed to spend with one person, but then it helps me so it helps the individual also.²⁵

"Only an Indian Can Relate to an Indian"

A number of witnesses indicated that Indian people preferred the company of other Indians, and were reluctant to associate extensively with non-Indians.

A Minneapolis Indian woman, who was a staff member of an anti-poverty agency noted:

...it takes an Indian to relate to another Indian.²⁶

In Phoenix, an Indian college student said:

There seems to be something that prompts one to go looking for other Indians.²⁷

Also in Phoenix, an Indian woman pointed out:

In my church we have some Indian students. They do have this thing of wanting to be with just the Indians. They do not want to mingle so much. But I feel it is because they feel more at home with their own people.²⁸

An Indian man in Dallas spoke of his uncertainty when around whites:

Among Indian people I feel pretty confident in myself. Among the white-eyes, I'm a little bit unsure of myself. That's the way I feel, and whether I'll ever get over it, I don't know.²⁹

A Maricopa man in Phoenix illustrated the difficulty of intercultural communication:

One Indian can talk to another and, in less than 30 minutes, can understand his individual problems, which would probably require three or four years of psychologists working on the same individual, asking him to come back time and again. This is the advantage that experienced people have.³⁰

A Dallas Indian lady said:

Another Indian can reach the Indian people.³¹

But a San Francisco witness, recounting his experiences at the University of Arizona, indicated that simply being an Indian may not be enough:

...We had students from 16 or 15 of the Southwestern tribes. The tribes are so distinct in their cultural background -- to say another Indian, it doesn't mean that he's a friend, or at least not as easily a friend as someone from the same tribe.³²

One witness explained why Indians should teach other Indians:

I feel that the best approach would be to have a project where we could have Indians instructing Indians. One such project was carried out with great success at the Yaqui community of Guadalupe, just outside of Phoenix, where we developed the material for proper vocational orientation at the Arizona State Employment Service, and turned it over to instructors taken from among the Yaqui community.

We finally believe that the person indigenous to the population with which he works can be much more successful than a person who may have all the book learning in the world, but does not know how to communicate with the Indian people.³³

Chairman Harris was unable to attend the Phoenix hearings because of family illness, and a committee staff member, a white man, took her place. An Assiniboine from Montana commented:

With no malice whatsoever toward Mr. Hargis and so forth, but our Great White Father still sends the white man to understand Indian problems. I don't say this is wrong, and I don't say this is right, but I know a lot of Indian people would rather speak their hearts out to an Indian because an Indian would understand. Because of this I will not try to direct my comments toward the committee as a committee itself that Mr. Hargis represents, but to you people as individuals.³⁴

"It's a White Problem"

From what they said some Indian people who appeared before the Committee seemed to place the major responsibility for improvement of Indian-white relationships upon white people. Often it seemed that, in their view, there was little that Indian people could do to bring about improvement, with the possible exception of "educating" whites.

In Los Angeles, Committee member Jourdain commented:

We have always stated it was not the Indian problem, it's the white man's problem, he was the man that brought in and delegated the authority to Congress to put us in this position that we are in today.³⁵

A San Francisco witness was concerned about white indifference:

There is frustration over the inadequacy of institutions who either want to help or are helping in improving their conditions. I think that the people in Washington should be aware of the frustrations that people are feeling about the inadequacy of institutions to meet their needs. There has been a tremendous indictment during the course of these

discussions of the white community. This is continued and amplified in other areas as well, and what I have found in other areas is not so much that they are really prejudiced, or really don't know. It's simply that -- I don't know if you can call it human nature or what -- people don't care. They're unconcerned about the state of the American Indian...

At another point in San Francisco, Chairman Harris summed it up this way:

The point is...it is not an Indian problem. It is a community problem, that is our whole problem. It is not an Indian problem. When we're saying this, we've got a great deal of educating to do with the non-Indian public.³⁷

An Indian militant in Minneapolis concurred:

Too many times we all say there's an Indian problem. I know who the problem is, and it isn't the Indian people. It's the white establishment. The white system is going to have to change, no matter how drastic it is.³⁸

In Dallas, an Indian woman observed:

They don't like us, none of the whites on Peak and Bryan.³⁹

The same witness gave a pessimistic appraisal of the future of Indian-white relationships:

They [Indians] don't trust the white man, don't ever kid yourself, the Indians will never trust a white man. You've got to prove yourself to me before I trust you.⁴⁰

In the same city, another witness commented:

...when you're Indian or otherwise, you soon learn you're different. They treat you different. You're talked to differently automatically, somehow or other.⁴¹

One man, appearing in San Francisco, attacked the "system" with particular reference to child adoption agencies:

Police brutality at San Francisco State reads like the Bobbsey Twins compared to social worker brutality. It emasculates the person and emasculates the children... It [emasculatation] is a dirty, rotten, stinking term, and the social workers are doing it. When a police officer clubs you on the head -- and that's why we closed the rotten, stinking, racist institution down last year. It is a racist institution, just pure racism -- and you all know what racism is, and you all know what racists are. Look in the mirror and you will see a racist. In this country, it is all racism. That is what holds the economy together. I'm on welfare right now. I gave up my business and my apartment to go on welfare. I wanted to be on the lowest rung of the ladder.

We took 500 welfare recipients up to Sacramento to speak to the powers that be up there, to speak about getting children funds for education. You can't help welfare recipients in our economy. Our economy demands that the twenty percent base of our economy is poverty. If you remove that poverty, you have socialism, and capitalism cannot live on socialism.⁴²

At a later point, the same witness observed succinctly:

Whites are pigs.⁴³

Chairman Harris, during the Minneapolis hearings, thought that white paternalism was detrimental as well as racism. Speaking of institutional racism, she noted:

Many times, it's so much a part of us we don't even realize it, particularly the non-Indian, or the majority people. It's just become a part of their everyday life...I think sometimes that Indian people -- if I may use the term -- are "loved to death." There are many good, well-meaning people, who want to be helpful, but don't know how. Their helpfulness is so patronizing, it's degrading. We need to learn the methods of telling people in an inoffensive way to reexamine their approach to problems. There are many, many people who are more harmful in their patronizing or paternalistic approach than the person who says things directly that are harmful.⁴⁴

In San Francisco, Mrs. Harris reiterated:

We're romanticized, and we're loved to death in many ways, and yet, as far as practicalities are concerned, things don't occur.⁴⁵

A rather elaborate description of the failure of most whites to accept contemporary Indian sex roles was submitted for the record in Los Angeles:

Their greatest problems, according to many of the Indians living in the San Antonio Health District, are the inter-related problems of alcoholism, budgeting of their family income, and adjustment to urban life. The American Indian culture is one that places men in a dominant position in the family and tribal life. Traditionally, the males hunted, fished and fought while females grew food in the gardens, cared for the children and old people, and "kept the home fires burning," literally. This division of responsibility has remained, but the areas for which the women are responsible include most of the contact with the white culture, such as making rent payments, buying food, contacting schools, clinics, doctors, and supervision of the children in an urban environment. The men, accustomed to spending their free time with other men, and unencumbered by the above family responsibilities, gather in bars and spend their money for alcohol. Thus the traditional role activities of one culture, when carried out in a foreign environment, are not sanctioned by the new culture. The white culture frowns upon the Indian father when he congregates with other males and spends his money in this manner, but to the Indians this behavior is understandable and the Indian women accept the situation, at least, up to this time.⁴⁶

A representative of San Francisco's American Indian Historical Society, a book and magazine publisher, remarked about California Indians' difficulties in receiving the social services for which they were eligible:

I'd just like to say one thing: it's what we call "double-talk, gobbledy-gook." You know, you're supposed to have it, but you don't get it. You go to the Attorney General, and he says you're supposed to have it, but you don't get it...You don't get it. Now, what is going on here? I think everybody should know, without a very expensive survey, because we had some people coming into our headquarters that got 450,000 dollars for a survey about Indians in the Chicago-Minneapolis district, and a month after this was paid for and over with, the situation had completely changed.

That's why I raised the question. All the millions of dollars that are going into all these programs. Quit it! Quit it! Let the Indians take care of themselves. That's the whole thing; it's "double-talk, gobbledy-gook." You're supposed to have it, but you don't get it. And if you want to fight for it, you go around and around and around in a vicious circle, and maybe you get disgusted and say, the hell with it. That's the point. You're supposed to, but you don't.⁴⁷

Interpersonal Relationships

At a few points during the hearings rather close or intense personal relationships between Indians and whites were described and, in one case, actually occurred. A Minneapolis Indian man pictured one such relationship:

A man began to work with me, and he began to visit me. He visited me for two years, and it was a long, drawn-out process. He got me to believe in the Bible and to accept Jesus Christ for what he is. I did that. After I did that, he continued to work with me, and he felt that I was just as good as anybody else. He didn't look down on me.

He began to take me out. He would say, "I want you to go out with me tonight, Charlie, and I'm going to introduce you to a group of people. All I want you to do is tell them your name, who you are.

As time went by, he said, "Can you talk two minutes tonight? Can you talk about five minutes?" After about a year, "Will you talk fifteen minutes, a half hour?"

Now, he was willing to sit down while I got up, talked, and told them what I thought. You see, in other words, in order to lift somebody up, you have to be willing to take the position of servanthship. You cannot lord and master over them, and this is where we get the problem. This is where people don't have the ability to work with people. They look down upon them, and how can you ever lift them up then? You can't do it.

This, again, is the old thing of being sensitive to another individual. But I think it is, basically, believing that an individual is capable, not only capable, but that they're a good thing.⁴⁸

Another Indian man, testifying in Minneapolis, responded to personal criticism by a preceding witness by offering prolonged personal testimony, a portion of which is relevant here:

I came up through the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, grew up on the reservation, had all the problems...But it was through the concern and interest of many non-Indian people who provided money and encouragement and everything else, that I was able to complete eight years of college. I would defy anybody to condemn me for having the guts to go through and get a degree so that I could work with my own people. I defy anybody to say that I'm not eligible to serve my own people because I have an education. I happen to be married to a very beautiful wife who happens to be non-Indian. I have happened to buy my own home. I have a fairly good salary. I feed my children regularly, see that they have good training and upbringing, and it's all because of good education. It's all because there were many interested and concerned people, Indian and non-Indian alike...The thing that gives me the courage and ability to stand up here, and in many other places around the country, and let my wishes and feelings be known is the fact that I was able to go on to college. It wasn't until I got into graduate school that I was pulled out of my own backwardness as a young Indian person who grew up in a community where I was told I was a second-rate citizen, where many things were done for others that were not done for the American Indian. I grew up with an attitude that I was a second-rate citizen. It wasn't until I got into graduate school that I was able to stand on my own feet and debate with other people who are non-Indian and share my own feelings and ideas.⁴⁹

The Committee chairman urged Dallas' Indians to cultivate allies within the city, and she specifically suggested a visit to the mayor. An Indian man replied:

...You said go see the mayor. I went and danced for him. Well, I took off from work to go down and dance. One of the fellows went to introduce him to me, he just turned his back on me. He don't want to see me then dancing. Well, he surely won't want to see me now.⁵⁰

At the other pole of Indian-white relationships was the encounter between an Indian witness in Phoenix and the white committee staff member who was substituting for Chairman Harris. A substantial portion of that testimony is revealing:

MR. JESS SIXKILLER: I really don't have any business here this afternoon. I feel that this should be a local hearing, if that is what it is. The local Indian leaders ought to be the ones that are here. And if they are, you can come in and support us with your organization.

Since I was put on the bill by my good friend, Mr. Cook, I am Jess Sixkiller, Cherokee, director of the organization called American Indians United.

I am a product of Haskell Institute, but I overcame it.

I did not come here to give you pearls of wisdom. I came here to ask a couple of questions.

One is, who is running the national? What is the name of your organization again?

MR. HARGIS: National Council on Indian Opportunity.

MR. SIXKILLER: What is the National Council on Indian Opportunity?

MR. HARGIS: Do you mean the staff here?

MR. SIXKILLER: I'm asking who is running it, sir.

MR. HARGIS: It is run by executive --

MR. SIXKILLER: Would you put that on the microphone so they can hear you?

MR. HARGIS: It is run by a staff in conjunction with the department heads, or rather the secretaries of the departments, the seven major departments having any Indian programs, and nationally appointed Indian members who are the ones we named earlier, Cato Valandra, Wendell Chino, Ray Nakai, La Donna Harris, Willy Hensley, and Roger Jourdain.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who appointed these people?

MR. HARGIS: The President of the United States.

MR. SIXKILLER: Through who?

MR. HARGIS: Not through anybody as far as I know.
It was done by --

MR. SIXKILLER: He did not appoint them directly?

MR. HARGIS: He appointed them by Executive Order that established the Council. And he named them in that Executive Order.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who recommended them to him?

MR. HARGIS: That, I don't know.

MR. SIXKILLER: Are they representatives of this area?

MR. HARGIS: I think Mr. Chino and Mr. Nakai are from this area in residence, if that's what you mean.

MR. SIXKILLER: Why aren't they here?

MR. HARGIS: They were unable to attend.

MR. SIXKILLER: All of them?

MR. HARGIS: That is the word I received.

MR. SIXKILLER: Why isn't there an Indian in your position? Why isn't there an Indian taking the dictation here?

MR. HARGIS: Because the reporting services are done by the Government Service Administration contracts. There is not an Indian in my position, simply because the gentleman who would have been here is in a meeting in Washington.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who is that?

MR. HARGIS: That is Mr. Reeves Nahwooksy.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who?

MR. HARGIS: Reeves Nahwooksy.

MR. SIXKILLER: Why is this meeting held in this hotel? Why isn't it held at the Indian Center across the street? That is where it belongs.

MR. HARGIS: All the meetings in the past have been tried to be held in a public place so that there would be an impartiality and not a problem --

MR. SIXKILLER: Partial to who?

MR. HARGIS: Impartial to all of the Indian communities.

MR. SIXKILLER: In other words, you are saying that this place here that you are paying X amount of dollars for, I don't know how much you are depriving the Indian Center of, but this money they could be getting for this meeting. What are you doing for the Indians?

MR. HARGIS: We're trying to give them an opportunity to speak to the council, as we explained earlier, and present --

MR. SIXKILLER: I shouldn't be asking you these questions. I should be asking the people that are on this Committee.

MR. HARGIS: That is correct.

MR. SIXKILLER: That is who I should be asking these questions of.

MR. HARGIS: That is right.

MR. SIXKILLER: You are nothing but a white man.⁵¹

Helpful Whites

As indicated by previous excerpts, the hearings revealed some whites who wished to be of help. In Dallas, for example, an Indian woman said:

I'm in a position where I meet, for example, hundreds of Campfire Girls in Dallas, civic organizations, and church women who are not Indians. I dispense information at great length. It isn't that I know so much, it's that I spread it, a great many places. I find these people are most eager to learn things about Indians. They want to go around where Indian people are. If there are Indian people who need assistance in any way, such as taking them to hospitals, helping them to get information, these women want to help. They have the time and the cars. They have no transportation problem.⁵²

And another Dallas Indian woman told of help for Indian children:

...I have worked with my sister and these businessmen's wives down in the slum area. They have offered our Indian children that are slow learning, tutoring. They're doing this all on their own, which I am thankful for.⁵³

In Phoenix, an Indian woman was grateful:

We are fortunate in Tucson to have an Anglo man who is interested in helping the Indian people. Through his encouragement I have learned that I can talk to anyone in any area concerning the Indian people.⁵⁴

After describing a public speech containing much misinformation about Indians and given by a Southwestern Indian, a Minneapolis Indian man related this:

...One of our white friends, and we've got lots of them, took the floor and he said, "I listened to you and I want to ask you this, we are sympathetic, what can we do to help you?" How many here remember the answer. He shook his head and he says, "I guess your sympathy is all we can take." I thought that was the dumbest, crudest, craziest answer. We need white people to help us. We need their money especially.⁵⁵

A non-Indian social worker in San Francisco described his need for more contact with Indians:

I come from New York. Indians were something that were out West. I've just learned about Indians within the past year. It wasn't something I saw. Indians were some people that climbed buildings. You know, Mohawks went upon buildings and walked around on beams, or something like that. It wasn't until I came to San Francisco, actually Seattle, that it was a real thing.

A lot of us want to know, and this is exactly the kind of thing I like to see going on, this kind of informative thing, where people say what they mean. If I have made mistakes, it's because I don't know.⁵⁶

A non-Indian professional photographer in Dallas made this observation:

There's no publicity on Indians here. You can't find them, you know. You could have 25,000 here or 25, I don't know, and you can ask other people around the city, "do you know where Indians are living and do you know an Indian." It's like asking where the buffalo herd is. There's no press relations. I think people would be very interested in knowing more about the Indians, but you can't accept what you don't even know is there. Most people aren't even aware that there would be this many in Dallas...You do need some spokesmen to say, "We're here and we want part of the deal."⁵⁷

And in Dallas, Chairman Harris advised the Indians who attended the hearings:

You do have allies, and I think you should make yourselves available, and make them aware of you and ask for help.⁵⁸

Specific Problems Relating to Agencies and Other
Segments of White Society

Numerous witnesses in the various cities had many comments to make about the problems Indians have with specific agencies and particular segments of the broader society. With respect to the quality of services rendered by agencies, there was considerable range in the opinions and perceptions expressed by Indian witnesses before the Committee, as the following comments will indicate.

A number of Indian people and others were concerned about employment. Some of their comments had to do with discrimination.

In Phoenix, an Indian man said:

In terms of employment and housing, I remember the first time I had attended an Arizona Indian Association meeting I mentioned, I think, that we ought to be concerned about such things as discrimination in employment and housing. I really never got much of a reaction. I got some comments, we don't have that happen here. Well, hell, I know it

happens here. It happens to many, many people here. It is happening in every other city in the United States. We don't deny the fact that we are getting discriminated against. We just ignore it like we have been ignoring it for years. But we really have in fact got to start asserting ourselves. It is not being done on the reservation, but it can be done here in these cities. We have got access to television. We have got access to the news media that the reservations do not have, and the kind of access that urban Indian people are getting used to and beginning to get accustomed, so we can eventually start making demands.⁵⁹

Another Indian man appearing in Phoenix, a militant, took the National Council to task for spending too much money and employing non-Indians:

I do charge them and this commission to show my people what they have done and why and where. Why don't they give the money they are using to fly around this country to the Indians and let them show them what we can do with it. We have highly capable people right here in this area. Where we have highly capable people, I can bring you into this area in twenty-four hours. If you name for me a particular specialist you need, I will have them here in twenty-four hours. I will guarantee it.

You don't need to run around the country having these meetings like this. Let the Indians do it.⁶⁰

A West Dallas mission worker was asked by Chairman Harris:

Have you had any personal experiences of discrimination against Indians by the local community or by agencies? Because you're Indian, you're treated a particular way?

The witness replied:

Not off-hand, I can't think of anything like that. Usually, if they find out you're Indian, you're more than welcome. Finding out you're Indian takes a little time.

Then the witness went on to note:

On several occasions, we have had a man fill out unemployment and they did not come here under the Bureau so they can't go to the Bureau employment agency. Our knowledge of these other employments is very limited, and we've had two or three drop-outs. "Do not send me another Indian. I will not hire

another Indian," they say. I think that could help, if they would open the employment up.⁶¹

A Phoenix man was concerned about lack of progress in employing Indians in the city:

Somewhere along the line somebody is missing the boat. But this is true for Sperry-Rand, for Goodyear, for GE, and all of the major companies here in the city of Phoenix, or in the Phoenix area.

It would not be quite so bad if they were not so-called defense companies. They really have an obligation under their contracts not to be discriminatory and to make every effort to hire minority people. But we certainly don't find this to be true. We have got around 60,000 employees in the major companies in the Phoenix area, and less than 100 Indians are employed.

For the most part, I would venture to say that we have been more well-trained over the years than have the Mexican-Americans, and they have got almost 100 times as many people working in these firms than we have.

Either we have been getting some lousy training, or the companies have been discriminating, or we are just not competent, but I don't believe that. I think we have got all kinds of competent people.

But, on the other hand, you look at the Navaho reservation, where Fairchild company had a minimal entrance requirement. You could get into the companies with an eighth grade education, going down to the third grade. It is a fine company which makes semi-conductors. Now it seems you ought to be able to do the same with companies in Phoenix, but somehow this has not happened here.⁶²

A woman in Dallas had strong feelings about employment discrimination:

Let me tell you something. If you work, you can make it, if you can get a break. Because you're an Indian, or because they think you're an Indian, or a different color, you can't get a break. They won't take their foot off your neck, they won't let you up or give you a job. It's hard for an Indian...If they'll give us a job, and when we deserve advancement and a raise, if they'll give us a break, they won't have a BIA office. We don't have to have it. All we need is a chance.⁶³

Employment also was perceived as a problem in San Francisco, where one witness commented:

Another thing important is the unemployable youth. There is a certain age where a youth can very seldom get a job, between 17 on up to 22. Very few companies will hire these young people. I had, not the pleasure, but I did have a chance to talk to the grandson of the founder of the Zellerbach Paper Company, and he told me to find an Indian youth a job in this age bracket is almost impossible. Even an older Indian has a hard time finding a job, because of the reputation which Indians have. You find a lot of companies will not hire Indians because, "Oh, they just get drunk. The first paycheck, they're drunk and they won't be back for a couple of days."⁶⁴

A Dallas employer confirmed these impressions:

The only thing I say is this: as far as the behavior and so forth, why, their temperament, something about it, they can't stand hard liquor. I can tell you this, because just today, I got a couple out of jail. This is something I think the people themselves need to understand. This is one of the things they need to be advised and helped with, because I don't know how many I've helped get out and it's continuing to be a problem. If you want to give them help, this is one of the areas I feel is a real serious problem because their families are hurt. I've had wives come in and tell me, "The boys have been in for six months, I didn't have anything to eat and look how thin I am," things like this. It makes you sick. This is why I say, I'm here tonight. I want to help, I'm more than glad to give any man an opportunity.⁶⁵

An Indian minister who appeared in Dallas confirmed this employer attitude:

I do public accounting and I have come in contact with several people that employ Indians. Some of them don't like the Indian people because they say they get drunk, and miss so many days of work, and you can't depend on them. But, on the other hand, the Indians are not the only ones. There are a lot of other people doing this same thing, so we just can't hold that against our Indian people.⁶⁶

The Dallas employer previously quoted said that he employed from 20 to 30 Indians, and that he worked directly with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and law officers in cases of difficulty. He went on to explain his attitude toward Indian employees:

I'd like to say, one of the biggest problems I have as an employer is whenever the boys think they have a problem or something like that, and they want to go back to the reservation. This seems to be the only place they feel they can get comfortable. This is not good. I think the chiefs themselves, need to counsel them on how to solve their problems. The ones that seem to adapt themselves better are the young ones that have worked here for a while. They don't seem to rely so much on going back to their tribes. The older ones, have more of a problem. There are a lot of things that I'd like to tell you. I listened to part of the discussion before about people being accepted. I think they're well accepted in our place of business. They're taken as one. We have all kinds, we have white, black, Indians, you name it. We're more than happy to work with them. There's no difference, and they all have the same opportunity according to the ability they show and what effort they put forth. I say, I'll always welcome any Indian or any other man, he's got a job as long as he comes, works regular, and does a job for me. He's taken care of.⁶⁷

But an Indian member of the audience questioned the employer about the type of work and the maximum pay that could be expected on such jobs:

Say, how many years do you have to work before you get \$3.75?⁶⁸

The employer replied:

Well, I told you, it depends on the skill and the job. I didn't say every man got that money.⁶⁹

The Indian questioner responded:

That's what I know.⁷⁰

An Indian woman in Phoenix described the favorable treatment she received from co-workers:

...I learned to work with people. I worked with all nationalities. I was invited out by customers that came and found out that there was an Indian working in the kitchen -- I was the only Indian. Once in a while we would have other Indians, but they never stayed with it. I would go out with the different people. I have gone with people from Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania. They took me out to dinner, which was nice.

Among my friends were the workers of Westward Ho. I went with them. I have not been bored. Every once in a while I would say something about this stupid Indian. They would tell me, you said it, we didn't. We don't think of you as an Indian. We think of you as one of us.

Well, I learned to keep my mouth shut about being a stupid Indian, because I learned and realized that they thought of me just like anybody else. The only trouble that I really had was the Indians that came in from the reservations who would congregate. They would get drunk. They would carry on. Yet on my part, I am not saying I didn't drink. Yes, I did. I saw a friend of mine one day. I saw what she looked like, and I made up my mind I would not be that way the rest of my life either. So I quit.⁷¹

The Dallas employer previously cited was satisfied with the quality of his Indian employees:

...They run mixers and mills, weigh rubber, various parts of our operation. They're good workers, let me say. I like them.⁷²

The Dallas Indian minister, who was quoted earlier, had this to say:

...There are some employers who say the Indians are fine workers...[one of them] wants to train these Indians as foremen and wanted to know if the government or the Bureau of Indian Affairs had any money they could use to help along with the training. In other words, he was going to work them during the day, then have classes in the evening, and then, of course, he would probably instruct them along both lines in the daytime...another thing I've learned in counseling with the Indians, and with employers -- I think if we could find someone to act as a go-between, not to go into private

affairs or anything, but on working conditions. The Indian people can do good. I feel the main thing is to get a little confidence in themselves, and a little ambition, and the actual wanting to do the things that will be good for them and their families, and, of course, for their employers.⁷³

An Indian man appearing in Los Angeles, who was a laboratory technician, felt that hiring was impartial:

...In Los Angeles, I was never given a job because I was an Indian, or because I wasn't an Indian. I found competition for any job I ever held, they showed me no sympathy whatsoever...I think I am one of the few Indian technologists here, but I compete for jobs in this field. They show me no mercy because I am an Indian.⁷⁴

Finally, there was a kind of ambivalence expressed toward entry into Western economic life, as described by an Indian man in Phoenix:

I would like to focus on social problems in general, not just for minority groups, but both industrial, a dominating industrial society throughout the nation. In fact, not just this nation, but other countries down in South America, Europe, places like Africa, New Zealand, and others. I think people throughout these countries are faced with the problems we are faced with here today. The domination of an economic system, as we know here in this country, how do we break into the system as a minority group, not just as a Navaho or a Pima, but as a man...We see that a white man's society today is a beautiful thing. We wish that we could become a part of this, and enjoy the economic opportunities. And yet we can not, for certain elements are involved. I would like to add this. I want to be a part of the system. Yet at this day and point, do I really want to be a part of this system, because in this nation today we have such an uprising throughout the universities...Why do people not want to change into the white society, or the dominant society. Then again why are the sominant society and their middle class children resigning from it? It is a big question for all of us to be concerned about.⁷⁵

Besides difficulties with employment, concern was expressed by some witnesses about the process of law enforcement. A Los Angeles attorney, under contract to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide legal services to Indians participating in the relocation program, provided these insights:

Probably the real problem with Indians in the law is the transition from the reservation to the urban area. Possibly because there is a different application in law enforcement, in that a police officer in an Indian community may take a violator home. In Los Angeles, there are many violators, they are indiscriminately put in jail and filed upon...I would say 99 and possibly some fraction of a percent, of the violators, violate the law because of alcoholism. We find most of the kids that are rapped in robbery, burglary, grand theft, auto, are there because they have done something while intoxicated...[another problem] is the orientation of the police officer...I find a lot of the problems arise in the Main Street area. There are two or three bars down on Main Street, and what happens is, a couple of fellows will have words, then it leads to a battle. The battle usually takes place in the back part of the institution or in the parking lot. Like all battles, there is always a winner and a loser. The winner usually retires to the bar for another drink, and the loser picks himself up. The cops come, and they ask him what happened. There is a little stuttering going on, because nobody wants to lose. He is asked if he has lost any of his personal property, and usually he says yes, because there has to be a reason for this fight. Right away in California, that makes it robbery. I would say five or six years ago, they would search the premises and the alleged defendant was pointed out very readily, "he did it." He is booked on a robbery charge. Now the police officers are much more discriminating in their asking of questions. They find out in fact it wasn't a robbery at all, it was just a plain old fight.⁷⁶

Chairman Harris asked the attorney:

Do you find discrimination in arrests because people are Indians?⁷⁷

The attorney's response was revealing:

Yes and no. Let me say in certain areas the Indian is discriminated against, more likely down on Main Street, because it is a trouble area. I know, if a police officer goes down there, and everybody is sort of feeling their oats on a Saturday night, he has to gather as many guys up as he can, put them in the wagon and haul them away. A lot of times, you gather up the non-drinker or a fellow who really isn't drunk. They figure, well a guy down there is drunk, particularly if he is an Indian. In other areas there is a lot less discrimination. A lot has to do with the police officer himself.⁷⁸

In San Francisco, an Indian corrections officer from San Quentin had a great deal to say about law enforcement:

I think in dealing with law enforcement and the Indian, there should be some preventive measures. They are reluctant to arrest the Indian, who is obviously too drunk, bouncing against the citizens walking down the street. They will drive away. They will not hesitate to come and pinch him, after he gets himself hurt, or gets someone hurt, or commits a felony. I'm talking about preventive measures. It would be better for the Indian and everyone concerned, if it's obvious the man is drunk, take him and put him in the tank tonight, cut him loose tomorrow, rather than wait for him to get into serious problems. We have laws restricting them from serving the Indian or any person who has obviously had too many drinks. There are laws you are not to serve anyone who is excessively drunk. But they do serve anyone who is excessively drunk. But they do serve the drunken Indian more liquor. In fact, they're so hungry to make money off a drunken Indian, they'll go out and drag him off a sidewalk to take him money away from him...Much of it is through misunderstanding. The shy Indian that's arrested and drunk, so drunk he doesn't remember getting arrested, and the following day is approached by the officer, and the officer says, "You know what you're here for?" "No, I don't." "Well, you were out there drinking with somebody last night, with three people. You killed one of them by kicking him. What have you got to say for that?" "Well, if you say I did, I guess I did." That's his defense...They're not being made aware of their rights, because there's nobody in the state of California, or anywhere else in this country, that makes Indians aware. Nobody cares about the drunken Indian that's in trouble. This goes for a lot of the Indian people, too, because we experience drunks in our families, and we figure if we don't talk about them, don't see them, they don't exist. It's only now, in the recent year or two, that there's beginning to be some concern...Our prisons are loaded with Indians. The poor Indian that don't understand English, he's a chronic alcoholic, he's an active TB patient. He's taken and placed in the county hospital. He's not aware that it is an illegal felony for an active TB case to walk away from confinement, but he does. Where does he find himself? In a state penitentiary, with criminals. Was this man notified of his rights? Was he notified that it was illegal for him to do this? Does he understand after being notified? Does he understand English? Does he understand a legal term? No. Does the man belong in the penitentiary? No. Who does he have to turn to? Nobody.

...I don't mean to be a big windbag up here, Mrs. Harris, but I'd just like to say two things. One, many times the Indian, the American Indian, because of lack of understanding in the community, when he gets arrested, there's a felony pending and he goes to court. Now, because he has no one to turn to for assistance or advice, and this is a normal experience that Indians go through; he has no funds and no one to help him. He is appointed assistance, by the same hostile community that got him in jail and in this court room. The same hostile community chooses a public defender to defend him. He sees the chances he's got, and he just adds it up. He sees this, and it's a useless thing. To eliminate any more embarrassment to his family, many a time the Indian will be admitting to a lot of things, just hurry on these convictions to get out of the court room.⁷⁹

An Indian woman in Dallas noted:

Look at the whites, what they're doing, running to and fro with their automobiles, drunker than any Indian you've ever seen. You never saw an Indian as drunk as some of these whites. What are they talking about?⁸⁰

The same witness asserted that Indian prisoners were suffering discrimination:

Monday morning you can't walk for the Indians in the jailhouse. I went down to trial the other day. What did they bring in with chains on them? Indians. What did they bring in there? Indians with chains on them. I sat there and cried. Look, this is not a good picture, you might as well face it. Why didn't they put some chains on the white ones? They had fifteen white ones and seven Indians. Why didn't they chain up the whites?⁸¹

But in the same city an Indian mission worker was less certain that there was discrimination:

CHAIR: Let's take the subject of justice. I'd like to get your reaction on that. Do you feel the arrest rates are higher in the Indian community than in others?

MRS. JOHNSON: No, I don't.

CHAIR: Delinquency, particularly?

MRS. JOHNSON: Well, in some families, that varies, too. I'm trying to think back. We have a lot of public drunkenness and disturbing peace.

CHAIR: That are actually arrested?

MRS. JOHNSON: Never arrested, just kind of bawled out a little bit.

CHAIR: Are they aware of legal services?

MRS. JOHNSON: They're aware of legal services, but when you get on the legal service, you wait forever. Some of them will give up, go back, and receive the same punishment before it's brought to court. They have to go back, it's something that could be improved, I believe.⁸²

And a non-Indian employer in Dallas, when asked by Chairman Harris if he thought that Indians got a fair break from the law, responded:

I think so, I think so. I have no reason to think differently.⁸³

In San Francisco, an Indian man pointed out:

We know there are Indian people that get into trouble; we don't want the laws changed just especially for Indians, but we want the chance, that opportunity, what's rightfully theirs, legal and sincere representation in court; this is what they want.

The Negroes have the NAACP. A Negro can go out and chop somebody's head off, and the NAACPs across the country will be screaming their heads off. What has the Indian got? Nothing in the line of justice. And this is what we want.⁸⁴

Also in San Francisco, there was criticism of legal aid:

If the Indian thinks he is getting help from the American Legal Assistance, that's a myth; they were the first people to sell the Indian down the river. Those lawyers -- and I'd like to direct this to you, sir, if you're supposed to bring this back to Washington -- they are not helping the Indians. They are helping themselves, and they are helping the establishment to keep the Indians in their place.⁸⁵

Another San Francisco witness, a representative of the American Indian Historical Society, questioned a California Indian Legal Assistance Program:

We want to know about that California Indian Legal Assistance Association that got \$450,000. Why can't they be involved in something like this? The money always goes to the wrong place.⁸⁶

Another Indian witness responded:

On the question of Mrs. Costo there, on the California Indian Legal, we had two representatives over at San Quentin on it, and they stated that their funds that they obtained for legal aid, they just don't have enough to go into criminal proceedings; that their funds are set up to assist groups of Indian people, but they handle no criminal cases.⁸⁷

Also in San Francisco, an Indian woman from the United Native Americans described her perception of the system of justice for American Indians:

Now, the American Indian lives under six forms of justice. You people have only two laws to obey: your state laws and your federal laws. The American Indian has his cultural laws. He has his tribal laws. He has the civil courts, the state court, the federal courts; and then he has policy. The policy is laid down by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And under the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, no Indian can obtain justice, because they should not even have to go through the other five steps if policy was meant to benefit the American Indian...Let me go on and break it down to you: under cultural laws, we had justice because our own people decided the decisions. Then, under policy, we had tribal laws which were bent to suit the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but it was maintained by our own tribal people. But the "Uncle Tomahawks," they were put in charge of tribal laws worked for policy, so the Indian could not get justice under tribal law. He knows better than to try the Civil Court or the Supreme Court. The mere fact that he is an Indian designates that he is not going to get justice.

Under Federal law if the crime was committed on the reservation, and under Federal law, he does not have his choice of attorneys because ninety percent of the time the attorney is appointed by the tribe. He works for two masters. He naturally is going to serve the man that pays him, not the lowly Indian that is up before him.

Consequently, this leaves policy. If you change policy and you do away with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and all the injustices that they have committed against the American Indian for the last 150 years --- in relation to an article that appeared in the paper last week about the cruelty to the Indian children of the Chiloco Indian School in Oklahoma, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is taking the credit for discovering that cruelty. Why shouldn't they have discovered it? They are the greatest perpetrators of cruelty to the American Indian that there is.⁸⁸

Finally, a non-Indian representative of the California Indian Legal Services in San Francisco explained his program:

...I would like to take a few minutes to explain what our program is doing and how it is that some of these needs for legal services aren't being met by CILS.

One of the things that was brought up this morning was the need for representation in criminal cases. The rules that we operate under, which are the rules of the Office of Economic Opportunity, generally prohibit us from taking criminal cases. Only if there is no public defender and no system for appointing counsel can we get into a case. Now, because of Supreme Court edicts, it's practically impossible for a locality not to have one or the other of those systems for providing counsel, so generally speaking, we cannot get into a criminal prosecution at all.

Also, Indians have many, many legal problems which are the same sort of legal problems that white men have. They have contract problems, welfare problems, divorce problems, adoption problems. They are very, very numerous and they definitely need attention, but we have a very limited staff, and there are many, many problems that involve Indian law and questions that affect many, many Indians.

...Our Board of Directors which has a majority of Indians, although OEO is balking at that -- they don't think it's a good idea for a group that's being served to control the organization that's serving them -- has rebelled somewhat at the idea of our getting too involved in urban legal problems. We don't have a whole lot of staff and there are many, many rural Indian legal problems to be solved, so at least until such time as we get a larger staff, we really will not be able to get too involved in the problems of urban Indians, even their special Indian problems.

...I'd like to point out that, unfortunately, all of the lawyers are white men. This is very regrettable. Last summer, we had an Indian law student from the University of New Mexico law school working with us as a summer clerk. We tried to get another summer clerk from New Mexico, which has an Indian law training program, which is a program for Indian law students.

Unfortunately for us -- perhaps fortunate for the Indians -- OEO has seen fit to send fifty Indians who are trained to be law students to Washington this summer to be summer interns with Congressmen in the Federal agencies, so it seems that we will not be able to get an Indian with us this summer as a law clerk.

I think it's important for you to know that we know at least three people, including one of our community workers -- we have two Indian community workers -- one of them will probably go to law school next year, and we know of two other California Indians who are seriously thinking of going to law school, so that in the future you may have Indians who are lawyers, who will be able to serve you. As I say, it's unfortunate that you have to be served by white honkey lawyers, but there doesn't seem to be any way around it for the time being.⁸⁹

During the hearings some witnesses commented about the general responsiveness of social service agencies and other segments of the total urban community.

A Los Angeles witness said:

Anything the Indians have done in Los Angeles, has been about 99 percent on their own. If the Indian Center or the Welcome House is successful, it's because they themselves have done it, and not anything the city or county or the State of California has done.⁹⁰

But another Indian witness in Los Angeles had a different impression:

...there is every opportunity for the Indians here. It is probably contrary to the others. I have had health officers call me in regard to many things, the health programs, and say, "We'll run your Indians ahead of the others, if you'll only bring them over." In regard to birth control, in regard to cancer, and all of these programs, we have had nothing but open arms from every agency around.

I had a judge in Los Angeles that was willing to come to our church, sit down and talk to the men that had been delivered from alcoholism and drinking, and he asked if we would help these Indians and we have until we lost our home because of finances. We weren't able to keep it up.

But there are many opportunities around. There are many places out on the desert that are willing to take Indians in that are alcoholics and help them. There are all kinds.

The health program sits in Department 58 and they get these men and take them over and begin to get them on antidotes. I would like to say there is nothing but open arms here in the Los Angeles area for the American Indians.⁹¹

However, staff member Carmack, substituting for Chairman Harris, concluded that there was insufficient involvement and concern on the part of the local community. He commented:

I see too little evidence of serious involvement on the part of the local community, the county, or the state. I see little evidence of involvement on the part of the institution of higher education.

I have heard nothing of the contributions and involvement of the great philanthropic foundations. I think this has to be pointed out.

We have seen a great deal of self-help and involvement on the part of Indian groups. We see stories and hear stories of a lack of flexibility in the administration of programs, a preoccupation with form more than substance sometimes.⁹²

One Indian man in Phoenix felt the crux of the problem was at the lowest operational level:

Any new development, any new program, that is projected within an Indian community requires the Federal agencies to operate within the criteria of the established rules and regulations or the intent of law. This also holds true with the city government. The city governments do have basic rules and regulations and policy standards. They establish policies. They establish rules and regulations. They establish city ordinances. But when it gets down to the area of various recreation parks, as mentioned, you find that the prejudice, the biased attitudes and opinions are usually rendered by the small people in the area of the recreational program.⁹³

Another Phoenix witness did not feel that there was substantial discrimination in recreation programs:

As far as the recreation areas are concerned, they are limited, but I did not find that an obstacle. I went out and looked for it. They had a newspaper clipping that said free tennis, go for three sessions. If you like it and want to continue, then you have to pay for the lessons. I tried the three sessions, liked it, and have gone on with it.

Then there was the bowling team. I did not know how to bowl, but I went out anyway. There was intermingling. It was not all Indian. It was white, Mexican -- you name it -- they were all on the board. I did not run into any discrimination anywhere. Nobody told me I was Indian. I joined and I excelled.⁹⁴

In Dallas, an Indian minister said:

In the six months I have been here, Dallas has given our church cooperation, all of the agencies I have called are willing to really go all out to help us.⁹⁵

From nearby Fort Worth, an Indian man presented another picture of community acceptance:

As far as how they're received in the community, I have one example of a little boy the other day at a school. He came up to me and he said, "Hi, mister. I'm an American Indian," and he was proud of it, in the community where he lived. he lived in an outstanding community, but the family he belongs to is white and not Indian. You know, Indian from the outside, white on the inside. Our Indians who are Indian throughout face a different situation. They're not assimilated into the white culture, and our experience in the mission in Fort Worth is five years ago, no Indians attended church in Fort Worth.⁹⁶

A Phoenix Indian woman spoke of housing discrimination:

Through the efforts of very many Anglo people, I am glad to say that we have some advantages. But in Tucson, in the housing problem, my husband works as a silversmith. His boss built a home for us, right after the war when he came back from overseas duty. And we were told we couldn't move on the East Side because we were Indians.⁹⁷

In San Francisco, an Indian militant wondered why the local news media had not attended the hearings. Chairman Harris noted that they had been invited and had attended in the morning but then she commented:

It is an interesting thing, and one of the things that bothers me, particularly about news coverage about Indians, it's always the poverty, the negative in things. I know at one time I was interviewed on a national program when they were presenting, you know, "the Indian problem," and I don't even like that term.

But the fact is that the negative approach is used always. For instance, the media should be here to photograph concerned Indians who are trying to make a contribution to solving their own problems and their problems with the community. The community's problem, is really the proper term.⁹⁸

Also in San Francisco a representative of an Indian organization in Oakland advocated a halfway house for alcoholics. He was asked if very many Indians attend the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, and he indicated that there were few, if any, who did so. Another Indian witness interjected:

What Mr. Red Bird said about the AA, I went several years ago in Texas, and also here in San Francisco, and it's geared more to a social organization than anything else, and within the last four or five years it has become pretty big business, as has Synanon. Actually, that's all the point I wanted to make. It's a social organization, and can't possibly conform to anything except possibly the middle class, white standards. If it weren't geared this way, they wouldn't be able to conduct it and make as much profit.⁹⁹

A representative of the Department of Social Services in San Francisco expressed his concern about Indian alcoholism and wanted to learn more. An Indian witness thought Indian alcoholism was different from that which afflicts non-Indians and attributed it to institutional causes:

...so far as alcoholism, the Indian's alcoholism and the white man's alcoholism, they are two different alcoholisms. The white man's alcoholism is a sex hangup; the Indian's alcoholism is because he was totally, completely, one hundred percent emasculated by the Department of Social Welfare concept of this country, and that's what you're up against. You are up against emasculation; the emasculation of the red man...and how many Indians have you got working for you, mister, in the Department of Welfare? That many of them you got, and if you have got any working for you, they're nothing but Toms. If the white man wants the Indian to have his own thing to do, go back to the White Father in Washington and give these poor Indians some money. They need the white man's money, because they live in a white man's society. We need the white man's money. So, stop emasculating these Indians. You're stuck in the bag with the Department of Social Work, mister, because you're a social worker --¹⁰⁰

In Dallas, Chairman Harris lamented the absence of city officials at the hearings, noting that they had been invited to attend. She went on to say:

It sounds like it's all the Indian's responsibility -- I feel like the city ought to -- not the city -- well, the citizenry of Dallas -- there's no reason why Indians shouldn't feel comfortable here...I have a feeling that there is no give and

take...The Indian is giving, they go to the opening ceremonies for the library and go and perform free. They volunteer their services for civic activity, opening of art shows, things like that. I don't see anything coming in the other direction. Maybe the city itself isn't knowledgeable of the Indian population.¹⁰¹

A Minneapolis Indian person spoke of institutional racism in general:

I would like to comment on this whole aspect of institutional racism. The institutions serving the Indian people are the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service -- the two major Federal agencies -- plus, within recent years, OEO and some others. There needs to be more understanding of the Indian people from personnel in these positions. If we examine people in the positions of power in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we will see that most of the people in the positions of power, and by that I mean area directors and branch chiefs, are not Indian people. They are non-Indian people.

One of my black friends mentioned once that, "If there was a Bureau of Black Affairs, believe me, we would be in there taking over." I think this is what the Indian people need to do. They need to become more active in these positions of power and be involved at the decision-making level.

There needs to be educational programs beamed at the reservation level, giving positive information on all minority groups. Most of the information on minority groups comes in as negative. I feel this has a very divisive effect. One of the conclusions of this particular committee, and a report will be coming out in June and also in September, is that although there are certain distinct differences among minority groups, there are many similarities. It will be helpful and necessary for the various groups to work together to bring out good solutions to the problems.

The Federal agencies need to examine their personnel practices. It's been my observation that many people are brought into positions who know little about Indian people, who lack sensitivity. Yet they make decisions affecting large numbers of Indian people. Oftentimes, I find they will select Indians on an ad hoc basis, people who are not necessarily the best ones to articulate the needs. They select people who tell them what they want to hear and not as it is. I think this needs to be changed.

Oftentimes with these big bureaucracies, if you stand up and speak out, pressure is put on you and you are not able to function as well as you would like to.¹⁰²

Even where discrimination and community acceptance were not seen as problems, there were other difficulties. One problem raised in Phoenix was the short-term focus of most agency efforts:

...basically we are dealing with a psychological problem. You cannot change the society overnight, especially an Indian. You have got to have a fifty year program, and you just can't have a five year program and fizzle out.¹⁰³

And an Indian witness in San Francisco thought non-Indian right-wing groups were a threat:

While I was at the University of Arizona, I started an Indian Student Program. This is the second thing I think the Indians have to watch out for. This was the way the extreme right-wing people began to take up the American Indian as a favorite, and to try to convince him he was different from the other minorities, and to give him in a sense, encouragement to discriminate against the other minorities. Now, I started something, the Indian Student Program, which is still going on there. We have various aspects to it, the tutoring program, the counseling program, and an Indian club in which all of the officers were Indian and most of the members were Indian. There were some Anglo students, and one or two black students. I recall, we had a social affair and stood all around in a great circle with our arms around each other. There was one black student who had his arm around me on one side and an Indian girl on the other side. This appeared in one of the papers up in northern Arizona. We got a flood of poison pen letters about letting these pure American Indians mix with blacks. But, this is typical of what goes on when right-wing tries to break up a healthy identification with the problems of other minority groups.

White control of the institution closest to Indians -- the B.I.A. -- was attacked by a Sioux man in San Francisco:

...let's talk about how we're going to get this tremendous budget that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has, and move from the money -- I mean, from the white people who are controlling it -- we've got an Indian Commissioner, but he's probably a figurehead -- moving the money from the Bureau to the tribes themselves, and see what they can do. I think the Navaho tribe is doing more than any of the other tribes.¹⁰⁵

And in San Francisco an Indian militant thought the hearings themselves were white-dominated, a subterfuge for more research about Indians, and a self-admitted failure:

MR. BRIGHTMAN: First, I want to say I'm pleased to come up here and speak to another survey that's being taken, made up, obviously, of white people. You've got a white man out there directing; you've got another white person here.

I've seen two Indians in this whole deal. It's another survey that's made up to come in and find out our problems. If they ever wanted to find out our problems, you'd think they would ask Indians themselves, instead of sending another predominantly white survey team to come down here and survey us.

Another thing: why do you hold the survey here in the Sheraton-Palace, which is one of the largest hotels; one of the richest in the United States?

Yesterday, I talked to a young man standing back here and he said that he was afraid to come in here. He wasn't dressed appropriately. Also, about five of his other friends wouldn't come in because they didn't have the proper attire.

If you want to meet the poor Indians, I wouldn't think that the Sheraton-Palace would be the proper place to meet them. Go down to the American Indian Center, to the Friendship House over in Oakland, to the Oakland American Indian Association, or the friendship house here. These are where the poor Indians go, not the Sheraton-Palace.

And I sit back here and watch predominantly white people get up here and talk. We've got more Indians here who are perfectly capable of getting up and talking but we've got all these white people coming up and telling our problems. We need Indians in here telling the problems, not white people.

I've got nothing against white people; just what they did to our people. You ought to have Indians up here talking. This is another case of exploitation, you might say. Another white survey team comes in and exploits us.

And yesterday, you made the statement that you didn't actually think this was going to do any good; you had to convince the people in Washington that there were Indians in the urban areas. Well, we all know that there are about 300,000 in the urban areas and 300,000 on the reservations. And you, you're supposed to be the big authority, you come from a reservation. You even misquoted yesterday. You said there was, what, 300 Indians here in the Bay Area, something like that?

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: No, you're wrong.

MR. BRIGHTMAN: What was the quotation?

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: And I don't come from a reservation.

MR. BRIGHTMAN: 8,000? There are between 8 and 10 thousand, supposedly, right here in the Bay Area.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I made a statement about Dallas.

MR. BRIGHTMAN: Well, the thing is, this has become a big mockery.¹⁰⁶

More aversion to "being studied" was apparent from the comments of one Indian man in Phoenix:

Now for us, the Yaqui Indians, we are not recognized as Indians here in the United States, because, as I said, my ancestors migrated into the United States, and they are Mexican Indians. But the majority of us were born here, raised here in the United States. So I consider myself an American Indian.

Although, as I said, we are not recognized by the government or various tribes of Indians as Indians, unfortunately, we are recognized by the anthropologists or various Anglo groups who are always interested in writing or publishing the life or the ways of the Yaqui Indians.¹⁰⁷

On the other hand the chairman of the United Bay Area Council of American Indian Affairs, testifying in San Francisco, reported indifference on the part of non-Indian researchers:

We also seek a meaningful and realistic survey and census of Indian people here in the Bay Area, to be conducted by Indian researchers. Members of our Council made a special trip to Arizona State College four years ago, requesting an expansion of their studies to include urban Indians, and met with an indifferent attitude.¹⁰⁸

Another San Francisco witness had this to say about research:

We had a little fight at UCLA that some of these people might know about...UCLA down there wanted to have a program down there. As a matter of fact, they had several million dollars a few years ago to study about Indians. Indians didn't know anything about this, of course.

But when you measure something, you say what good is any money unless the end product is changed? So, the Ford Foundation made a study on this, because Indians never even knew about the money. But the money was being used for what? For UCLA to train their doctorates to do some work, and then it's filed in this big file here. Just like the program at the University of Chicago that's being studied. They went up to the Hoopa Reservation. They're studying all about the Hoopas, my people, and all of that, and what's going to happen? It's going to be filed in the file, get dust on it, and there's going to be no change in the Hoopas as a result of that study.

Foundations are getting a little wise to this. We're informing them, too, not only Indian people; we're informing everybody that we can inform. We've pretty much given them the idea that they'd better start asking, "Were there Indians involved in this project? Are they in control, and can they evaluate this project when it's through?" Well, UCLA had this big, beautiful project all written up and everything, and they got turned down. They said, "You've got to have Indians."

We had already had a statewide meeting and set up a higher education committee to work with the universities, who are working with the universities or state colleges. We have a whole number of them going right now.¹⁰⁹

Another San Francisco Indian man, a board member of the United Native Americans, complained about research:

We are the most studied group in the United States. Yet, our problems are not treated. They sit there collecting dust, and yet, big foundations spend millions of dollars having American Indians studied. Where did they go? I really don't know. Yet, when we ask for small organizations, we solicit for funds, all we get is sympathy. I see there is a lot of agencies here today picking our brains. "How can we help?", they don't say. They just give you sympathy.¹¹⁰

Finally, there were some who felt that even the process of holding hearings, related as it is to the traditional methods of non-Indian government in this country, was entirely futile:

It seems like whenever a bunch of people get together like this some official or some person from above a government place or Washington knows what's going on. You know, everybody has a complaint, and it's a real phoney thing to me, because all the people have kind of spoke. I'm sure Mrs. Harris heard it in Los Angeles, things that are so similar. I guess you could say, government officials come to the city, listen to the Indians' problems, and the same old thing happens. They go back to Washington and that's the end of it. I think that's what is happening here today.¹¹¹

Indian-Black Relationships

For most reservation culture Indians, establishment of residence in a city brings with it the first extensive contact with black Americans. From what some Indian people said during the hearings, it is evident that such contact is not always perceived by Indians as rewarding. An Indian woman in Minneapolis spoke of the attitudes of Indian people when she said:

They feel the white man has done too much harm to the Indians in the past, and now the black man wants to do the same thing.¹¹²

Direct competition between Indians and blacks seems to occur in anti-poverty programs which are intended for all poor people. As a non-Indian social service consultant in Los Angeles told the Committee:

There may be exceptions, but I think the voice of the Indian, including in Los Angeles, is so small compared to the voice of other, better organized and less fractionized groups -- you know, fractionization of Indians is one of the greatest problems. It tends to defeat itself, but in general, the black and the brown voices of California are much louder, much more militant, and they get a much greater share of the dollar.¹¹³

A Minneapolis Indian man gave his view:

The poverty programs are by and large a farce as far as the Indians are concerned. It may be somewhat different up in the Bemidji area, but as I evaluated the poverty programs they were really a joke. They play the one little, two little Indian game. They hired one or two, as a storefront operation, but they were mostly black controlled and black oriented. I think the poverty program was an overreaction to

the riots. In other words, they reinforce the riot situation.

An example right now, a new program on the scene, is the Concentrated Employment Program. There is approximately fifty people involved in this program. Three of them are Indian, and the rest are mostly black, some whites.

Now, the Concentrated Employment Program engulfs an area which is an estimated population of 5,000 Indians. It's a known fact that Indians will not respond to a black program. They will not participate. They don't come in, so the blacks are playing the same old game that the white man has played. They have demanded equality and have not been able, themselves, to give it. So this is primarily what exists.

As far as the Indian is concerned, poverty programs are one big joke. We have one or two storefront Indians and a few little droplings here and there, of funds.¹¹⁴

An Indian mother in Minneapolis agreed:

When the black minority has taken over everything that is ongoing in the poverty area, naturally the child is going to follow in their footsteps and figure they should have everybody bending their knees to him. I mean, this is the impression a child gets in the home. That's where the child learns. In the poverty programs, as long as we're on the subject, I will bring that up, too. In the poverty programs, there was Indian discrimination. They are not included. You don't see Indian directors, sitting on the poverty programs. I was on a planning staff at Pilot Center, doing the planning of the center on the North Side. When it was terminated January 14th in 1967, I was the only one that wasn't rehired. I said there is so much discrimination from the black community from the standpoint of the directors in charge. They use available job spots to fill with their own people. Maybe I would be the same way. Maybe I would do the same thing, who knows, if I had the opportunity. I would like to have it.¹¹⁵

And the Indian woman employed by that anti-poverty agency gave her appraisal:

I am that token Indian they talk about when they say there are very few Indians working in the Federal programs. I am that person and I would like to give you my views and opinions on this.

First of all, I would like to tell you a little bit about Pilot City. Pilot City Regional Center is a multi-purpose center. It deals in service to low-income residents of the North Side of Minneapolis; services such as employment, health, social services to the elderly, insurance, housing, community information, information on referrals, and recently a new addition, services to Indians. It has a 32-member board which is called TACTICS, the Technical Advisory Committee To Implement Community Services. It has a membership of 50% residents and 50% agencies. There is supposed to be an Indian resident board member to that board. There is no Indian resident board member on the board at this time because there is distrust of Pilot Center among the Indian people. Many believe the organization is black-oriented...It is true what Indian people are saying about Pilot City. There needs to be more Indian people working within the program. There has been some involvement in service to Indian people, but there could be a lot more.¹¹⁶

There was a subsequent inquiry from Committee member Valandra to a representative of the Director of Pilot Center about the charges of black orientation of the agency. The representative acknowledged that the organization and structuring of Pilot City followed inner-city upheaval which was instigated largely by blacks and thus the agency had acquired a reputation of being associated with black people. However, he quoted statistics indicating that the services provided to poor residents in the Pilot City area were not directed exclusively toward black people and did include Indians.¹¹⁷

Some comments were made about other anti-poverty efforts and their orientation to blacks in Minneapolis. An Indian woman who complained that there was no money from Pilot Center for a recreational facility for Indian youth gave this picture:

DELORES RAISCH: Well, we are starting to get some help from the YMCA. Again, these kids, most of them, are on welfare and cannot afford the bus there. This is quite a ways to walk. We had three basketball teams, and transportation was one of our problems. My husband's car isn't even working now.

He was driving the kids back and forth to the games. They had to cancel a lot of games. The place they were playing must be a mile or two. When it gets twenty below zero, you can't expect the kids to walk. All the other centers, like the Way Community Center, have buses and nice new furniture, but our center has to be satisfied with cast-off things.

MR. NAHWOOKSY: Have you thought about other government funding, OEO?

DELORES RAISCH: This is OEO.

MR. VALANDRA: You were talking about Pilot Center and Pilot City. Is that all the same thing?

DELORES RAISCH: This is the same thing.

MR. VALANDRA: You talked about cast-off furniture and that you get second-hand stuff. You talked about another center, Wayside?

DELORES RAISCH: The Way.

MR. VALANDRA: Is that similar to your situation?

DELORES RAISCH: It's a center for black young people, but I understand they are privately funded.

MR. VALANDRA: The center you were talking about and this other one are entirely different? Their funding is different?

DELORES RAISCH: Yes, but their purpose, I think, is the same.¹¹⁸

And another anti-poverty program in Minneapolis was labeled black-oriented:

The TCOIC, Twin Cities Opportunity Industrial Council, primarily a black organization, has developed something they call a feeder program. This thing has been very interesting to us and we would like to devise something of a similar nature in the Indian community.¹¹⁹

The conflict between Indians and blacks in Minneapolis apparently extended to school children, as the following testimony from an Indian mother indicates:

I just wanted to talk on elementary and high school education. I live on the North Side, and I know what I'm going to say isn't good, but I'm going to say it anyhow. I always do. I know in regards to Indians, there is such a movement between the black and white, that the Indians are completely annihilated, and this goes into education, too. I am talking from my own personal involvement with my child in one of the North Side schools. He went to one school on the North Side and he did very well. There he had colored teachers, that made no difference to him. He was transferred into one of the other schools, where there was a large enrollment of colored children. In that school there was so much harrassment and fighting, my child refused to go to school. At that time, he was only eight years old. Now he is nine. He refused to go to school.

Anyhow, I went down to the school. We did everything. They thought he couldn't adjust. Well, who in the world can adjust to curcumstances like that? I can't either.

I couldn't expect an eight year old child to take on an adjust-ment like that. Anyhow, he finally finished out the school year, but I had to take him to school and pick him up every day. This year he refused to attend. They were transferred to a different school and he absolutely refused. He refused any involvement, where there was any other minority participation, because of the bad experience that he had with them. There is frightful tension, I suppose you would call it, with the teacher. They're afraid to discipline these other minorities. They let them go and do as they wish. The parents should put a little more pressure on the Board of Education so there is more discipline in the schools. By the way, I had to send my child to a parochial school. There he is very happy. He is going with the objective of learning, and is very busy, and doesn't have time for fighting and torturing other kids. He goes and minds his own business. It's costing money, but it costs money to have him in the other school, too -- the doctor bills.

I can imagine if there are these absentees from these other schools, if it came down to facts, this would be the findings. I don't know if everybody else is afraid to tread this path, but I am not. I have lived on the North Side for an awfully long time, and this is where the concentration of the hard core is. I am just as hard as they are. They don't scare me. I raised one family already, and they went through high school, and at that time there was discipline in the schools. They didn't run around like they do now.

Everybody had their obligation to the teachers and to the rest of the staff involved in schools, but they don't have it now. If we can't have our children going to school to learn just sitting afraid somebody is going to come and clabber them -- I don't know what good the school is doing them.

If they is going to be such a concentration on minorities and their needs, then we should make it know that we have a few needs.¹²⁰

And in Dallas, an Indian lady quoted a friend of hers:

"There's my children. We can just barely give them lunch money. When they go to school, the Negro children rob our children of their money, and they have to go without their lunch until they come home. When we buy their bus fare, well, they'll take their bus tickets away from them and then we have to take them to school." This family is of very meager means and cannot afford to buy a bus ticket every time they turn around or afford to give them lunch money all the time.¹²¹

Another Indian mother in Dallas put it this way:

...my kids are going to different places for school, and from them I hear a lot of things I get sore about, but then I don't do anything about it because of my poor English and all that. One boy goes to Pinkston and I would like to have a policeman around this area where he goes through to school, coming home. These colored and all that, they would jump them and take their money away or transistor radios or watches. I would tell them not to fight back because these colored are just broad and big, and I wouldn't want mykids to be hurt by them or anything like that. I don't want them to be bothered by them. Every time we try to get them transportation or this ticket, the coloreds would take it away from them, too. "That's how come they are scared to go to school. Of course, they wanted to go to school, but that's a problem, it's holding them up. We try our very best for them to go to school and my husband would take them and bring them back home. That way they would be in a safe position."¹²²

In Phoenix a Navaho man, interested in recreation for Indian children, related this:

I want to tell you about what happened to us last summer when we had the little boys' team. We were in a league down south of town. Talking about urban problems, this is a problem that touched every Indian here in town because it had to do with recreation facilities. This same problem touches Indians everywhere, in all walks of life. We don't have any place for recreation. That goes for gymnasiums, baseball fields. This is the only park that I have anything to do with.

Now, going back to these little boys. Last summer we had boys 10, 11 years old in the Little League. We were doing real well. In fact, we had lost only one game all summer. We were going into the last week of play, and we were tied for first place in the league. Two times, up to that point, we had got ourselves in a squabble with that race down there -- what do you call it -- the other kind of people. They don't seem to want us to win all the time, the way I figure. So they picked fights with our little boys after the games. We ignored it, and I convinced our people to stay in there after the first two times. But it happened a third time. The other Little League pitcher beat up our winning pitcher, eleven years old, so that he required medical attention. We had to take him to the hospital. I had convinced the people to keep our boys in the League, but after that, we pulled our team out. We could have won, but we couldn't stand the fighting any more, I guess.

All these -- I don't know -- I am trying to find the words to express these things -- why these things happen to little boys. We tell them we are going to have a game so they come to the park to play, so then these things happen. They pick on our little boys. They take them out to the dark places of the park, and they fight and beat them up.

Now, how do you explain these things to ten year old boys? If you go deeper into the subject, how do you explain the kind of grown-ups that instigate these things?¹²³

And another Indian man in Phoenix, a Mohave, agreed:

I think this brings up the point that the Indians need not only an Indian center, but a place where we can go and set up an organized recreation for our young kids. This is my experience; and I speak only about the things that have confronted me in this area. Our young kids live in areas where the recreation available is very poor. I think we have East Lake Park and Harmon Park. These are areas where the Negro, the Indian, and the Mexican come for their recreation. The domineering attitude of the Negro usually discourages the Indians, the smaller kids, and even the adults from participating in recreation.¹²⁴

In Minneapolis and San Francisco black people spoke to the Committee urging an acceptance of the similarities between black and Indian people and greater unity in the solution of common problems.¹²⁵ Chairman Harris observed:

I think it's very important to keep in mind, there are so many basic problems that are so similar, that we share as minority people. The similarities overwhelm the differences, and we should work together in any way that we can, and try to be as positive as we can.

There was something said today about history. What we are taught in school makes, or helps to make us, what we are. There must be some way in the whole school system, in colleges and universities, where we are taught to accept differences. I am concerned about what happens to the United States, in its approaches to the world, if we can't accept each others differences, and have appreciation for one another in our particular culture her at home.

Even as Indian people, we find we have difficulties with each other as tribes, because we have different tribal customs and cultures. I think unless we can overcome those barriers we are not going to make a bigger contribution to the world.¹²⁶

And an unidentified member of the audience in San Francisco saw the need for minority unity in practical terms:

I would like to suggest something that may have already been brought up here at these meetings, but there is something that should be said, and I may get shot down for this one, but the thing is that the Indian people are a minority people, and the move that they expect to make in the future, for their own benefit, they need to have funds.

This is why I have a strong or a deep feeling about our indulging in the luxury of picking other races apart, because here is where we get help and we need it. It doesn't seem that they have to have anything to do with us; we're trying to work out our own problems, and we're going to because the times and the people are beginning to converge now, so that there can be effective leadership here in the future, and a program to benefit the Indian.

But this is the thing, I think, as Indian people, we ought to pay particular attention to, and that is the fact that we don't go alienating unnecessarily people of any other race. And if we care enough about that, we won't do that within our own groups.¹²⁷

Some Final Observations

These excerpts from the NCIO urban hearings had to do with interracial problems, perceptions and accommodations. Several observations may be drawn from this material:

1. In some cities there were indications that residential dispersion of the Indian population, when combined with the presence of other relatively numerous and aggressive minority groups, resulted in feelings of powerlessness and ineffectiveness on the part of some urban Indians. This was particularly true in the case of Indian participation in anti-poverty programs intended to serve poor persons, regardless of their ethnicity. Some spokesmen urged more and better Indian representation on multi-ethnic boards and programs, but others appeared to prefer separate Indian programs as an appropriate strategy. The pressures of competition from other ethnic groups, perhaps more skilled in program operation because of longer urban experience, were apparent. Also apparent was the Indian perception of being edged out of an adequate economic base for urban Indian programs. Subsequent funding of urban Indian programs by a number of Federal agencies, including the BIA, may be a response to these pleas.

2. There appears to be a strong tendency for many urban Indians to approach Indian-white relationships from the posture of historic injustice, and even with the expectation that "history will repeat itself." In some ways this may be the Indian counterpart of the negative image imposed upon Indians by whites. Probably, it underlies a large portion of the drive for separate Indian programs, and it may be based upon the limited spectrum of the usual Indian-white contact with whites in reservation and border-town settings. Apparently, many Indian adults have moved into economically disadvantaged areas of cities where opportunities to encounter cultural and social diversity are restricted, and this may serve to perpetuate traditional Indian-white relationships. Certainly, the forces of a historic, rather than contemporary or future, viewpoint added to the restrictions imposed upon choice by economic circumstances, may be expected to strengthen the

common Indian feelings of subjugation and inferiority. The complex of economic, social, and cultural forces operating to prevent inter-cultural change and accommodation between Indians and whites is tightly-woven. Indian fatalism and negativism resulting from inter-cultural intransigence may thus displace positive goal orientation in some urban settings.

3. The frequently-expressed desire of many urban Indians to communicate and relate with other Indians has positive and negative implications. It provides much of the motivation for the establishment or re-establishment of an Indian community and Indian-oriented programs in the urban setting. It also may serve to inhibit the kind of contact with non-Indians which is essential to the maintenance of city life, including economic sustenance and betterment and the utilization of various social services.

4. Some Indian spokesmen were convinced that the burden of change rested with whites. This position was based upon historic injustice, perceptions of Indian powerlessness to change important aspects of urban society, and the prevalence of white racism and paternalism. While it is not difficult to agree with much of this conviction, it is likely that such a stance -- if repeated among Indians to the point where it becomes an article of faith -- can function to reduce or eliminate any substantial change on the part of urban Indians, even when that change may be to the obvious advantage of Indians. It may also serve to unnecessarily reinforce feelings of impotence among urban Indians.

5. Interpersonal relations between individual Indians and whites were revealed which were viewed by the Indians as both beneficial and distasteful. There were indications that some whites were quite helpful, and that others wished to be.

6. Some Indian witnesses were convinced that employment discrimination was common in the cities, and that employers had not accommodated the Indian population sufficiently by making such adjustments as lowering hiring standards. Both employers and Indians who appeared before the Committee

agreed that Indian drinking problems (or the expectation of Indian drinking problems) were impediments to the employment of urban Indians. On the other hand, some Indians and some non-Indian employers reported satisfaction and success with employment and with co-workers, while other Indians indicated a kind of ambivalence about entering the economic system.

7. Law enforcement in the city was reported to be a matter involving both discrimination and cultural conflict. Some observed that differential law enforcement worked to the disadvantage of Indians, and others stressed the inadequacy of legal assistance and advice. The absence of Indian lawyers was a distinct disadvantage.

8. Indian perceptions of the responsiveness of social service agencies and other segments of the urban community were quite varied. Committee members felt that poor attendance at the hearings by representatives of the non-Indian communities in Dallas and Los Angeles was indicative of insufficient support for Indian efforts. While there was scant institutional representation at some of the hearings, sometimes there were indications that accommodations between Indians and institutions had been worked out at the operational level. Social welfare and Alcoholics Anonymous efforts were criticized as being emasculating and inappropriate, respectively, for Indians. The need for long-term agency effort was pointed out, and some who appeared before the Committee spoke in terms of general institutional racism. Some Indians complained of being studied, yet not receiving redress. Indian control of research about Indians was advocated, and it was apparent that the economics of current research efforts was an underlying issue.

9. Tension and conflict between Indians and blacks was evident in several cities. Black domination of anti-poverty programs was cited as unacceptable as was the general aggressiveness of urban blacks. Harrassment and fighting instigated by black school children was resented by Indian parents, some of whom wanted more "discipline" at school. In general, there was not much suggestion by Indian witnesses of alliance with blacks to confront common difficulties.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES*

¹San Francisco, p. 70, Mary Lee Justice.

²Dallas, p. 180, Joe Carmouche.

³Dallas, p. 195, Mrs. Glen Beezley.

⁴Minneapolis, p. 196, Diana Rojas.

⁵Los Angeles, p. 82, La Donna Harris.

⁶Los Angeles, p. 170, Bert Walters.

⁷Los Angeles, p. 217, Background Material for the Proposed Program for the University of California in Indian Education.

⁸San Francisco, p. 154, Richard McKenzie.

⁹San Francisco, p. 35, John Denton.

¹⁰San Francisco, p. 89, Adam Nordwall.

*The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

(All documents published by U.S. Government Printing Office.)

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

- 11 Los Angeles, p. 208, Sunne Wright.
- 12 Minneapolis, p. 173, Clyde Bellecourt.
- 13 Los Angeles, p. 100, Henry Roberts.
- 14 Los Angeles, p. 59, Noel Campbell.
- 15 Minneapolis, p. 154, Ted Mahto.
- 16 San Francisco, pp. 15-16, Anthony Matcha.
- 17 Dallas, p. 52, Levi Edwards.
- 18 Dallas, p. 53, Levi Edwards.
- 19 Los Angeles, p. 207, Sunne Wright.
- 20 San Francisco, p. 15, Anthony Matcha.
- 21 Dallas, p. 49, Herbert Brown Otter.
- 22 Dallas, p. 55, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 23 Dallas, p. 96, Joe Tafoya.
- 24 Phoenix, p. 28, Eva Metikos.
- 25 Phoenix, p. 91, Jerry Sloan.
- 26 Minneapolis, p. 196, Diana Rojas.
- 27 Phoenix, p. 19, Diane Porter.
- 28 Phoenix, p. 38, Mrs. Rose King.
- 29 Dallas, p. 206, Murray Rhodes.
- 30 Phoenix, p. 81, Hollis Chough.
- 31 Dallas, p. 40, Juanita Ahtone.
- 32 San Francisco, p. 46, John Denton.
- 33 Phoenix, p. 72, Mrs. Juana Lyon.
- 34 Phoenix, p. 76, Roy Track.
- 35 Los Angeles, p. 164, Roger Jourdain.

- 36 San Francisco, p. 190, Eric L. Byrd.
- 37 San Francisco, p. 40, La Donna Harris.
- 38 Minneapolis, p. 175, George Mitchell.
- 39 Dallas, p. 58, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 40 Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 41 Dallas, p. 206, Murray Rhodes.
- 42 San Francisco, p. 3, Reverend Tony Calaman.
- 43 San Francisco, p. 138, Reverend Tony Calaman.
- 44 Minneapolis, pp. 159-160, La Donna Harris.
- 45 San Francisco, p. 41, La Donna Harris.
- 46 Los Angeles, p. 306, Background material entitled, "American Indians in Los Angeles County," by Clare McWilliams.
- 47 San Francisco, p. 127, Mrs. Jeanette Costo.
- 48 Minneapolis, p. 106, Charles Deegan.
- 49 Minneapolis, p. 107, p. 109, Reverend Raymond Baines.
- 50 Dallas, p. 131, Vernon Tehuano.
- 51 Phoenix, pp. 48-50, Jess Sixkiller, Jerry Hargis.
- 52 Dallas, p. 43, Mrs. Raven Hail.
- 53 Dallas, p. 47, Virginia Edwards.
- 54 Phoenix, p. 55, Mrs. Hazel Harold.
- 55 Minneapolis, p. 185, E.M. Holstein.
- 56 San Francisco, p. 63, Jerome Klein.
- 57 Dallas, p. 174, Mike Mabria.
- 58 Dallas, p. 130, La Donna Harris.
- 59 Phoenix, p. 43, Lee Cook.
- 60 Phoenix, p. 51, Jess Sixkiller.

- ⁶¹Dallas, p. 75, La Donna Harris, Bernice Johnson.
- ⁶²Phoenix, p. 93, Lee Cook.
- ⁶³Dallas, p. 57, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- ⁶⁴San Francisco, p. 69, Mary Lee Justice.
- ⁶⁵Dallas, p. 79, Bill Church.
- ⁶⁶Dallas, p. 158, Reverend Bertram Bobb.
- ⁶⁷Dallas, p. 78, Bill Church.
- ⁶⁸Dallas, p. 79, Henry Johnson.
- ⁶⁹Dallas, p. 79, Bill Church.
- ⁷⁰Dallas, p. 79, Henry Johnson.
- ⁷¹Phoenix, p. 133, Mrs. Virginia Rhodes.
- ⁷²Dallas, p. 84, Bill Church.
- ⁷³Dallas, pp. 158-159, Reverend Bertram Bobb.
- ⁷⁴Los Angeles, p. 86, Steven S. Jones, Jr.
- ⁷⁵Phoenix, pp. 34-35, Mr. Milton Bluehouse.
- ⁷⁶Los Angeles, pp. 113, 114, 117, & 118, Fred Gabourie.
- ⁷⁷Los Angeles, p. 118, La Donna Harris.
- ⁷⁸Los Angeles, p. 118, Fred Gabourie.
- ⁷⁹San Francisco, pp. 55, 56, 57, 61, & 62, E.E. Papke.
- ⁸⁰Dallas, p. 58, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- ⁸¹Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- ⁸²Dallas, p. 75, Bernice Johnson.
- ⁸³Dallas, p. 83, Bill Church.
- ⁸⁴San Francisco, pp. 110-111, E.E. Papke.
- ⁸⁵San Francisco, p. 112, Reverend Tony Calaman.

- ⁸⁶San Francisco, p. 112, Jeannette Costo.
- ⁸⁷San Francisco, p. 113, E.E. Papke.
- ⁸⁸San Francisco, pp. 115-116, Mrs. Stella Leach.
- ⁸⁹San Francisco, pp. 159-161, Lee Sclar.
- ⁹⁰Los Angeles, p. 120, Fred Gabourie.
- ⁹¹Los Angeles, p. 157, Reverend Stoneking.
- ⁹²Los Angeles, p. 281, William Carmack.
- ⁹³Phoenix, p. 79, Hollis Chough.
- ⁹⁴Phoenix, p. 88, Eva Metikos.
- ⁹⁵Dallas, p. 87, Reverend Neal.
- ⁹⁶Dallas, p. 99, David Benham.
- ⁹⁷Phoenix, pp. 54-55, Mrs. Hazel Harold.
- ⁹⁸San Francisco, pp. 81-82, La Donna Harris.
- ⁹⁹San Francisco, pp. 124-125, Harold Red Bird, Ben Walking Stick.
- ¹⁰⁰San Francisco, pp. 128-129, Jerome Klein, Tony Calaman.
- ¹⁰¹Dallas, pp. 170-172, La Donna Harris.
- ¹⁰²Minneapolis, pp. 158-159, Ada Deer.
- ¹⁰³Phoenix, p. 56, Milton Bluehouse.
- ¹⁰⁴San Francisco, pp. 32-33, John Denton.
- ¹⁰⁵San Francisco, p. 171, Frank Archambault.
- ¹⁰⁶San Francisco, pp. 136-138, Lehman Brightman, La Donna Harris.
- ¹⁰⁷Phoenix, p. 127, Mrs. Frances Valenzuela.
- ¹⁰⁸San Francisco, pp. 87-88, Adam Nordwall.
- ¹⁰⁹San Francisco, p. 221, David Risling.
- ¹¹⁰San Francisco, p. 29, Horace Spencer.

- 111 San Francisco, p. 38, Denis Turner.
- 112 Minneapolis, p. 123, Delores Raisch.
- 113 Los Angeles, p. 179, Bert Walters.
- 114 Minneapolis, p. 90, Charles Deegan.
- 115 Minneapolis, p. 30, Pearl Bisson.
- 116 Minneapolis, p. 195, Diana Rojas.
- 117 Minneapolis, pp. 201-202, Cato Valandra, James Dair.
- 118 Minneapolis, pp. 126-127, Delores Raisch, Cato Valandra, Reeves Nahwooksy.
- 119 Minneapolis, p. 181, Emily Peake.
- 120 Minneapolis, pp. 27-28, Pearl Bisson.
- 121 Dallas, p. 46, Virginia Edwards.
- 122 Dallas, p. 198, Delores Seckletstewa.
- 123 Phoenix, p. 65, Julian Dinehdeol.
- 124 Phoenix, pp. 73-74, Peter Homer.
- 125 Minneapolis, pp. 31-32, Curt Ewing; San Francisco, pp. 183-191, Eric L. Byrd.
- 126 Minneapolis, p. 32, La Donna Harris.
- 127 San Francisco, p. 244, Unidentified member of the audience.

An Examination of the 1968-1969 Urban Indian Hearings Held by the National Council on Indian Opportunity, Part II: Interracial Aspects. Woods, Harkins.

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INDIAN AMERICANS

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969
URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART III: INDIAN SELF-DEFINITIONS

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART III: INDIAN SELF-DEFINITIONS

by

Richard G. Woods
Arthur M. Harkins

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

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

June, 1971

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial Federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices -- Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with Indian self-definitions. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such

subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

An interesting and perhaps significant aspect of Indian testimony during the urban hearings of the National Council on Indian Opportunity was the way in which Indian witnesses characterized Indian people. While the hearings did not specifically probe this area, occasional comments made during the course of testimony indicated that some Indian witnesses had clear perceptions of what it means to be Indian. Only these explicit self-definitions are reported here; implied self-definitions (for example, the assertiveness of Indians reflected by a militant's call to action) are not summarized here.

"In-Between People"

Some descriptions of contemporary Indians by those who appeared before the Council had to do with the transitional status of Indian people. Sometimes this perspective was specified in terms of culture change, and at other times it was asserted in terms of Indian opinions and behaviors.

In Dallas, an Indian man made this observation:

...we're in the middle of the stream. We can't change horses now. I guess what I mean is, we're products of civilization. Ours is not to degrade, but to contribute to that civilization...When you move from the rural life to the urban life, this is just like when you move from the lower-lower, status quo, to the middle class. There's three or four steps you've got to take and if you're not prepared for it, you'll stumble.¹ [Emphasis added]

There was agreement from Chairman Harris in Los Angeles:

...we are not ghettos and are an in-between people, we are so hard to identify, is one of the biggest problems we have to overcome.² [Emphasis added]

In Minneapolis an Indian woman stressed the resistance of Indians to new cultural patterns:

Sometimes people say, "What do you feel is the biggest contribution the American Indian has made?" As far as I am concerned, one of the biggest contributions is his resistance all this time to the culture that has been forced on him. He resisted long enough so that we can take a look at it, value

it, evaluate it, and see where it's good and where it's bad, and where Indian culture is superior. As far as I am concerned, there is quite a bit of superiority in the Indian culture that has been completely overlooked.³
[Emphasis added]

One behavioral example was that of tentative attachment to the labor force:

...all people don't want to hold a job forever. Many Indians like a job right here and now, and then they go away, and come back to another job. Somehow or other industry has got to understand this in order to help Indian people to hold jobs regularly. They do not like to work a rigid pattern. They like to come to a job and work for a while and when they are done, leave, and come back, and go again. There are many things different that people have to understand and it will take a while.⁴
[Emphasis added]

But others suggested that Indians should be able to "stick it out" on the job, even when the work was physically taxing:

I've been drunk many times. I've looked in the bottom of all kinds of bottles, to see what my troubles are. I found out it doesn't pay. So, I've always used my strong back, and I just answered my questions myself. A lot of other people can't do that. They haven't got the intestinal fortitude to stay on the job. When you come home at night you're practically sick from tiredness. When you come home at night and your legs are shaking, and your back is aching, you go to bed without supper, because you're too tired to eat. There are too many that can't do this.⁵
[Emphasis added]

A related point of view appeared in Dallas:

I mentioned a number of our Indian people in the area doing quite well, or at least I think they are; then, we have people not doing so well or who could do better... [Those doing well] know something, they've learned something down the line. They know the secret of work, responsibility, and such as that. I sometimes wonder why some of our people can't grasp these things. Of course, I know, you know, there's an underlying reason somewhere.⁶
[Emphasis added]

Another perspective was that of Indians becoming confused and insecure because of the pressures of culture change:

We are talking, of course, about the so-called uncultivated Indian. Not the Indian that can get along anywhere, but the Indian who hasn't had too much education, who usually has little or no vocational skill. He experiences first of all what you might call a cultural shock because in most cases this will be his first experience in a world that is totally different.

The Indian who has served in one of the military services or who has been to a boarding school located in a city has had some training in getting some experience of the world outside, but he has usually more or less had his needs looked after. He has had his food provided, and he has had a roof over his head. Now, when he comes in for employment, he discovers pretty soon that he is actually on his own because the Bureau of Indian Affairs theoretically is not required to extend its services to the relocated Indian for more than a certain period of time.

The first thing that usually occurs is that even though the Indians may have been very well trained in the actual job he has to do, he has not been trained in how to cope with the different situations he encounters in the city; how to adjust himself, for instance, to a totally different behavioral pattern that he finds among his neighbors and among the people he works with.

He has to learn that he has to follow a regular schedule. Many times he has to punch a time clock. He has to learn that when he cannot come to work for some reason or another, he has to call in, and so on.

Well, because his whole frame of reference is not on that level, and because he has values that are so totally different from the ones he encounters in his new experience he will, at first, usually be bewildered and many times he will become discouraged because he feels insecure. He does not really know what is expected of him.⁷ [Emphasis added]

An Indian man in Phoenix attributed Indian difficulties with the city recreational program to lack of maturity:

The city of Phoenix has a recreation program, but they cater to the Negroes and the Anglos. And the Indian just does not have a chance because of his structure. He is not mature. He can't take orders that are given by the coach and instructors.⁸ [Emphasis added]

And another Indian man in Phoenix said:

There are many adults in this crowd, including myself, that are still growing up as Indian people in this society. We are not grown-up people. We have not made it. We have all got family problems. We have all got drinking problems. We have all got inter-family and inter-personal problems. I don't think anybody can deny that.⁹ [Emphasis added]

Lack of Confidence

Some Indians who spoke to the Committee characterized Indians as people without confidence and hope. These comments carried overtones of defeat as well as implications of lack of sophistication and experience, particularly in the urban setting.

In Los Angeles, Chairman Harris was questioning an Indian man who operated an organization designed to help Indians who were new to the city. He noted that conviction of Indians for misdemeanors was quite high and he attributed this to the tendency of Indian people to plead guilty rather than to "raise any fuss":

THE CHAIRMAN: You think this is a culture characteristic? Not, say, more than any other ethnic group, I mean that -

MR. WAPATO: Yes, I think, through the years the Indian person in this situation probably has developed the attitude of what's the use, so they'll go ahead along this line.¹⁰ [Emphasis added]

A Minneapolis Indian militant shared this view, when he commented about an inner-city area:

I dare anybody to walk around the Island on Saturday and watch some people with a lost look on their faces, the "what's the use" look. I see it in court every day, this "what's the use" attitude.¹¹ [Emphasis added]

A Dallas Indian minister commented about the absence of self-confidence:

This is what, I feel, the Indian people don't have -- confidence in themselves...I feel the main thing is to get a little confidence in themselves, and a little ambition,

and the actual wanting to do the things that will be good for them and their families, and of course for their employers.¹² [Emphasis added]

This lack of confidence, as it related to education and training, was the concern of an Indian man in Minneapolis also:

We are attempting to make the adjustment from the reservation to the city. This is one of the major hang-ups, in my opinion, as to what is confronting or wrong with the Indian person. The lack of training, the skills -- maybe I shouldn't say this pertains to everyone, but some of my personal friends have told me this. One of the things which bothers them is their training. They have dropped out from school. They haven't the courage or the confidence, and this is one of the things that seems to be bothering them. I know, speaking for myself, it bothers me a lot, too.¹³ [Emphasis added]

Chairman Harris believed that Indians had assumed an identity of failure:

We, as Indian people, have become the stereotype of failures. I have worked in different government agencies, not in the Indian Bureau, but with others. Indian people have the stigma, with the general public, of failing in what they attempt to do.

I don't know where this stems from, but I think it is a very serious thing that we need to overcome. I don't know exactly how to do this, but I know it is unfair.

Even with well-educated, well-informed people, this stigma is in their minds. I hope that every organization on Federal, state and local level, and particularly schools will try to get this out of their minds. Not only is it in the minds of the general public, but the Indian people, themselves, believe this. They believe they are going to fail, and even expect themselves to fail.¹⁴ [Emphasis added]

The subject came up again in Dallas, where a non-Indian professional photographer wondered why "some yo-yo from Scotland" was teaching his son about Indians in a Boy Scout troop, when Indians should be doing that. Chairman Harris responded:

We're still in the process of growing and we're getting to the place, I think. There are many who are quite sophisticated or quite capable of doing this type of thing. There are others that do not have the confidence in themselves to do that. In fact one of the groups listed on the board there are even studying Indian themselves to be more authentic. They would be great groups to be called on, for resource people or that sort of thing. Well, one thing, by the nature, by his past experience -- an Indian person just doesn't go out. There are exceptions; again, I'm generalizing -- but he has to be made to feel comfortable and as yet apparently he hasn't been made to feel comfortable in surrounding communities.¹⁵ [Emphasis added]

One Indian witness thought that lack of confidence was so pronounced among some Indian people as to constitute a character disorder:

...I've seen a lot of Indians come and go down here. I've had relatives and pretty good friends and some people are still here. Now, some people are doing real well, you know. Some people have a rough go from time to time. Some of them don't make it, some go back. I realize the Indian problem itself is a real established problem and it's going to be years and years -- only time and education will take care of our problems. A lot of these people, I think, or a whole bunch of them, come on this relocation thing, and it sounds like a good program. I think it is a good program, only if the individual will apply himself. Some lack character, somewhere down the line, some of these guys give up. they go back. They seem to think nobody cares and maybe nobody does.¹⁶ [Emphasis added]

Finally, some perceived lack of confidence in terms of an impediment to Indian activism:

There are so many things we should do, and we keep talking about them, but it seems like we never can generate enough enthusiasm to do these things.¹⁷ [Emphasis added]

"Shyness"

There was a fairly common identification of a cluster of traits presumed to be "Indian." These included such characteristics as sensitivity, shyness, skepticism, and lack of aggressiveness.

It was expressed by an Indian woman in Phoenix this way:

The Indians again I say are very sensitive people. I think I cannot stress this enough. I know myself, and just being not even a full-blooded Indian, that I can sense things about me, those about me, and the environments and all of that, that a lot of people don't think I can. And not always can I just put my finger on it, but my thoughts are there. And sure enough, a lot of times these things are exactly what I felt, but you know I could not really express myself or tell it just the way it would be, but it is there and I feel it.¹⁸
[Emphasis added]

A Los Angeles Indian man protested the "bloodthirsty savage" image which he believed the mass media had bestowed upon Indian people. He commented:

The Indian people are very shy and sincere by nature. I believe that they tend toward that. They are very sincere. I believe that most geniuses that they had, were people of this nature who tend toward introversion. I believe that is probably where some of the greatest scholars are from, and yet, when an Indian has to be educated in the white man's system, this image is imposed on him...I believe that statistics can also show that our suicide rate among our young is increasing, especially our teenage students. They seem to have a form of apathy and a lack of concern, lack of desire, lack of drive.¹⁹ [Emphasis added]

A Dallas woman spoke of "pride" in relationship with social service agencies:

As it is, there are some families that just won't ask for help. We're proud and we may need it, but we won't go ask for help, especially when the doors are closed to us. We go and we ask and they give us the run around. After you've made three or four calls, naturally, being an Indian you give up.²⁰ [Emphasis added]

Chairman Harris affirmed this lack of assertiveness with respect to urban agencies when she said:

I think we can verify from the testimony here earlier, that from the Indian community you're not going to see a great many people coming forward.²¹ [Emphasis added]

In San Francisco, one witness portrayed Indian shyness as something which was likely to be misperceived by law enforcement officers:

The Indian that might be a little tipsy going down the street, and is approached by the officer, the typical nothing-to-say Indian, might be mistaken as the silent, contemptuous, surly individual who might be keeping quiet because he has something to hide, so he's hauled off to the pokey.²² [Emphasis added]

The possibility that shyness has something to do with skepticism arose in Dallas when an Indian woman said:

You've got to prove yourself to me before I trust you.²³
[Emphasis added]

Sometimes, lack of Indian militancy was explained on the basis of "patience" as an Indian trait:

It's my opinion that the Indian is patient and would like to resolve these problems with negotiations, debate, discussion, tolerance, and so on.²⁴ [Emphasis added]

A Los Angeles Indian man put it this way:

Our traits and our pride, keep us from protesting or tearing up schools and universities. We try to use diplomacy. This is one of the traits given to us by our heritage.²⁵ [Emphasis added]

Leadership and Organization

Some who appeared before the Committee thought Indians were people who did not subscribe to leadership and who lacked organization.

A Dallas Indian man said:

...I feel like a lot of these people, for some reason frown on this leadership part, they don't want to follow. I don't know what it is.²⁶ [Emphasis added]

In the same city, Chairman Harris asked an Indian minister:

CHAIR: I was wondering, what do you think is the biggest problem, lack of organization? You said if we could join together, we might solve these things.

REVEREND NEAL: Yes.

CHAIR: The lack of organization?

REVEREND NEAL: And learning to trust, you know. We are slow in accepting leadership or friendship.²⁷ [Emphasis added]

An Indian militant who appeared before the Committee in Phoenix had strong feelings about Indian leadership:

I don't think there is any such thing as an Indian leader. You don't lead Indians.²⁸ [Emphasis added]

Chairman Harris agreed that community organization for Indians was a difficult matter:

What I am saying is, if you're not careful, your Indian community will just be left out because they have not had the experience or the organizational help. They haven't had themovement like the black people have, like the Spanish-Americans are now doing, because of the tribal differences and the regional differences, it's very difficult for them to organize into one group.²⁹ [Emphasis added]

In San Francisco an Indian man spoke of skepticism as a barrier to organization:

One of the things that has always bothered me is trying to get the Indian people together. There is no worse skeptic than an Indian. This is one simple reason, why throughout the years there have been do-gooder whites and fast-talking Indians. For this reason, the Indian is a born skeptic. I am very much a skeptic. I don't trust this Committee or any other committee. For this reason, I have seen too many of them which do nothing, they will sit and listen, but they do nothing for the Indian. There have been no changes in the BIA; no changes in land rights.³⁰ [Emphasis added]

But one Indian man in San Francisco thought that inability to organize was not inherently Indian, but rather was contrived by whites:

I want to talk about "unanimous." Indian people, when people hear that they can't get along, there's factionalism, they can't get along, I tell them that's a bunch of baloney. If I start talking about unity in here and what we can do as people, we can go out here unanimous opinions. We even -- right now, I sent a card out to a number of directors that had to do with the commission. I sent cards out and I got unanimous agreement on a very controversial thing, and every card that came back said exactly the same thing.

Now, stop and think. Who tells you you can't get along? Where did you learn this thing about not being able to get along? Conquer and divide. Who wrote the school books? Who runs the school? Is it the conqueror or the conquered?

Think about it a little bit. Now, are you the conqueror or the conquered? If you're writing the textbooks, you're teaching the school, you're running the establishment. Think about it a little bit.

So, with somebody else, if you want to control people, you just keep them divided. Have the Sioux fight the Navajo. Have the urban Indians fight the rural Indians. Have the Inter-Tribal people get on the California Indian Education Committee. Keep them all divided and boy, you can really control them.³¹ [Emphasis added]

And in Phoenix an Indian man proclaimed that Indians today have considerable unity:

We have never been together like we are today, reservation-wise, city-wise or any other wise. We have never been together like we are today. I recognize other Indian people, whatever it is, and they are together, Navajos, Mohaves, and Pimas. We are working together. I think we can look for others for support in that if we have to get militant, if we have to make demands, there's nothing wrong with that. That is not a shame that we should get mad and angry occasionally and assert ourselves. We have got to overcome that kind of an attitude among Indian people. We have been nice too long.³² [Emphasis added]

Positive Images

One kind of positive self-image for urban Indians (which will not be dealt with specifically in this report) is that which accompanies militant activity. Participation in protest seems to carry with it the identity of one who is struggling to overcome contemporary and historic injustice. In at least two of the cities visited by the Committee -- Minneapolis and San Francisco -- this self-image seems to apply to a significant number of those who appeared at the hearings.

There were other assertions of positive identity; some of these seemed to be defensive reactions to perceived derogation, and others were expressive of rugged perseverance in the face of mounting obstacles.

My husband is a barber, he's an Indian, a full-blood Pueblo, from New Mexico. We don't ask anybody for anything. We work. I've worked all my life. I went to work in a general merchandise store in Oklahoma, the first job I ever had. It doesn't hurt anybody to work...Just give the Indian a chance. He'll make it when nobody else can. The Indian can make it, because he knows how to make it on nothing. I was raised on nothing, and we knew how to make it on nothing.³³ [Emphasis added]

An Indian man saw an affinity between Indians and the out-of-doors:

I think recreation plays a big part within the Indian people in Arizona and in Phoenix. The Indian people are very sports-minded outdoorsmen. They are very active in these categories.³⁴ [Emphasis added]

Another view apparently was essentially defensive:

You know, right is right, and wrong is wrong. The Indian knows right from wrong. Don't kid yourself, they're not stupid and dumb.³⁵ [Emphasis added]

A related perception was this one:

There is no record of organized crime among Indians. Indians are not criminal-minded people. But just merely being drunk, they are treated like criminals.³⁶ [Emphasis added]

Negative Images

As this report has already indicated, lack of confidence is perceived by some Indians to be a distinctly Indian trait. It is not surprising, then, that feelings of little personal worth may be reflected by Indians. One Minneapolis Indian man observed:

I don't know what we are talking about here; if it's education, I would say it goes deeper than that. It's a lot deeper than that. When I talk to my friends and we sit around, it's not the fact that they are uneducable or that they can't read or write, it deals more with view of their personal worth.³⁷ [Emphasis added]

In Phoenix, an Indian college student spoke of urban Indians as non-Indians:

...whenever I hear the term urban Indian I think of somebody very cold who things of himself not as an Indian.³⁸
[Emphasis added]

Similarly, in San Francisco, urban Indian children were described as having lost their identity:

...one thing that everybody tends to neglect, and that's the urban Indian child. That's the one who gets in trouble. That's the one who has forgotten about the reservation. The parents who drop out of, say, BIA, just refuse to go back to the reservation. They bring up these Indian kids, and they're lost. They lost their culture, their sense of identity, by becoming "asphalt Indians."³⁹ [Emphasis added]

Some images were more negative:

I have often heard this remark, the Indian people are creating their own problems. That is what is wrong with them.⁴⁰ [Emphasis added]

Another witness remarked:

I have sat here and heard too many people talk. I just can't stand this: pity me, I am an Indian. I just don't go for it at all. I think we are all old enough when we get to a certain age to ask questions, to inquire as to what we can do, where we can get help. It is not going to be handed to you.⁴¹
[Emphasis added]

And one Indian witness spoke of Indian prejudice:

I left the reservation because there was no place I could get help simply for the reason the Navajo tribe was prejudiced against me for what I was doing. They are the most prejudiced people I have found, more so than those on the outside -- my own people. Every time I got a raise, they wanted to know what for. I got on the outside and when I got a raise, nobody said anything about it. They congratulated me, actually. So, I am trying to help my people who are coming off the reservation, trying to place them and help them. I can't get all of them, but those that I do, I try to help in one way or another.⁴² [Emphasis added]

And an Indian man in Minneapolis observed:

I think many positive and great things will be done, if we as Indian people band together to do it instead of trying to tear each other down.⁴³ [Emphasis added]

Other Definitions

One man of Pawnee-Chippewa descent stressed the changelessness of Indians:

I would like to say, I don't believe an Indian will ever change, regardless of whether you put him on a reservation or bring him to the city, or to any other place. There are some things about an Indian he will never change.⁴⁴ [Emphasis added]

Another witness characterized Indian people as fundamentally afraid of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

Numbering less than two percent of the metropolitan population, he [the urban Indian] is not able to generate much power in speaking out for his own needs. Coupled with this is a basic fear of the Bureau, for no one wants to "bite the hand that feeds you."⁴⁵ [Emphasis added]

There was a new definition for satisfied Indians:

REVEREND. CALAMAN: You show me an Indian who is satisfied, and I'll show you a Tom.

FROM THE FLOOR: I protest on that. I'm not being called a Tom by anybody. I'm an Indian.

REVEREND CALAMAN: Are you satisfied?

FROM THE FLOOR: Yes.

REVEREND CALAMAN: That's all I have to say.⁴⁶

Some Final Observations

1. This brief report focused upon definitions of "Indianness" offered by Indian persons who appeared before the Urban Indian Committee of the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 hearings in five cities. It is important to remember that the Committee did not specifically seek these definitions; they emerged mostly as incidental comments attached to observations about other concerns. Only explicit self-definitions were included in this report. This excludes the growing aggressiveness, protest and demonstration characteristics of Indian militancy, which will have to be considered elsewhere.

2. Indians were viewed by Indians as "in-between" people with a tendency to resist the imposition of at least some culture items from non-Indians. In this transitional situation, Indians were characterized by other Indians as being immature, unable to accept authority, insecure, unable to grasp the values of work and responsibility, lacking in perseverance on the job, and preferring casual, rather than long-term, attachment to employment. Most of these assessments of contemporary "Indianness" were offered in the spirit of promoting understanding of the dilemma of urban Indians and not as entirely critical commentary.

3. Indians were described as lacking confidence in themselves, as persons who survive with a sense of futility, as people unable to generate enough enthusiasm to undertake action, as individuals who are inclined to "give up," and as people who expect that they will fail. Usually, it was pointed out that not all Indians fit these descriptions and that some Indians

are "successful." Nevertheless, the concern of many witnesses clearly was with the problems associated with the characteristics of debility just mentioned.

4. Indians were pictured by other Indians as sensitive, shy, reticent, sincere, skeptical and sometimes misunderstood persons who are not likely to persevere in intercultural situations which present barriers. Indian young people were said to be apathetic, and to lack desire and drive. Indian patience and pride were identified as traits precluding much militant activity.

5. Indian leadership and organization were described by Indians as central problems. It was asserted that Indians have difficulty in accepting leadership and therefore lack organization. Indians were said to be skeptical because of past Indian and white leadership results, and therefore slow to develop the feelings of trust and friendship which could galvanize leadership and organization. On the other hand, some who appeared before the Committee stressed that Indians today are more together than ever before and that Indian disorganization could be traced to the "divide and conquer" tactics of white men.

6. There were some distinctly positive images. In addition to the implied positive self-worth of those who militantly seek to overcome injustice, there were definitions of Indians as ruggedly independent people who succeed through hard work. Indians were defined as highly moral, as not "criminal-minded," as knowing right from wrong. Some Indians described other Indians as sports-oriented outdoorsmen.

7. Also, there were some distinctly negative images provided during the hearings. Some Indians pictured other Indians as having low self-esteem. Urban Indians were described by witnesses as being non-Indians, as having lost their identity. Indians were said to create their own problems. They were pictured as people who need to replace self-pity with self-reliance. They were described as very prejudiced people who need to substitute unity around positive goals for tendencies to "tear each other down."

8. Some Indians described Indian people as changeless, even in the face of urban experience. There were some that thought Indians were people basically afraid of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because of the long history of dependence upon that agency, but there were others who pictured satisfied Indians as "Toms."

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES*

- ¹Dallas, p. 49, Herbert Brown Otter.
- ²Los Angeles, p. 155, La Donna Harris.
- ³Minneapolis, p. 182, Emily Peake.
- ⁴Minneapolis, p. 181, Emily Peake.
- ⁵San Francisco, p. 16, Anthony Matcha.
- ⁶Dallas, p. 210, Murray Rhodes.
- ⁷Phoenix, p. 69, Mrs. Juana Lyon.
- ⁸Phoenix, p. 74, Peter Homer.
- ⁹Phoenix, p. 40, Lee Cook.
- ¹⁰Los Angeles, pp. 108-109, La Donna Harris, Tim Wapato.
- ¹¹Minneapolis, p. 204, Harold Goodsky.

*The basic documents for this report are:

- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indians Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.
[Publications from the U.S. Government Printing Office]

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

- 12 Dallas, pp. 158-159, Bertram Bobb.
- 13 Minneapolis, p. 45, Charles Buckanaga.
- 14 Los Angeles, p. 127, La Donna Harris.
- 15 Dallas, p. 175, Mike Mabria, La Donna Harris.
- 16 Dallas, p. 205, Murray Rhodes.
- 17 Los Angeles, p. 145, Sam Kolb.
- 18 Phoenix, p. 37, Mrs. Rose King.
- 19 Los Angeles, pp. 59-60, Noel Campbell.
- 20 Dallas, p. 46, Virginia Edwards.
- 21 Dallas, p; 133, La Donna Harris.
- 22 San Francisco, p. 55, E.E. Papke.
- 23 Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 24 Minneapolis, p. 154, Ted Mahto.
- 25 Los Angeles, p. 261, Ted Boles.
- 26 Dallas, p. 65, Frank Watson.
- 27 Dallas, p. 89, Reverend Neal.
- 28 Phoenix, p. 52, Jess Sixkiller.
- 29 Dallas, p. 187, La Donna Harris.
- 30 San Francisco, p. 16, Anthony Matcha.
- 31 San Francisco, pp. 220-221, David Risling.
- 32 Phoenix, p. 44, Lee Cook.
- 33 Dallas, p. 56, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 34 Phoenix, p. 73, Peter Homer.
- 35 Dallas, p. 60, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 36 San Francisco, p. 54, E.E. Papke.

- 37 Minneapolis, pp. 47-48, Charles V. Buckanaga.
- 38 Phoenix, p. 15, Miss Diane Porter.
- 39 San Francisco, p. 65, Unidentified member of the audience.
- 40 Phoenix, p. 126, Nelson José.
- 41 Phoenix, p. 122, Miss Mary Bercier.
- 42 Phoenix, p. 88, Mrs. Eva Metikos.
- 43 Minneapolis, p. 109, Reverend Raymond Baines.
- 44 Los Angeles, p. 98, Henry Roberts.
- 45 Los Angeles, p. 251, William Ng.
- 46 San Francisco, p. 4, Reverend Tony Calaman, Unidentified audience member.

An Examination of the 1968-1969 Urban Indian Hearings Held by the National Council on Indian Opportunity, Part III: Indian Self-Definitions.
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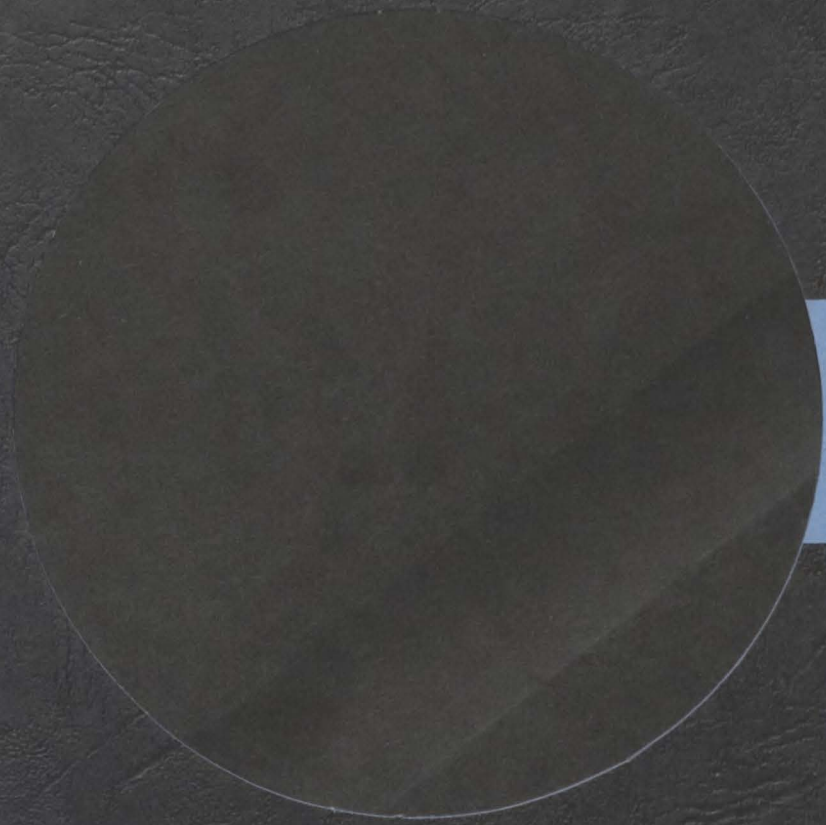
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PART IV: THE INDIAN CENTER

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART IV: THE INDIAN CENTER

by

Richard G. Woods

Arthur M. Harkins

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

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

July, 1971

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART IV: THE INDIAN CENTER

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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial Federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices -- Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with the Indian center. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such

subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

Throughout the hearings interest was shown repeatedly in the development of Indian centers within urban areas. While there was variation in the expressed conceptualizations of the Indian center, there was almost a unanimous conviction that its proposed functions are vital for urban Indians and that it was quite necessary for the development and maintenance of an urban Indian community. The only serious objection to the notion of a center arose in Dallas, and it was obvious that the problem was not with the center but with transportation:

The community center or recreation center, is a good idea, except that for a problem we have in Fort Worth. I understand it's the same in Dallas. Our Indians don't live in one area. A man mentioned a while ago, you may have to drive ten to fifteen miles one week, and maybe ten or fifteen the other way. Some of our Indians in Fort Worth, no matter where it was located, would drive ten to fifteen miles every day if they wanted to go there. We have a problem of transportation, and, of course, again, communication break-down, over the great distance where people live apart.¹

Existing Centers

Most of the cities had Indian centers, but it was obvious that they were marginally funded and often poorly equipped facilities. Nevertheless, they were described as fulfilling important functions, as in San Francisco:

...This is pertaining to the American Indian Center here in San Francisco. I am a member of the staff under the EOC program, and we deal largely with people that are relocated in this area. Our services are primarily for intake and referral....

One of our most pressing problems at the present time is the need for adequate housing. Many times we have people come to our center who need a place to stay. These people usually have arrived in town, and are looking for work.²

Funding of the San Francisco Center was identified as a principal problem which had resulted in retaining an unfavorable location:

I'd say the American Indian Center, itself, is self-supporting. We don't have anyone supporting our organization. Primarily, our funds come from the students themselves, through our fund-raising process of recreation. The Saturday night dance brings in enough funds to keep our center going. Our rent is \$575 a month, plus our utilities, and this is our primary source of income. Consequently, with the youth, we have a lot of programs trying to give them recreation. Our center is situated in such an area, we are really not satisfied being in that area. We tried before our lease expired to find another area, and many people who live in the city know around 16th and Mission the various bars that are located there, are just not the place to have our youth. So, we have our problems there again with alcoholism and juvenile problems, and they are subject to various vices. When students are relocated in the area, many times they are not properly orientated to the urban living. Consequently, they are subject to various vices, and I know if their parents back home knew of the various things they do, they certainly would think twice before sending their children.³

Besides trying to help with referrals, housing, alcoholism, and juvenile problems, the San Francisco Center was faced with needs for legal aid and employment assistance:

There is a program down the local city county jail. I think it's under the local poverty program for people who cannot pay their bail. We get calls every once in a while about Indian people down there, and there again, we're short of staff and it is difficult to get there. Whenever we need a legal adviser, Mr. Evander Smith, who is also Indian, has been able to assist us, I hate to ask all the time because we don't have the funds for consultants, which would be of great help. There is, of course, the local Legal Assistance which has quite a case-load, I understand themselves...I try as much as possible to make note of what type of referral, whenever possible, to do follow-up. This is one of our problems. We don't have the personnel to do follow-ups such as job employment. We never find out what has happened to these people, if they've got a job, or if they left their job, and what was the problem for them leaving their job, and this type of thing. As I say, we are short of staff, and follow-up is a problem. I do have some information on this in which, there again, it is up to the individual whether they want to testify on this or not.⁴

An Indian center in Phoenix was barely surviving because of economic distress. It was unable to provide much in the way of services to Indians and the Committee was urged to help improve the situation by an Indian man:

I might surprise all of you people, or the majority of you, and tell you that we do have an Indian center in Phoenix. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that you didn't know about it. We are in a building right over here at 376 North First Avenue. The building is probably 30 feet wide and 50 feet long. We operate on a budget from the United Fund Committee of 6,000 dollars per year. Out of the \$6000 we pay our rent. Incidentally, we are on a month-to-month basis in this facility. We pay a director \$125 a month. The only reason we can get him is because he's retired from another group. He is seventy-some odd years old. He does a tremendous job for what he has to do with over there.

Now the facility is used for people to come in and watch television. And they use it to have mail forwarded to. This is an address for people that do not have a permanent address in Phoenix.

They can leave their packages there. I guess that is about all the services that are presently offered in the center.

We are embarking on a small pilot program that was funded through our LEAP commission, through OEO. It is a 28,000 dollar program. It is going to be informational and referral service, counseling. That is about the size of that program.

However, from what I've heard in the past two days here, and I think we have all known it for some time, we need a multi-purpose center, one that can provide services for social activities, educational programs such as I have heard discussed here that are not available to our Indians in Phoenix.

It is my understanding, well, I know this for a fact, that public health will be moving into a new facility in 1970 in the first quarter. They are vacating some property at 16th street and Indian School Road, which I feel could be utilized very well by our urban Indians here in Phoenix, and also from surrounding reservations.

I think that this Commission, which you represent, could possibly be forceful, in helping us to obtain this property up there, these buildings. One could be used for a service center. The other can be used for a, say, halfway house for an alcoholism program.⁵

During the Minneapolis hearings a rather lengthy account of the rationale, need and beginning struggles of an Indian center in St. Paul was offered:

I have included the by-laws of the American Indian Center that the Indians themselves developed. The main proposal submitted to the Hill Foundation which is our main source of funding for the center for two years...We have been looking to an Indian center, as it were, and some people misunderstand this. Some people simply call it a socialization center. Some people call it a service center where all you need to do is develop an employment service, an educational service, a welfare service, or a recreational service.

It is that, perhaps, but much more. Some say we need a cultural center and, of course, there are many ways to describe what we mean by culture. We might say that culture is the way to dress, to eat, to behave, or something like that. I think the center includes all of these things as well. Some say it's a building, and some of us have not thought very much about it, or think that's really all it is. As a matter of fact, we didn't include all of these other things that really are very important to our lives.

Some say it's a geographical place, it's an information and referral place, or something to that effect. I think, and it's my personal opinion, an Indian center in an urban setting is probably the most important thing that can happen because a third of the entire Indian population is found in the cities... We have a growing feeling among our Indian people that we should have an Indian center. We have a growing dissatisfaction with some of the present institutions and a growing awareness of the Indians' position in the urban community...We have been doing a number of things with our center. It has not been without a struggle that we have come to the point we are. On the one hand, a huge mass of problems are facing us; non-recognition of the Indian. We find the health, welfare and educational agencies that serve the community and open up opportunities for the community, are not geared to the needs of the Indian people. On the other hand, we find a large number of Indian people quite unconcerned about how they are going to live in this community, and yet they have to compete...As a matter of fact maybe they have a number of alternatives.

One alternative forced upon them is that they have to play their game, and not express themselves as Indians. The Indian center ends up perhaps as the best way that Indians can stand on their own feet and say, "This is what we want to do. We don't want to do this as something isolated. We don't

want to do something as though to say we are not any different or more special than anyone else. We want to do it because we are part of the general community. We want to become a part of the social fabric of the community. We want to be an integral part of community life."

We can do this by having our own Indian center. We do not want to be blamed for trying to isolate ourselves because all these years we feel that individuals have already been isolated. All we need to do is to regroup our Indian people so that we can preserve and cling to these values, to some of the things that are important...When we presented our proposal the first time for funding, we were turned down. At that time over half the group got discouraged and quit. Then we found we were supposed to have more money. I guess the reason they turned us down is because we were too weak with ourselves. We submitted only a certain proposal and they said, "It's not good enough. You have got to fatten it up." So we took it back and fattened it up. Then we brought it back again and it was again turned down simply because we were an isolated agency with no backing.

What they wanted us to do was to get the United Fund to back us on this. We had to take it back to the United Fund people and get them to sign their names to it. Then we turned it in and it was turned down again. About that time all the Indians were quitting, "This is for the birds," you know, "because it's all red tape."

We went over it again and we found we had to attach ourselves to an existing agency. So, we attached ourselves to the YMCA, after a lot of quarrels. The YMCA thought it was a good idea to fatten up their own program. As a matter of fact, what happened was that we developed a cooperative relationship with the YMCA, whereby they are handling the fiscal policies, but we make the decisions on programs.⁶

The history of a similar undertaking in Minneapolis was described by an Indian woman who noted difficulty in operating through the Federal anti-poverty structure:

...the Upper Midwest Indian Center...is perhaps the oldest Indian center in the city. We began in 1961. Approximately twelve individuals felt the time had come when we should get ourselves together -- first to preserve our culture which we feel is sadly misunderstood and shuffled aside and, secondly, to form ourselves as a bridge for people who are

coming from the reservations or from other places who do not know the agencies and opportunities available to them.

We began as I say, on a volunteer basis and were that way until 1966. We lived in several places. The first place was a large place over a warehouse which cost us \$125 a month. Believe it or not, we paid this and kept it to ourselves by powwows. We weren't able to do much in the line of social services, but we did this advising and referring.

The next office of the Upper Midwest was a small office on Hennepin Avenue in downtown Minneapolis. This continued along the same line as the other. At this point we began to branch out into sports programs for the children. We began our Little Leagues along with other things...

In 1966 a proposal was made to the Office of Economic Opportunity by a group of people in the Twin Cities to get some OEO money for Indians. This proposal was accepted. However, at that time there was no money available for this item, so the money used was a versatile fund from the Citizen's Community Center. This was granted to the Upper Midwest Indian Center as a contracting agency. We worked with that group until 1967.

The way the Citizen's Community Center functioned was not compatible with the way Upper Midwest functioned. The board of Upper Midwest is drawn from people of different tribal groups, not necessarily poverty residents, and some of the other practices are quite different. In 1967 -- in April -- the Upper Midwest withdrew from the Citizen's Community Center leaving staff people who were working with it. We have continued to work with it until this date, with a new board and new people, as the advisory council.⁷

However, some Minneapolis Indians did not consider present arrangements to constitute the Indian center that was needed, as the comment of one militant man suggests:

We are the only city in the United States with such a large Indian population who don't have an Indian center.⁸

There were comments about the Los Angeles Center which suggested its educational role:

This center [Los Angeles Indian Center] will be negotiating with UCLA students very soon for classes to upgrade the adult Indian person interested in classes with full college credit. This is needed because of the lack of administrative knowledge. This came up just a day or two ago. It is something we are going to look into, to explore, and I think we are going to set up classes where all Indians can come if they want to. This is a voluntary thing. They will be given full credit on the administrative side, because Indian people lack administrative knowledge. I think this is one of our biggest hang-ups, we don't have administrative knowledge to conduct our own business. Things are available, so we can go out and get them, and this could be funded through the OEO or the EDA.⁹

Dallas Indians who appeared at the hearings did not report an existing center, although it was apparent that they perceived the need for one.

The Plea for Exclusive Facilities

Dallas Indians had attempted to undertake some Indian center functions by renting facilities for special occasions. There was distinct lack of satisfaction with these arrangements, as the following excerpts indicate:

MR. NAHWOOKSY: ...Could you elaborate a little bit on what is now available in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, what facilities are available?

MR. LESTER: Of course, they have their recreational centers here in Dallas and they will tell you, "Well, now, we have -- whenever you want to use it, it's available," but that isn't it. I mean, the Indians need their own recreational center. Here's a problem. May I ask you all? How does the Los Angeles area, the Denver area, and those various areas, how do they finance their Indian centers, how do they do it? They all have Indian centers.

CHAIR: They do by private means. The Indians organize themselves and I think some are on -- like the Red Feather community board, some community chest type thing, but they're all privately owned -- or privately operated. The Indian center concept, just to be truthful with you, is one that I rejected at one time and I've made a complete turn-around and come to the very important role the center plays. I think we're having, the importance of the Indian center. If not for any other reason, it's a social outlet besides an information gathering unit, and I feel that we'll have to respond in some way because this is the cry we're hearing from practically every area, the urban centers.¹⁰

* * *

Well, like many fellow Indians, this recreation center is a vision we've had for some time. I am sure the majority of the group here would go along with me on that, because we have discussed it for the past five or six years. We realize we cannot -- you want to buy us one and put it up for us either in the Dallas or the Fort Worth area. I do know when we have a powwow or some kind of social gathering, we try to place it where most of the Indians are located. In past cases, we have had them at the Elmer Scott recreation center due to the fact, the Indians were in that area, but it so happened that some party had rented that hall the day before we were going to use it and had broken a chair. We were going to have a fellowship dinner and during that fellowship dinner one of the fellows happened to sit on that broken chair. Of course, we got the blame, and we can't get that building no more. So now we are just going to where we can find a place. It might be in Oak Cliff, Arlington...Now, we have to jump from here over there. And the next month we're going to go to Garland That's how we have to move around. Like somebody said a lot of people can't get there, due to transportation, and I would like to see recreation centers put up, either in Dallas or Fort Worth for the simple reason these powwows we go to, somebody is going to get hurt some way and with a permanent building we can get insurance. We're protected and they're protected.¹¹

* * *

MR. NAHWOOKSY: Would you elaborate a little bit, Frank, on the recreation facilities available?

MR. WATSON: Well, I haven't really checked into the recreation facilities available. I understand they are available, provided you have the funds to rent them. These things you have to reserve far enough in advance to have your powwow, or whatever it is. You may have to call it off and a lot of places, when we do reserve them, want the money in advance...I was president of the club for a while, and there were a lot of places I could have gotten, but we didn't have the money to get them. One or two places I have gotten and, like I say, we had to cancel it, and lost the money. As far as the recreation, I just don't think it's too good. Now I haven't investigated, it's just my going around and seeing these things.¹²

* * *

MR. NAHWOOKSY: Are you familiar with the centers? I'm particularly interested in the value of these. Has there been any approach to the city to establish something like this?

MRS. HAIL: I don't know about that. I do know, for a long time, we did center our activities at Elmer Scott. I was out there at great lengths. In fact, I was out there three or four times a week, three or four years ago. There did seem to be a semblance of some activity out there. There is no longer, in fact, I, myself, engaged Elmer Scott for different activities, dancing lessons, Indian powwows, and big Saturday night dances. I know of no organized effort. For example, to whom would one go, the city, the state or the Federal government? Church organizations are the only ones who have made any effort, as far as I know.

MR. NAHWOOKSY: I was thinking of the city parks and recreation board, if they had one here.

MRS. HAIL: I have rented, for example, Walnut Hill recreation center for big Indian dances. That has been most satisfactory.

MR. NAHWOOKSY: What does the rental run on these, approximately?

MRS. HAIL: Well, I personally have paid \$35 an evening for a recreation center to hold one of the big Indian dances. They don't allow you to charge admission or anything. Sometimes a collection is taken up, which is used for assisting some of the families who travel. Everyone had to get together ahead of time and donate this money, or some individual had to pay it. You don't charge admission or anything, it is not allowed. In other words, it's a little difficult to have these affairs unless you, yourself, can sponsor or find a sponsor.¹³

One Dallas Indian lady reported an unsuccessful attempt to start a center using rented facilities:

I rented a building one time, paid a month's rent for us to get some nickelodeons put in there, and set up everything to go in there. I wasn't even going to charge a fee, what came out of the machines would have paid the rent for each month for the kids to have a place to go, instead of to those beer joints...When I opened -- rented that building in 1958, it was in Oak Cliff. There was no transportation -- the buses didn't run close enough. The kids had to walk, and it was hard to find. I couldn't get a building downtown. Harvey Webb used to work for the BIA office in Dallas, Texas. He, big Ed, and I went and looked for

three months to find a building. We finally found one. Mr. Webb said, "Louise, I've found the building downtown." So I went downtown and looked at it. We could rent the building. Did you know they wouldn't rent it, because the Indians were going to be there, and they were afraid we were going to have drunks.¹⁴

The Source of Funds

Statements of plans and hopes for Indian centers sometimes contained references to hoped-for funding sources. Most often, it was expected that government funds would have to be provided, and there were indications that the funding of urban Indian centers should be regarded as a responsibility of established government agencies, such as the BIA.

An Indian man in Phoenix asserted:

So the Indians in Phoenix really do need a center, funded by the government. I think it is about time that the Indians go together and organized and started pushing for something like this.

The center would not only provide recreation and athletics, but it would provide education for adult classes, for all our different organizations. It would provide something for drama classes, all phases of social life.¹⁵ [Emphasis added]

Another Phoenix witness affirmed the appropriateness of government funding:

So you people come to town and ask us what we need and to discuss our problems. Well, this problem directly concerns me. I have had experience with it over the past twenty years. We do need, and nobody can deny this, at least a whole city block where we can have an Indian center, gymnasium, playgrounds, and playing field for all the Indians -- the urban Indians -- here in town. I don't know how we're going to get this, but if it is possible through legislation in Washington, it is all fine and good if they can give it to us. [Emphasis added]¹⁶

And a third Phoenix Indian man suggested using BIA funds:

It seems to me that many of the Indian centers that I have seen around the country have been developed by Indian leadership, persons who are concerned about Indian people and who have moved into the city. It provides an opportunity for Indian people who have some profession to give of themselves, to give of their expertise and helping, and to open doors for other Indian people moving into the city.

While many other minority groups have what you call a middle class, I suppose in a sense there are middle class Indian people, but I would hope that everyone would think themselves as persons who can open doors for others, and that we would be concerned about our own people -- whether or not they are of the same tribal background or not -- that we can open doors of opportunity to others.

So it seems to me that Indian center provide opportunities for Indian persons who have professional backgrounds to help in a creative way...It seems to me that if there were some way of creating contracts by the Federal government, probably through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to contract to Indian centers programs of orientation for people moving into the city, this would give a financial base to the centers which they do not always enjoy. Many times they have to scrounge and fight and try to promote through community centers, Red Feather organizations or United Fund programs. Again it would be funding an Indian project, because most of the Indian centers are run by Indian people on the center boards.

I can see the centers then developing orientation programs for persons moving into the city, developing recreational opportunity, Head Starts, vocation classes and consumer purchasing, such as to how to purchase on time payments, and all of this, in the city.

Then working with the whole problem of identity crisis of youth. Many of the youth of Indian heritage who have moved into the city, have bemoaned the fact that somehow they have been estranged from their culture. They have been uprooted from their past, so to speak, and they are the second generation persons living in the city.

This is the kind of a cultural identity crisis in that they know they are Indians by virtue of blood quantum, but somehow they have not grown up as an Indian person might on a reservation or near a reservation. And as they get together with other young Indian people, they yearn for some roots.

It seems to me that one of the ways that it could be done is along with Indian centers or in cooperation with city governments where there is a large Indian population. Cultural centers could be set up which would develop drama groups, music, art and crafts. This would not only give expression to the creative ability of the Indian students, but it would act as a go-between to develop understanding among the non-Indians for the Indian culture. [Emphasis added]¹⁷

The legitimacy of BIA funding for the urban Indian center was affirmed in Los Angeles, also:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent millions of dollars in the last two years on "relocating" Indians and yet has totally ignored social and recreational programs. As a result of this a large percentage of Indians have returned to their reservations homesick and disillusioned. The Los Angeles Indian Center and the American Indian Athletic Association have done what they could with no funds. Social and recreational programs are obligations that the Bureau of Indian Affairs incurs when they bring Indians to Los Angeles.

We think that a social and recreation contract should be awarded to the Indian Center by the Bureau. This should be looked on by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an obligation rather than a favor, if we are good little Indians.¹⁸

An Indian woman, testifying in Los Angeles, urged the NCIO to help with the funding task:

Also a recreation center or a cultural center. Again, if this is funded, we think, perhaps the National Council should help it be funded, it has to be run by Indians somehow. It should not be administered by the BIA or any other white agency.¹⁹

Also in Los Angeles, a non-Indian health professional saw the possibility of diverting BIA funds to support an Indian center:

A long-term goal of the San Antonio Health District is the establishment of an American Indian Health and Welfare Center which would be devoted to meeting the medical, social and economic needs of the Indians living in Los Angeles County. The center could also be a means of perpetuating their culture as expressed by traditional dances, powwows, festivals, arts and crafts, and games.

Within the center there should be a medical treatment clinic which could study and become aware of the actual care of the sick as practiced in the American Indians' homes with resultant consideration of this care included in the treatment advised for the patient. Also included in the center would be the services routinely offered by the Los Angeles County Health Department, the Department of Public Social Services, the California State Employment Service, etc. There should be recreation rooms, an athletic field, and rooms for classes, such as short-term training classes in restaurant management and labor. The classes could offer concurrent experience in a restaurant within the center (which could be a source of possible income to the center) or work experience in local restaurants. There could be a shop in which their arts and crafts could be displayed and sold. The skill of producing these objects could be taught by the older tribe members to their youth, thus handing down tribal skills.

Funds which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been paying to private training schools, such as the Auto Mechanics Institute Trade School in Los Angeles, could be channeled to the adult training school within the center. This action would help to alleviate some of the resentment held by the American Indians against the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the same time, many Indians could learn a new trade and become financially self-sufficient. As they adjust to urban life, the need for welfare assistance will decrease. The center would also become meaningful and a source of pride to the Indians. And it is this pride in being an Indian and pride in the American Indian cultural heritage that must be reinstalled and reinforced in the American Indian children and young adults. [Emphasis added]²⁰

Finally, a participant in the San Francisco hearings thought the Indian Center should focus upon learning and should be government-funded:

But the Indian cannot go into any particular point in the urban area and find out. He cannot have a place of his own and find out any question that he needs to know...So this plan that I have is something that has to be centered; that has to function from an Indian center, but a properly staffed Indian center; it has to be a learning center.

And it has to be staffed with people -- I don't care if they have degrees or they don't, but people who have good personalities for working with Indians, they have to be curious people, and they also have to have an understanding of the communities that we live in.

The reason that the Indian guides of the past were so good, is because they knew their terrain. The Indian people in the city today do not know the terrain of the city. And this is something we have to learn.

Now, there are a lot of programs, a lot of advantages that would be made available to Indian people in the future if we know how to go after them, and we also have to have the vehicles for doing that.

From my limited observation from Indian centers and Indian groups, you have people in there who really don't know how to take advantage of a good offer when it comes by, you see, so we've got to have people in there who know how to do it and go out for it, you know.

They've got to know how to organize the Indians behind so that they can be in a position to accept the things that are available.

We have to take into account our past, and not lose it or give it up, the idea of it. We have a chance to prove ourselves to be excellent people in the city, and we can do it ourselves.

But we're like all poor people; we don't have the means. The BIA has 330 million dollars to do things with, and no ideas. There are some few privately sponsored groups here, you know, that sometimes can put up a little center here and there.

But these are new needs, and we should ask the government to provide us with enough money to experiment properly in this way for the benefit of the American Indians. [Emphases added]²¹

The Bar as an Indian Center

Some Indians who appeared before the Committee wanted the urban Indian center to be a positive alternative to the bar as a social gathering-place. There were a number of Dallas Indian witnesses (where no center was reported) who thought the center was needed to alleviate social distress and to replace the "bar culture."

Just might as well face it, the Indians have no place to go, only to the bars. Let's get a building, let's get something. I'll help, I'll do anything I can. I'll supervise it.²²

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As far as the others have mentioned about going to the bars for recreation, a place of social gathering, we have the problem there [In Fort Worth] also.²³

* * *

The arrest record of the Indian on Peake and Bryan, Fitzhugh and Bryan, is a disgrace to Dallas, Texas. They have nowhere to go, no building.²⁴

* * *

First off, I want to talk about that recreation center. It's been brought up before, but the Indians in this area need a permanent place to gather, like Saturdays and Sundays, Friday evenings. They don't know where to go. We don't have a place to gather. Maybe we want to whoop and holler, you know, dance around. When they don't have that, see, they go to the first local bar they see and pass the time there. From there on they start drinking, you know, whatever you call that, alcohol.²⁵

* * *

I would like to recommend to the group that we do have a multi-service family-service and social center for the Dallas-Fort Worth area in those cities. These tend to create an atmosphere of togetherness that we're missing as Indians and I can cite a specific example to some of you Indians here in town that you would be ashamed of...If you want to see the Indian, go up on Haskell, Bryan, and Peake Streets on Friday and Saturday night. Now, this same group, it's mine and other's opinions who have dealt with these people, that they could benefit far more and are ready for group activities if we had a place like this, rather than living and hanging out at these beer joints at the three or four places that I named. This is just one specific that I'll throw out at this time. I certainly feel there is a need for this multi-social and family center where Indians, whether urban or relocated, have a place to go and have somebody that can understand him.²⁶

This perception of the need for an Indian center was voiced in Los Angeles also:

Another complaint that I have often heard is, the newcomer Indians to the city, particularly the young group, have no place for recreation. They have no place to gather. Consequently a percentage of them gather at some of the bars on Main Street, or on Pico Street. I like to think this is a small percentage, and yet this is the few Indians the general public sees. They drive down Pico, down Main Street, and you talk to anybody, and they say, "Oh, yes, that's where all the drunk Indians hang out, isn't it?"²⁷

The Indian Center Mission - Social Services

As the previous excerpts from testimony indicate, several functions or missions for the Indian center were advocated by Committee witnesses. Some persons saw the Center as a locus for social services.

In Dallas, an Indian man said:

And I was wondering if all these sources and smoke signals we're sending could be accumulated in one center, as some of these people have been mentioning? I've talked to various groups and churches who have made this proposal, that we have an Indian center. Not only as a social center but where I could talk to the police lieutenant, and the police could be of help where they could inform the American Indian of the city laws. I talked to Manpower, they're there, they're willing to help, but they need the connections. There are other organizations willing to help, but it seems we are all sending smoke signals and we have our own little boat.²⁸

This view was elaborated in San Francisco, where one witness specified the kinds of agency representation which should exist in an Indian center:

My second major program suggestion is concept of an Indian service center. The service center idea is that under one roof (or one door) there would be a variety of service agency representations, in order to make more available the services needed to properly assist the individual. Such agencies might include the following:

1. Federal agency representatives:
 - a. BIA
 - b. Federal Social Security Administration
 - c. U.S. Employment Service
2. State agency representation (public and private)
 - a. California Department of Employment
 - b. California Department of Rehabilitation
 - c. California Indian Legal Services
 - d. State Department of Social Welfare
3. Local Agencies (public and private)
 - a. County health department
 - b. County welfare department
 - c. County probation department
 - d. Indian Welcome House
 - e. American Friends Service Commission
 - f. WIN representative

The local agencies' representatives should include all Indian cultural and social agencies.²⁹

Also, there were Indians in Phoenix who wanted the center to be a source of aid:

I have also suggested in this proposal that we get some sort of center or at least some sort of facility out of which these programs could be implemented and developed, and where the Indian people could go and receive services, or at least be referred properly and followed up properly to insure that our young people in fact do receive the benefits of programs that are available in this city.³⁰

* * *

Like we say, we need the Indian center that we can use. This is where an Indian can come and be welcome. From there we can give him a direction, give him help, give him something that he can lean on so that he can contribute also to society in Phoenix here.³¹

* * *

But over the years I really have come to believe that we need a thing like an Indian center. We need a kind of program and a facility to help out people that are coming from the reservation to help bridge the gap between the life styles they knew on the reservation and the life styles they find in town, whether it be people that need employment or whether they may be involved in an AA program.³²

An interesting exchange in Dallas, involving an OEO representative, suggested some reluctance on the part of government officials to consider funding exclusively Indian social service centers as opposed to centers intended to serve all poor persons:

MR. EFFMAN: ...What would stop this group of Indians from writing a proposal and submitting it to the Dallas area and stating they would like to have an Indian referral agency, which would be appointed by the OEO office?

MR. CARMOUCHE: Indian referral agencies? Well, how would an Indian referral agency be any different from the referral processes that we are using now? This is what I don't understand.

MR. EFFMAN: Well, number one, we heard testimony that Indians would not open a door for people making house to house calls and so forth. Now say, for instance, we had an Indian association whereby it would be a Dallas Indian association and let it be known as the referral agency, for counseling, the whole bit, you know, and let it be specifically for Indians. I was wondering if this could be a possibility.

MR. CARMOUCHE: If we could get a program like that, fine. However, I believe the existing projects we have as far as our referral systems within each individual agency, in each multi-purpose center, we have something called an intake and referral section. Number one, you know, just like your TEC, when you go for a job, you're initially interviewed, the person comes into the center, and let them try to determine what their needs are.

CHAIR: Let me interrupt you. I think maybe this might be helpful. Apparently the referral centers you have established are not meeting the need or have not been utilized because the Indian doesn't know how to use your referral centers. This is another problem that has to be looked into. This is why, you know, in the Indian referral center itself, he can become accustomed to using your referral and other agencies. He's not agency-oriented to a large scale.³³

The Indian Center Mission - Information and Communication

Others who spoke to the NCIO Committee thought the Center should fulfill an information and communication need. One such person, appearing in Dallas, stated the need in these terms:

Occasionally I hear so-and-so is having a meeting and I ask, "What are they going to do at this meeting?" "They're going to have a pow-wow." I'd like to see a powwow. I don't know how to do anything like that, but I like it. As sure as I make plans to go over there, somebody's going to call and I've got to leave. I don't ever get to attend things like that. I have heard in a round-about way, there's baseball teams and different things going on. We have contact with a lot of teenagers in our group that would be interested in anything like this. We don't know anything about them. Like he says, there are no phone calls, nobody to contact, so we can't go and tell our young people, "If you go and see so-and-so, he might arrange for you to play on his ball team or get you interested in some sport or something like that." We don't have that contact. If we had a place and something to go out, say, well, there's a bulletin board available somewhere, then we could.³⁴

An Indian man in Dallas thought information provision was the number one priority:

Now, what I would like to see the people start a recreation center or what we might say, an Indian center, a place where Indians who come in from other states, reservations, can get information. This information can be a lot of things. It can be of relatives, housing, employment, and naturally recreation for their families, if he has a family. If he's here alone, he may have a relative or a brother or a sister. He still doesn't know how to get around the city, and this is where he can get this information. I believe that would be the number one project...

As far as communication goes, I still think this Indian center would contribute a lot. Communication and information, just about anything you want, you could go to this place and get it.³⁵

And, finally, an Indian woman thought the center should provide information to individual Indians about their heritage and other matters as well as providing information about Indians to non-Indians:

An Indian center is important, mostly as a matter of dispensing information because we really don't know anything that is available. It's extremely difficult to get information from a government bureau, even if you're used to getting information, which I am. For example, I wrote to the Indian Bureau in Muskogee and gave them roll numbers and names of both my mother and myself and asked if they would trace my lineage back as far as they had records. They wrote back and said that that was just my mother's roll number and they could give me nothing. They said, if I would fill out a form, they'd help me. I filled out a form, listing mother's roll number -- all of her sisters and brothers, their roll numbers and their father's roll number, and as far back as I knew. Where we were born, and all of the details. Three months later they wrote back and said, "Yes, the information you have given us is correct." Now, I don't want to maintain this wasn't a help -- it was. If they had said, "No, we have no record of you," that would have been a problem. In other words, the end result of my three months of nagging was, that they did agree my information was correct. I do feel we should be able to get information about ourselves. I will say this for the government: they have never given out any confidential information about us that they should not have. That is not to be sniffed at, because one doesn't want everyone knowing your business. I feel we, ourselves, should be entitled to any information about our ancestors. I have had someone from one of the Federal bureau maintain to me that I had no legal status whatsoever as an Indian because he didn't find me in Star's

History of the Cherokees. There are other Cherokees besides the Cherokees listed in Star. I was completely unable to prove the whole thing. I feel education has been touched on, and there's no question this is a need. Communication, I feel there must be some way of getting information around to people, of what is available. It is practically impossible to get this information unless you know exactly what it is you want to know. If you already know what it is you want to know, then it is of no help.

The idea of having a center seems a perfectly marvelous idea. There one could socialize without being on an office-and-hurry-up basis. You could find out details of what is available, and what is going on. I mean an Indian center is Indian-oriented, not white-oriented, there is a difference, to coin a phrase, I'd say where the Indian is king. In other words where one does things the Indian way, not according to regular bureaucratic ways. I'm in a position where I meet, for example, hundreds of Camp-fire Girls in Dallas, civic organizations, and church women who are not Indians. I dispense information at great length. It isn't that I know so much, it's that I spread it, a great many places. I find these people are most eager to learn things about Indians. They want to go around where Indian people are. If there are Indian people who need assistance in any way, such as taking them to hospitals, helping them get information, these women want to help. They have the time and the cars. They have no transportation problem. They ask me, "What can I do, either for my benefit or for the Indians' benefit?" I can give them no answer whatsoever. I can't even say, "Go to a certain place and you can meet them." They have asked me where the meetings of the Inter-Tribal Association and Indian American are. Unfortunately, to dispense this information, I would have to send out a mailing to about 4,000 people to get this information to them. Once a month or whenever they meet, I would have to send out information to all of them. Well, off-hand you can see as an individual, I could not possibly do this. Neither could they call me and find out when these societies meet all the time. I cannot even get that information out, at all times to people. They are interested in some place, where they can sit down and have coffee, or talk about their different cultures together. We need somewhere these people can get together, some structured organized situation, where I can simply send women and elementary school children.³⁶

The Indian Center Mission - Indian "Culture"

Some Indians who spoke about the need for a center wanted an Indian "cultural center." Although it was not always clear what was meant by "cultural center," the reference seemed to be to a place where especially Indian activities and Indian organizations could be housed.

Two Minneapolis Indian men commented:

...this might lead us into an Indian cultural center, or possibly a home where they may be able to stay until they are relocated, and find a home for themselves.³⁷

* * *

One thing we are very interested in in the city is a culture center. We hope within the next year or so to develop an Indian culture center which will house the organizations, if we can work out our differences of opinions. We would like to get this going. Where the funds will come from remains to be seen, but there seems to be a feeling that we can do this.³⁸

During the Los Angeles hearings, an Indian man described his frustration with attempts to develop a cultural center and noted his hopes for its usage:

...I know some of the Indian are coming into town today. They run into this big city of ours, and they get lost. One reason is because they have no place to go. When they are going to school, they are occupied. When they are working, they are occupied. But when it is time to go home, they have no place to go to.

I'm a great believer in trying to promote an Indian center, whether it be in Los Angeles, Long Beach, or any other metropolitan town in this big country of ours. It just doesn't seem possible that it is going to be done in my day and time. I'm standing here to tell you, I've tried every avenue from the president on down, to get help get a piece of land. That is all I am asking for, is a piece of land, ten or fifteen acres. I will get the rest of the money to build a cultural center.

I've told them that, but for some reason or other there are laws that prohibit us from being granted a piece of land. And I don't understand it, believe me. I think anything can

be done, because I have seen it done in other races. why can't we Indians get something we so fully deserve. All we are asking for is just a little piece of land in this area, where we could build a cultural center, which would encompass a gymnasium, an auditorium, an arcade where we could display our talents, and big ground where we could have powwows galore, two or three going at the same time, a rodeo going over here...

This is the way I look at it, but I can't get anybody to listen to me. Believe me, it burns me up...All I get is a pat on the back, "We appreciate what you are doing, Hank," but I see no land, I see no money.

It gets tiresome, but you know something, I haven't given up. I'll die, I'll go down with my boots setting up still fighting, because I may not enjoy it but some young Indian coming into town may reap what we have started. I do have a dream that someday we are going to have a big beautiful Indian cultural center in this southland area, which we so badly need.³⁹

The Indian Center Mission - Social Activities

Still other witnesses stressed the need for an Indian center to serve as a place for meetings, recreation, and ordinary social life. The emphasis here was upon a site for Indian companionship and togetherness.

In Los Angeles, a Committee staff member queried an Indian man:

DR. CARMACK: Do you think the fundamental need is for some sort of organized or planned recreational opportunity, as far as leisure time program?

MR. NARKO: Definitely. A community center, just a place they can meet, and go and sit if they like. There's nothing available on the publicized scale. They get it by word of mouth, and here and there. None of these organizations are really large. They have limited facilities, and are not capable of handling something like this. So it is really important, you know.⁴⁰

Chairman Harris commented upon the Indian Center's value in a social sense, first in Minneapolis, then in Los Angeles:

I would like to comment on your concept of the center. I might add, within five years, I did a complete turn-around from my own idea of the value of an Indian center. I had a basic philosophy against Indian centers, thinking they promoted paternalism. After visiting around the United States with people in urban settings, I have come to the realization that they are an important part in the development of the Indian person in an urban setting. All the segments and all these organizations play a very important role and the Indians in the Twin Cities are to be commended on their efforts.⁴¹

* * *

I think you are emphasizing a problem which I wasn't very sympathetic with originally. That is the Indian Center. Several years ago I did not see the real value. I know Mr. Nahwooksy and I used to have some real arguments on the value of Indian centers.

After visiting the large metropolitan centers, and being in Washington, I certainly see the encouragement it offers for other Indian people and the great value of learning about different tribes. We are so tribal-oriented to our own tribe, we lose sight of the accomplishments of other tribes. I think there is great value in backing up one's own personality and going forward.

I think there is a great problem of recreation, not so much for recreation but social togetherness. All other groups of people have organizations. I think are greatly needed and you have made an excellent point here. Hopefully we can make a recommendation on a national scale about having some sort of center. I don't know exactly what we need, but we will figure out what it is and make the appropriate recommendation based on your testimony.⁴²

A Dallas Indian wanted the same thing:

But the main thing, I think the Indian people need a place to gather because they like to be amongst themselves. Sometimes they don't -- I mean not necessarily segregate them, but, you know, they like to call the place -- let's see, recreation center, I guess, is what I'm trying to say. I belong to the Dallas Inter-Tribal and we subsidize our own place like what Frank Watson said. We can't always afford it, but a lot of these fellas like to dance around, they don't make that kind of money, that got kids to support. If we could find a permanent place that's reasonable -- we don't want something for nothing, either, you know, something we can afford that is

permanent where we can go there all of the time. Instead of, say, fifteen miles from here next week and ten miles from here the following week, you know, together, because they're about the only reasonable places we can find. Around here they're high.⁴³

The Indian Center - Other Needs and Requirements

There were other needs and expectations for the Indian center which appeared during the hearings. A Dallas Indian mother was concerned about Indian young people:

Starting with recreation, I feel we need a place of recreation for the Indians. I know a lot of them talk about powwows, but everybody has young children. I have four teenagers. They're active and they need a place where they can go and enjoy themselves. I know at Anadarko, it's just a small place, but there is a Christian center and you can go and spend a whole evening there. In fact, they have a room for studying if the children want to go, swap notes, or help one another, they do that.⁴⁴

That woman was seconded by another Dallas Indian woman, when she said:

There are groups who have organized us, and the juvenile officer just now stated the fact that we need recreational facilities for Indians to go to meet other Indians. He also stated that there are so many of them who go to these places where we hope that our children do not go, when they are sent to another town. We feel like if we had a place where we could go now, the Indians are having a basketball game over here or the Indians are having a combo, or they're going to dance or to have a film. I agree with the juvenile officer, we do need some place for them to go. So many of them are young when they come here from Haskell and other places. They're just out of their teens and want to go where there are other Indians. They may not drink, but they're where all this other is going on, and I feel like if we had a place for them.⁴⁵

Several witnesses thought the Center should be Indian-operated. In Dallas, one witness argued for Indian staffing and control with Federal funding:

...Here's a suggestion that I would like to make on an Indian center: because of the increasing contact of Indian people with urban communities, it is important to encourage the development of urban Indian centers where these are needed. Because of the cultural difference in the Indian in the non-Indian society, these urban centers can function best if their operation is the responsibility of the Indian people themselves. It would be a great asset to see these centers as places where things are done to Indians and for Indians for their own good. So much of past Indian affairs has been carried out, in the same way. Local reservations and other Indian communities need to retain their responsibility. The urban Indian center organization should be in the hands of Indian people whom it presumes to serve. Because of extreme difficulty in raising the necessary funds for each center, and because the reservation to city movement is a definite part of the general American scene, the urban centers should receive adequate subsidy from the Federal government. The Indian center should qualify for grants by meeting the separate standards of the program as set out by their local urban community, and the Federal government should not extend its influence and control into such agencies.⁴⁶

That sentiment was repeated in Los Angeles:

We need an Indian center governed and staffed by Indian people, with the assistance of the community when available. We at the Indian center are more than willing to upgrade our Indian center. We also point with pride to what we have been able to accomplish without the necessary funds. How much better we can do would become evident with the new programs.⁴⁷

And a Minneapolis Indian militant also urged Indian staffing and control of the Indian center, but made it clear that educated or "establishment" Indians were not what he had in mind:

This was brought up last night at the special Model Cities meeting we had with Mr. Mike Roan. We stated that we wanted to design our own multi-purpose Indian center. Indian people are capable of doing this. We have demonstrated in the past nine months that we are capable of taking care of our own problems, and staffing an Indian center with Indian people. We are capable of handling employment and working with housing conditions in the city of Minneapolis, and directly with the education system. It always ends up, whenever they pick an Indian, they figure he has to have a degree. When they put in an Indian from our organization or some other organization that wants to make a change, it always turns out to be one Indian fighting fourteen or fifteen that think the way the Establishment does.⁴⁸

A Dallas Indian man thought the center might serve another purpose: it could make it possible for Indians to trade with other Indians.

We need a recreation area to get together and these Indians going to school for mechanics, upholsterers and different things, can put their names up and we will go to them rather than to a white person. Sometimes some of these Indians will go to a white person, and when they walk in and begin to speak, they'll know how much education this person has and they'll charge him a lot more. If he goes to another Indian, he'll get a better thing. By having a place to gather for these Indians, it would help us and help other Indians coming off the reservation.

Some Final Observations

1. Existing Indian Centers in the cities visited by the NCIO were marginally funded operations which, according to the testimony of Indian people, fulfilled important functions nevertheless. These functions included intake and referral, housing assistance, recreation and sports for children and youth, legal aid, employment assistance, provision of a social gathering place, provision of a mailing address for those without a permanent residence, and provision of a site for the preservation of Indian values. Only in Dallas did the hearings not reveal an extant Indian center.

2. Dallas Indians reported to the Committee little satisfaction with rented facilities for Indian community activities, and the desire for an exclusively Indian center was apparent. One person related an attempt to rent a building which she said was prevented because of discrimination.

3. In general, Indian witnesses thought that the funds for an Indian center should come from government agencies, rather than private sources. It was suggested that the Center could become a party to government contracts, to provide services to relocated Indians.

4. Some witnesses thought that bars now serve some of the functions of the Indian Center, and they urged the establishment of Indian centers on the grounds that undesirable influences such as alcohol and bad company would thus be eliminated.

5. Some witnesses thought the central mission of the Indian Center should be the provision of social services. These persons envisioned the Center as a place where Indian people could go for resources and assistance with city life. Other Indians who spoke to the Committee stressed the importance of the Center as a locus for information and communication. Besides information about "what is available" for Indian people from various agencies, it was suggested that the Center could inform Indians about their tribal rights, could inform non-Indians about Indians, and could inform Indians about Indian activities in the city and elsewhere. Some Indians thought the Center should be "cultural" in nature, stressing contemporary Indian organizations and their activities. Other Indians saw the Center primarily as a place for social activity and meetings among Indian people, central to the development of an Indian style and personality in the city. Some witnesses were concerned that the Center should pay special attention to the needs of Indian young people, and should be Indian controlled and operated.

6. It is clear that quite positive feelings and aspirations about the functions of an urban Indian center were common, at least among the Indian people who appeared before the NCIO Committee in five cities. The establishment of a Center to provide social agency services to Indians under Indian control and using Indian personnel may be regarded as a social experiment worthy of careful evaluation to see if the delivery of services does, in fact, improve in terms of time and quality dimensions and in terms of the satisfaction of Indian clients. It may be that the Indian Center is desired because it constitutes a site for the re-establishment of the reservation Indian culture within the city. If that is indeed what happens, then evaluation of the Center must consider the ways in which that is an adaptive plus (eg., the affirmation of positive community ties) as well as the ways in which it is a minus (e.g., the transplantation of rural-poverty-based political styles unlikely to succeed in a multi-ethnic and more complex setting). The recent Federal funding of Indian centers in Los Angeles, Gallup (New Mexico), Fairbanks (Alaska), and Minneapolis provides an opportunity to test the viability of Indian community control and management in the city. It fixes Indian self-determination where urban Indian spokesmen have called for

it and, equally important, it fixes the responsibility for Indian programs squarely upon Indian shoulders. Finally, this recent move could be regarded as an outgrowth of attempts to assess the desires of urban Indians (as through the NCIO urban hearings) and to bend Federal agencies to meet these needs.

FOOTNOTES*

- ¹Dallas, p. 100, David Benham.
- ²San Francisco, pp. 4, 6, Earl R. Livermore.
- ³San Francisco, pp. 7-8, Earl R. Livermore.
- ⁴San Francisco, pp. 11-12, Earl R. Livermore.
- ⁵Phoenix, pp. 134-135, Kent Ware.
- ⁶Minneapolis, pp. 139-143, Larry Martin.
- ⁷Minneapolis, pp. 178-179, Emily Peake.
- ⁸Minneapolis, p. 204, Harold Goodsky.
- ⁹Los Angeles, p. 146, Sam Kolb.
- ¹⁰Dallas, p. 9, Reeves Nahwooksy, Richard Lester, La Donna Harris.
- ¹¹Dallas, p. 129, Vernon Tehuano.

*The basic documents for this report are:

- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.
- Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

(Above documents published by the U.S. Government Printing Office)

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

- 12 Dallas, pp. 63-64, Frank Watson.
- 13 Dallas, p. 44, Reeves Nahwooksy, Raven Hail.
- 14 Dallas, pp. 56-57, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 15 Phoenix, p. 75, Peter Homer.
- 16 Phoenix, p. 66, Julian B. Dinehdeol.
- 17 Phoenix, pp. 30-31, Cecil Corbett.
- 18 Los Angeles, pp. 152-153, Joe Vasquez.
- 19 Los Angeles, p. 211, Sunne Wright.
- 20 Los Angeles, pp. 307-308, Prepared Statement of Claire McWilliams.
- 21 San Francisco, pp. 139-141, Unidentified Member of the Audience.
- 22 Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 23 Dallas, p. 102, David Benham.
- 24 Dallas, p. 56, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 25 Dallas, p. 90, Joe Tafoya.
- 26 Dallas, p. 32, Dan J. Willis.
- 27 Los Angeles, p. 102, Tim Wapato.
- 28 Dallas, p. 50, Herbert Brown Otter.
- 29 San Francisco, pp. 84-85, Bert Walters.
- 30 Phoenix, p. 93, Lee Cook.
- 31 Phoenix, p. 120, Jerry Sloan.
- 32 Phoenix, p. 95, Lee Cook.
- 33 Dallas, p. 192, George Effman, Joe Carmouche, La Donna Harris.
- 34 Dallas, p. 70, Bernice Johnson.
- 35 Dallas, pp. 62, 66, Frank Watson.
- 36 Dallas, pp. 42-43, Raven Hail.

- 37 Minneapolis, p. 74, Gene Eckstein.
- 38 Minneapolis, p. 48, Charles Buckanaga.
- 39 Los Angeles, p. 99, Henry Roberts.
- 40 Los Angeles, p. 254, William Carmack, Chuck Narko.
- 41 Minneapolis, p. 144, La Donna Harris.
- 42 Los Angeles, pp. 100-101, La Donna Harris.
- 43 Dallas, p. 94, Joe Tafoya.
- 44 Dallas, p. 136, Wanda Kostzuta.
- 45 Dallas, p. 38, Juanita Ahtone.
- 46 Dallas, p. 6, Richard Lester.
- 47 Los Angeles, p. 154, Joe Vasquez.
- 48 Minneapolis, p. 173, Clyde Bellecourt.
- 49 Dallas, p. 53, Levi Edwards.

An Examination of the 1968-
1969 Urban Indian Hearings
Held by the National Council
on Indian Opportunity, Part IV:
The Indian Center.

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URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE
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PART V: MULTIPLE PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
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by

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

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

October, 1971

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

PART I: EDUCATION

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968 - 1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were:

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with multiple problems of adaptation to the city. In a sense it may be viewed as supplementary to earlier reports on the urban Indian hearings which dealt specifically with education, interracial problems, Indian self-definitions, and the Indian center. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable deci-

sions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

Earlier reports analyzing the urban Indian hearings have focused attention upon education, interracial problems, Indian self-definitions, and the Indian center.¹ This report deals with other, multiple problems of the city adaptation of Indians.

Much testimony was related to such specifics as housing, information and communication, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, alcoholism and other personal adjustment problems, social activities and recreation, services which are needed, training, employment problems, legal problems, and medical care problems. Details of these concerns are stressed in this report.

Housing

One objective of vital concern to many Indians new to the city is obtaining adequate housing. Often with little money and with large families, Indian people are faced with scant choice when it comes to a place to live. A non-Indian representative of housing authority in Minneapolis describes that city's housing options for Indians in the following way:

We have a rental market in Minneapolis wherein an Indian family who may have been here for some time, comes in and has few options where to live. For the most part, they are limited to substandard housing, apartments which are, in many cases, barely livable. Often these are owned by absentee owners. I think they can best be described more accurately as exploitation market because that is what it really amounts to -- exploitation of families, of individuals -- many times by absentee owners and sometimes by governmental structures themselves.

I think there are several reasons for this. I couldn't possibly list them all. I don't know if anyone knows all the answers as to why these conditions exist.

One, of course, is the pattern of discrimination in urban centers and throughout the nation still exists in spite of all the attempts at legislation.

This is a particularly subtle kind of thing for Indian families, certainly in this area. One of the things we have been trying to get rid of in Minneapolis is residency requirements for welfare, public housing, and other programs. We

still have them although their constitutionality is being challenged. The residency requirement for categorical aids has been successfully challenged. We have one case before the Supreme Court on housing. I expect it will be thrown out.

Much of the substandard housing has to do with the lack of effective code enforcement over the years. Two-thirds of the housing in the code areas of a city like Minneapolis were built before 1915 or 1920 -- before there were any codes, actually, on the books. The first codes appeared in the late twenties. From that time until the present there has been no systematic and adequate code enforcement. I think the primary reason for this is that it takes large and effective staff to do this. Perhaps an even greater reason is that it's a very difficult thing politically for a political system such as ours in Minneapolis, where we have the ward system, for an alderman to actually enforce codes in his ward because this is an unpopular kind of program. As a result we finally come, then, to a point where we have housing such as these where Indian families and other minority families, poor white families, are relegated to live.

Efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild the housing are progressing. I think we are beginning to pick up in this area, but we have a long way to go. One of the most difficult problems is to provide new housing, housing that can be sold or rented at reasonable rates to low income families. Every year, the construction costs of housing go up. I think it's gone up something like eight or ten percent now in this last ten years, the cost of producing a new house. It's very, very difficult, for instance, for a builder to produce a house in the city, a three bedroom house, for under \$17,000 or a larger house for under \$20,000. That's including the cost of land.²

An Indian woman in Minneapolis continued the seriousness of the housing shortage for Indians and had some recommendations:

Housing presently available to people of Indian descent in the city of Minneapolis is substandard and in short supply...while residents, tenants in general, are confused and lack knowledge about their rights and responsibilities under the Minneapolis Housing Maintenance Code as opposed to those of their landlords in this city, this is especially true of Indians.

The recommendation we make is that efforts should be greatly increased to inform landlords and tenants as to what their rights and responsibilities are, the housing codes should be increased so that not only health, welfare, safety and fire hazards are covered, but also those of design and comfort as in the Canadian Housing Code, and to make this workable. The federal government should make very low interest rate loans and grants available to small homeowners who are served with housing code violations. This would especially be helpful in non-urban renewal and in non-concentrated code enforcement areas.

...we recommend that aggressive, affirmative action recruitment programs to hire and train Indians in all housing agencies should be required by the Equal Opportunity Office of the Housing and Urban Development Department. Such Indian employees could more effectively gain the confidence of other Indians, and therefore, could do a better job, especially in explaining tenants' and landlords' rights and responsibilities, federal housing programs and their special implications to urban Indians.

Another problem, Indians can least afford, of any group, to pay for decent housing which costs relatively little and yet are of good design and adequate comfort. Moreover, they lack earnest money, home maintenance funds and other costs, even though they could afford to pay the monthly payments of rental and sales units.

In addition, there are Indian groups who could be potential non-profit housing corporation sponsors of housing for moderate and low income people; they lack the technique and expertise and the money needed to put together a package to apply for federal funds.³

Another Indian lady in Minneapolis noted the problems caused by large families and relatives and by sub-standard housing, and spoke of the need for a "newcomer center":

The major problems in housing are people living in substandard housing, with housing in the suburbs difficult for our people to get. We also have a newcomer difficulty.

First of all, there are large families involved; many have more than five children so this makes getting a house very difficult in the first place. Also, people have relatives living in the target area and like to live with them. This causes another problem, moving in with relatives. We have decided on a couple of solutions. One is a newcomer center we hope to establish, in fact, within the next week. This should be a house for people who come into the city. I should tell you we have families coming in almost every day, with no place to live and it's very difficult to find homes for them. This is what our staff does.

This newcomer center would provide a house for people to stay perhaps one or two months until we are able to find permanent housing for them. Several church groups are working with us to do this, about five, in fact. They would act as host families to these families coming in. The Indian Center would act as the guide to finding permanent homes and employment for them.

The other problems in housing are very bad living conditions. In this case we have to find a group of people in housing willing to work together to try to improve the standards that people live by, the housing code, I mean. Some of the houses have insects, rodents, town-down back stairs, houses that need paint and many, many things. These things have to be done on a local level, so this is how we are working in housing.⁴

This need for temporary housing for Indians was seconded by a Minneapolis Indian man serving as an employment professional, when he pointed out:

The main problem I find, in working with the Indian population, is housing. Finding the Indians a job isn't the hardest thing, it's housing and keeping them on the job. Follow-up is another problem. The Indians between jobs that have no money and are job hunting, they don't have any place to turn to. They have no resources that could really help them. I think one of the solutions would be to have a center or housing unit for Indians to come to. Any Indian, not the ones down here or on reservations, but all Indians while they are job hunting. After they get a job, give them some kind of assistance until they get their first pay check.⁵

In addition to these problems, asserted one Minneapolis Indian woman, there was the matter of housing discrimination:

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you consider the Twin Cities having what is referred to as an Indian ghetto?

ALFRIEDA BEAVER: I don't like the word ghetto. I think there is a higher concentration area in the south. For one reason, that is the only place they are allowed to move to. Sometimes if you go to look for a place to rent, you go to the house and they see you are Indian, they will tell you that the house has already been rented. But if you have a white couple who are friends of yours and can go back to the same house, the house is available. On AFDC families, if they find out they are AFDC families or welfare families, their rent is up maybe fifteen to twenty dollars.

When landlords evict families, they think they can put them out anytime they feel like it, under the assumption that the welfare office takes care of these people and looks for homes and gets them settled. They think these families actually don't have any problems because the welfare takes care of them, and this is not true.⁶

Finally, a Minneapolis Indian man added another dimension to the housing problem --that of mobility and choice:

The Indian is a very mobile person who believes in living⁷ where he chooses, and that includes suburban areas.

Much the same sort of picture emerged in Dallas. A Bureau of Indian Affairs official described the availability of housing for migrating Indians in these forms:

It's a big problem and it's not only the Indian people but all groups coming to Dallas and they're coming here by the hundreds, I'm sure, every day and finding difficulty in locating adequate housing, especially the unskilled person. But, again, if you can pay a hundred and twenty-five to a hundred and fifty dollars a month rent, there's housing available, very nice apartments available. Most of our people cannot pay that kind of rent initially when they come. Again, this is one area where we put in a lot of hours, trying to find

especially housing for families now. We have several room and board places that are available to young single men and women coming to Dallas. Many of them go to the YMCA, initially. Later on, after they've been here and got acquainted, they may team up with two or three other individuals, and rent an apartment. That way they can afford to pay a higher rent; of course, families can't do that, so they are still quite often handicapped for a longer time period in finding good quality housing or mediocre housing.⁸

Two commentators referred to housing information and availability when they noted:

(We get information) from the newspapers, from previous rental agencies, landlords that we have dealt with. My housing man isn't here this evening, but he works pretty hard, any lead he can get, any --especially on any family housing, we follow up and try to, you know. Again take an individual family out to show them what is available. Unfortunately, again, because of limited income, sometimes their choices are not as good as we would like. Sometimes we feel we do very well for the cost that's available compared to the other housing available.⁹

* * *

I would even make a generalization that it's harder for Indians to get this information (about housing) because of their lack of experience.¹⁰

Multiple problems of large families, housing discrimination, and inadequate or inappropriate housing selection were mentioned by several Dallas witnesses:

Well, my problem is that we all like to have better housing and I would like to have a bigger and better house for my family because I have a big family. I have eight boys. We cannot very well afford to get a bigger house because of this big family I have. Every time it seems like I find a bigger house for ourselves that would suit us, we try getting it, getting information for it. They won't let us have it because of the big family that I have. They tell me big families are the roughest families. That's why they won't give it to us. That's the reason I

would like to have that big house and for my family. We'd like to have them grow and get an education. One of my sons wanted to go to college and that's what I would like to have for them. I would like to raise them in a better home and all that, and better things most of them would want, too.¹¹

* * *

Now, with an open housing law in effect, Indians need to be informed of their rights and what action to take when there is apparent discrimination. Some landlords still say they have no vacancies when someone with brown or black skin applies.¹²

* * *

I already said Indian families coming in from reservations or other states, they're given inferior housing. I know them --well, I don't know them, they're acquaintances, I've picked them up to take them to work. I've seen their houses. They shouldn't be lived in at all, you know. If they're going to be helped, they ought to be helped, until they really get on their feet, you know, not just put them here, and forget about them, you know.¹³

* * *

Now, these families are large, they're not just two or three in the family. If there was two or three in the family, they could find housing facilities easy. This is a problem. They can't pay one hundred to one hundred twenty-five dollars a month, and that's what they will be asked to pay, plus a deposit. When they have a large family, I know, I've had to put up deposits.¹⁴

* * *

CHAIR: Is there any effort to locate these families as close to their jobs as possible; is this taken into consideration?

MR. BEAMES: Where possible, but, actually, when we've got a family to house, if we can find a decent house at rent they can afford, we're going to nail that house and hope. I say we're going to nail it, they're the ones that decide, but most people in Dallas are commuting;

I say commuting, we drive quite a ways to our jobs, most of us do. Some of the industrial areas are quite a ways from the areas where people live, so most of them have to travel, and some are fortunate to live within walking distance of where they work, but I'm sure these are rare.¹⁵

* * *

MR. WILLIS: I think that if you send an Indian family down here that's fresh off the reservation, I feel like it would be my duty as an officer of this department not to put that Indian right over a beer joint and let him live there. That would be one of my recommendations, that we change this.

CHAIR: The selection and location of the housing of these people?

MR. WILLIS: Right, the housing would have to be more selective. This is not a gripe session, but these are some things that I would like to kick off.¹⁶

In Dallas, a representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs detailed employment assistance housing activity for the committee:

Here are some figures I think you may be interested in. We took our arrivals from the last fiscal year. This would be July 1, 1967 through June 30, 1968. We had 375 single adult and family units arrive for our services that fiscal year; 37% of those came to us from Oklahoma. Of course there are many, many tribes, at least thirty or more tribes in Oklahoma. Arizona was next with 22%; New Mexico had twelve percent; South Dakota, nine; and North Dakota, five; Alaska, 4; Montana, 3. And, these are percentages. Mississippi, 2, and then Minnesota, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, one percent. We did have one individual from Florida and Nebraska. This wasn't even a whole percentage. So, we do have Indian people and Alaskan natives. There are three groups in Alaska, the Indian, the Eskimo, and the Aleut from the Aleutian chain. They come to us from throughout the entire Indian country, but, again, more from Oklahoma than from any other place.

We have found our housing costs for the people we are serving. A family apartment average: seventy-seven dollars per month and a house eighty-one dollars and seventy cents.

This was taken prior to June 30th over a six months' period, January 1 through June 30th of 1968. Public housing, the average was forty dollars per month. During the same period for singles, apartments averaged thirty-four dollars and twenty cents. I should point out generally this was shared with more than one individual in the apartment. The individual's share was thirty-four dollars and twenty cents. Rooms were about forty-two dollars and sixty-two cents, the figure we have here, for rooms for single adults. During the period July 1st to November 30th of 1968, actually the figures are very similar, I don't think there's any point in repeating them... There's not enough difference to be meaningful, but I would like to point out since June, we have not housed anyone in public housing. Elmer Scott housing project, in particular. For many years this was where most of our families that came to Dallas were housed, especially when the wages were low. Quite frankly, those large families were unable to pay the rent it cost in other areas.¹⁷

Finally, several Dallas witnesses referred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs home purchase program:

I'm from FHA, I've been working there less than a year. I did come through employment assistance about like everybody else here. And I've kind of lost contact with BIA. Until just a month ago, I didn't even know they had a housing program for Indians who have relocated. I talked to someone a few days ago and she said they have one thousand dollar down payment, and closing costs that they can help Indians with but there's a limitation of three years on this money. I didn't know this and I'm sure a lot of Indians don't know it. That's all I can tell you as far as FHA.¹⁸

* * *

Well, first I would like to thank you for letting an Indian have his say-so for once. I'd like to touch on this housing business. I'm not very good with my English, but just like I said, I'm going to speak my piece, whether I make a mistake or not. It's all right as long as you all understand me. If I get a little emotional, forgive me, because the Indian is close to my heart. One of the things about housing, I would like to see it more flexible for some

of the Indians that live in West Dallas. They are in a poor neighborhood down there. I talked to one lady the morning after I got your letter, and they have a family of eight boys and live in a little two bedroom house. They cannot qualify for this housing the BIA claims they have for the Indians. That is one of the things I would like to see changed. If an Indian shows he can stand up to his responsibilities, no matter how much he owes or or anything else, and hold a job down given to him by a relocation business, I would like to see housing more flexible to fit his needs.¹⁹

* * *

We have been able to get some exceptions to that three year limitation. Many of the families that come into the area are not ready to buy homes. They're just not solidly enough established here. They're still buying refrigerators and things like this, and they're not ready to go into home purchase. So many of them have been here beyond the three years. We have been able to get exceptions on an individual basis.²⁰

Similar problems of housing shortages, housing discrimination, and over-priced housing were raised in San Francisco and Phoenix:

Urban renewal is normally a program to provide for housing. If you have read the sales pitch, the politician gives you the principal push of urban renewal to try to bring back to the city the middle class white. The politician thinks the economic survival of the city is dependent upon bringing back middle class whites from suburbia. The statistics for low and moderate cost housing has been reduced in quantity in the urban area by the Urban Renewal Program. There is less housing for poor people in American cities than ever before today.²¹

* * *

I was from Phoenix before we came back to retire, so I knew the area pretty easily. But I know a few years back where a member of my family wanted to buy property in a certain area, and he could not because he was an Indian. I am happy to say now, though, that this has been eliminated in this particular area.²²

* * *

But on the housing, if you go to a person and he finds out --you answer an ad in the paper. It says the house is 85, 80 dollars a month, 70, 75 dollars a month. Then you go to the house and it is one hundred ten, one hundred fifteen. And it is an old shack that isn't worth twenty-five dollars a month, and they want a hundred.

That is my problem. Something ought to be done about this. I mean not next year, next week, but right now, because I think there is a lot of problems like that all over this city that people just want to take advantage of everybody. I don't think it is only the Indians' problems, but I think everybody has got this problem on housing.²³

* * *

We also have a problem with housing, and this has been pointed out in the Human Rights Commission... One of our most pressing problems at the present time is the need for adequate housing. Many times we have people come to our center who need a place to stay. These people usually have arrived in town, and are looking for work. The Friendship House at 18th and Steiner Street takes some of these people, but their facilities are limited. The rest, we have to refer to the Salvation Army, or one of the missions. Often, these people are reluctant to go, and this is understandable.

The BIA only provides housing for the people it brings out. The American Indian Center does not have funds to provide housing for any length of time. We have found, when you find a place for a client to stay, that person practically always can find a job once he gets adjusted.²⁴

As in the following comment from Dallas-- only rarely, did a witness suggest that housing quality was influenced by Indian life-styles:

As once a doctor said, the problem with our programs today is that we try to take the people out of the slum areas, but wherever they do, they're going to keep their slums. I think if we take the slums out of people, we then clean up the community and make it a respectable community.²⁵

The testimony at these hearings suggests, then, that housing is a severe and persistent problem for urban Indians today. Some of the dimensions of that problem appear to be the following:

1. Simple discrimination in housing.
2. Shortage of adequate and suitable low-rent housing.
3. Crowding due to large families and extended families.
4. Lack of choice, or flexibility, in housing arrangements, especially in Bureau of Indian Affairs housing programs as well as limitations upon the selection and location of housing.
5. Location of Indian families in substandard and hazardous housing.
6. Absentee ownership of housing, leading to exploitation of Indian tenants.
7. Difficulty in getting basic housing information and lack of understanding of tenants' and landlords' rights and responsibilities.

Information and Communication

Throughout the hearings, it was evident that information and communication needs of urban Indians were critical and often unsatisfied. The establishment of an effective communications network in the city among Indians and between Indians and institutions apparently was a difficult problem.

There were some who viewed the problem as soluble largely through improved functioning of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs should, as a matter of policy, inform all newly arrived Indians of all the existing programs and activities which may enhance his or her stay in the Los Angeles area.²⁶

* * *

Also the Bureau of Indian Affairs should print a monthly newsletter, available to all Indian organizations within the area they serve. Most all organizations I know of besides the -- the reaction or the social organizations-- primarily are set up to take care of the influx of Indians

because we are interested in Indians. The Catholic Indian Club, the Indian Center, the Welcome House, the Acting Group, all of those people are interested in the young Indians coming to town. Not knowing the influx, or where they are living, or how many come in this week, next week; by the time we have reached them, they have moved. Some have gone, some have even gone home. So it is utterly impossible to reach these children and the students that are coming into town. Even the adults that are on vocational training. I think it is necessary for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to print a sheet, some kind of a booklet telling us there are so many students coming in a week so we can make the contact and approach these people, the different religious groups, their affiliations, and whatever.²⁷

* * *

...I feel if we can receive from the government information on how to get in contact with these different agencies, like Family Planning, all these agencies, I think we'll make good adjustment.²⁸

* * *

Local adult education programs should be an instrument sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. New arrivals should be made aware of such a program and refer all newcomers.²⁹

However, as was pointed out in Dallas, not all Indian migrants are known to the BIA:

...Not all the Indian population here in the Dallas-Fort Worth area came through the BIA, and their services are actually restricted only to the people who are relocated through their services, so they really don't have contacts. You heard Brother Bob say that he knew of seven families that came from New Mexico. There's no way in the world the BIA would even know these people are coming in, that they're here, so, actually, I think that the community itself would have the responsibility in notifying them of what services are available because this, you know--every agency is limited to a certain degree. You are offering a service to the community which the taxpayers of the community, people living in the community, are actually

paying for that -- it seems that the city would have some responsibility for getting this information out to the public.

MR. MILLER: If a person had participated in the events of the local community, I think the persons always -- because persons always talk, and I think you're right on that part. Then I think there ought to be a set organization -- there's got to be somewhere people can know what's going on, what's taking place.³⁰

Commonly, it was noted that Indians are unaware of important eligibilities and rights:

I've found that in so many cases the very people that these programs are created for, are the last to know about their availability. I think it's just incredible sometimes...just to make an observation for the record. I would like to see more responsibility by the agency in getting the news out to their potential clients.³¹

* * *

The majority of the Indian people who run afoul of the law are almost totally ignorant of their obligations and rights. A legal program is needed, funded by possibly OEO or an existing agency funded by OEO.³²

* * *

The Indians are not always aware of welfare benefits and requirements. Additionally, caseworkers are rarely able to relate to welfare recipients. A social case worker recruited from the Indian population, hired by the County of Los Angeles, and operating out of the Indian center would more than justify his or her salary.³³

* * *

If they have been here five years, and are still here, they are going to make it.

The first five years is the tough part. It's in this time that we need assistance, instruction in credit buying, in services that are available, some place every Indian who comes here know to go.

That is, if he has a question he knows where to go. If he doesn't know where to ask, he won't ask. I think we find this true in almost anything. If he doesn't know where to ask, he just won't ask. Consequently, we have people probably eligible for health services. They are eligible for Social Security, for everything, but they don't know where to go. They don't know they are eligible, don't know where to ask.

We need some organization, some group, be it ours or be it the government, to help them that first five year period.³⁴

* * *

There is no way in the Phoenix directory, or anyhow that I can state this, because I don't have the money in order to advertise, that I know of places where people can live. But maybe by word of mouth can get this around. But there are places. There are places where you can lease, or you can lease to buy. There's always a way. Don't let anything stop you just because there is an obstacle. Don't let it get you down.³⁵

* * *

...I don't think the folks sometimes realize what is available to them, regardless of whether they come into an urban area from -- directly from an Indian reservation -- you know, this is one of the normally-well, over the years, these folks in an area such as Anadarko have looked for assistance continuously almost, to those Indian agencies, and, gee, you pick them up from this community and slap them down into an urban community. This is, from almost a rural community into an urban community and some of them trying to make it on their own -- if they just had somebody where they could go and ask questions. Many of these folks want to stand on their own feet, but they're a little strange, they're an Indian and somebody makes a comment in connection with this and they have a tendency to withdraw into themselves. It's taken me almost ten to fifteen years to get close enough to these people to have them talk to me and tell me some of their stories and some of their problems. I cherish this relationship.³⁶

There was indication that some representatives of non-Indian agencies who attempted communications contacts with Indian people were frustrated by lack of contact points. A non-Indian representative of the Social Security Administration in Dallas described this difficulty:

Now, there are only about, as well as I can understand, 250 Indian citizens out in the West Dallas area. However, I have not been able to find the touchstone or the center where all the wires converge and someone knows how to pull a string and get aid to someone else. As a matter of fact, I have found among the black citizens in West Dallas the same problem: no centralized organization or no central point where you can pick people out who will really get things done. If I have no other purpose today than to find out who I can talk to so I can get more information out and get in touch with people to whom we might be able to give assistance, then, of course, it would give a great deal of gratification to me.³⁷

In Dallas, where Indian community structure and organization seemed least well developed, some Indians found the hearing itself to be the first really effective communications forum in that city:

I do want to commend you on this excellent meeting for all the Indians. I think I've learned more in the last two days than I've learned in ten years since I've been here. We try through powwow and church organizations and things of this sort, but being a half Choctaw Indian and wanting to help the Indian people, I feel I'm up to a blank wall. At home in our den, we have seven huge boxes of clothes, furniture and luggage -- I was planning to take them back to Oklahoma with no references. I didn't know who to go to, what organizations, and like I said, I've learned more these last two days than I thought possible about the Indians. I think my questions have already been answered through some of the speakers. But I do feel like there is a communication gap, the Indian people, maybe they're poor, without food, but they have the pride and dignity. They won't ask for help, you know, unless you're there, personal contact in letting the people know, whether it's through newspapers -- sometimes they're so poor, maybe they don't have radios, TV's and newspapers and things of this sort. There needs to be a reaching of the people. A lot of them are people here, they're leaders of the Indian community and they're well above average, and

we need to reach the poor people. The BIA is doing an excellent job on jobs and so forth, but after checking them, one or two follow-ups, that's when somebody needs to take over, somebody to help these one-third that are going back to the reservations. We need to find help for these people. How can we help? Any suggestions? We have bankers, during Christmas, we didn't know -- they collected money, clothes, and things of this sort. At that time I didn't know who to send these to, who to go to. I did call the BIA and received a few church suggestions. They weren't allowed to give any family names, so we had to take them back to Oklahoma and the welfare agency gave us the names of Indian families, needy ones, you know. We helped about 31 families that way. But it's lack of communication, I believe. I've found more help these two days -- information, and people -- I feel like we can band together and get something done. That's all I had to say.³⁸

In Minneapolis and Los Angeles, on the other hand, Indian communications needs and capabilities had developed to the point of utilizing television and radio:

We have a real problem in communicating to our own Indian people. Everybody has the idea Indians are apathetic. This is because we've been separated so long. We are finally getting together and beginning to know each other in the last couple of years. We have a couple of television programs helping us. We have one on Channel 2 every Friday, which is the Educational TV channel. We broadcast Indian news, and Indian organizations tell the other people in the community what's going on.³⁹

* * *

Our communications system here is bad. We finally are getting a publication that is being widely circulated. The "little Indian illustrated" is beginning to get wider circulation and be a good house organ for all of us to use to communicate.

Along that line, several members in our club got together and formed a small group that produces, directs, edits and puts on the air, three radio programs a week in the Los Angeles area. One

program is five years old, and the other two programs are over a year old. They deal directly with news of the American Indian, the events that are going on, the dances, the singing -- anything that is going on.

They have Indian music, comments, stories and are quite informative, not only to the Indian but to the community at large. We have quite a wide listening audience. The studio determines this by the mail we receive.

The only thing we need is a wide listening audience that will write letters and ask them to give us a more favorable time on the radio. It is a public service program, and all finances are picked up by the station. A small group of people finance the taping, the equipment, and delivering. If we had a little better time, it would be helpful.

The program begins at 6:30 a.m. Sunday morning and goes through 7:30 a.m. It is rather early for most people.⁴⁰

A Los Angeles witness stressed the ordinary confusion of Indian people over rights and privileges:

The whole life of the American Indian is surrounded by confusion as to what he is or is not entitled to.

I just came from the Morongo Indian Reservation where a person from Morongo and the Pomo Reservation got together and were debating why one person had allotments and one person had assignments, and one could sell land and one couldn't. In other words, they do not know why. The Indian on the reservation does not know what he can do and what he can't do. That's the situation they ran into, as to who was supposed to put water on the reservation. Finally by raising noise, they got the Public Health Service to come in.⁴¹

That statement was challenged by staff member Carmack when he pointed out:

Some of the things you say don't ring exactly right to me. I might give you one or two examples. When you say the average Indian on the reservation does not know what he can or cannot do in regard to the disposition of his property there has probably been more preoccupation on the part of reservation manage-

ment with property than anything under heaven.

Secondly, I don't know where I would find the average Indian on a reservation. That would be like saying the average American of European ancestry. There is nothing that a Navajo would see as average if he visited a Crow reservation, maybe.⁴²

The hearings themselves as communications attempts prompted some cynical comments in San Francisco and the suggestion in Minneapolis that the committee was not succeeding in its attempt to establish a dialogue with Indian citizens in attendance:

ERIC BYRD: The mayor's interest is mayors and governors and presidents all over this country and all over this world. If you're interested in something, a politician isn't interested. Who is here today from the mayor's office? Would you stand up? The mayor is interested in the Indian problem. Who is here from his office? Who did he send out? Surely, he sent someone out.
(no response)

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: It's a wonder he didn't send the tac squad out. (laughter, then followed by applause)⁴³

* * *

Sometimes it seems to me in going to some of these conferences and meetings that there is a lack of communication between the people up front, sitting on the panel, and the people sitting back on the floor. I have heard an Indian person ask a question of the panel and I'm sure they don't have the slightest idea what he is saying, but they answer back, and again I'm sure he doesn't have any idea of what they are saying. They are talking almost in a different language. The panel sometimes is inclined to be technical and the Indian is very down-to-earth. Sometimes I have a feeling neither knows what the other is talking about. So, communication back and forth is a difficult problem.⁴⁴

* * *

It seems like whenever a bunch of people get together like this some official or some person from above a government place or Washington knows what's going on.

You know, everybody has a complaint, and it's a real phony thing to me, because all the people have kind of spoke. I'm sure Mrs. Harris heard it in Los Angeles, things that are so similar. I guess you could say, government officials come to the city, listen to the Indians' problems, and the same old thing happens. They go back to Washington and that's the end of it. I think that's what is happening here today.

I think most of you really know it. You know, Mrs. Harris is here to listen to the problems of the urban Indian. After it's over with you're going to wonder what is going to happen? Is something going to come off or not? The Indian is still hoping. If he keeps on hoping, he's going to die of frustration.⁴⁵

Finally, in Dallas, there was the sober realization that years of controversy about Indian affairs had left their mark upon the style of communication efforts:

...one of the things that would contribute a great deal to success in dealing with Indian problems is a deliberately rational, non-partisan, dispassionate approach to the subject. The bitter and frequently unfounded charges, the emotion and the impatience that has attended discussion of Indian affairs have been a barrier to facing the facts and understanding the real issues.⁴⁶

Thus, it appeared that there were several paramount communications problems and concerns in the minds of Indian people who spoke at the hearings.

1. Increased communications efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were viewed as necessary to aid relocated Indians and, especially, to put Indians in touch with Indian and non-Indian organizations which could be of help.
2. Many Indians were judged to be uninformed about, and unaware of, available assistance and were said to be ignorant of their obligations and rights as urban citizens. New organization and help from Indian agency employees were suggested as remedies.
3. Both Indians seeking help with the problems of living in the city and non-Indian social agency representatives expressed difficulty in establishing effective contact.

4. In Minneapolis and Los Angeles Indian communication needs had led to the utilization of radio and television on a regular basis.
5. Some Indians who attended the hearings regarded that particular communications effort with cynicism, pointing out that nothing could be expected to happen and that important officials were not in attendance.
6. One witness suggested that a new style of communications about Indian affairs was essential to progress in solving Indian problems.

Drinking and Related Problems

There were frequent comments from Indian witnesses about difficulties with drinking and other problems which were linked (in the minds of those who testified) with alcohol. While Indian Americans rightly protest the stereotype drunk Indian in books, movies, newspapers, and casual conversations between non-Indians, it was clear from the Urban Indian Hearings that drinking was regarded by many as a serious problem from Indians in general.

Some general comments from witnesses about Indian adaptation to the city help to delineate the sort of circumstances which may be associated with failure in city living and which may be tied to excessive drinking.

A lot of times these guys are getting discouraged, and they pack up their families and leave. They're back where they started from. The main thing is, they get a real pretty picture what's going to happen when they come to Dallas, L.A., or Cleveland or wherever you send them. It's not like that when they get there. I think that's their problem.⁴⁷

* * *

Huntington Park, Belle Gardens, and East Los Angeles are the areas in this county that have the primary Indian population we have identified. It is in these areas we have asked our workers to speak to the groups and have the Indians identify and refer their friends at times of crisis to the Department.

At present, the problem most germane to this council

is the information and opinions channel from our district representatives, that the Indians' major problems arise from the difficulty of acculturation on arrival into the community from a rural and primitive communal life. In some areas they haven't adapted to this fast pace and isolation of the city. As has already been indicated, there is an awful lot of competition for jobs.

In many respects, we believe the Indian is like a displaced person. Now, we have talked about him as an immigrant. In other instances I think a displaced person is perhaps the same idea.

He is not used to this life at its fast pace and competition, and consequently they have difficulty.⁴⁸

* * *

Most of the Indian people are eager when they leave the reservation, but this incentive, there is no incentive for the Indian to stay off the reservation. There is every incentive to return to the reservation. None to stay off, because his home is there, because his family is there.⁴⁹

* * *

We do everything -- I recently had to learn how to fill out income tax forms, because they didn't ever know to file it. We have to remind them, they have to file it. They just need leadership, someone to tell them what to do. Now, take the family that came in from Alaska. We had to teach her how to shop in a grocery store.⁵⁰

* * *

...The families are large. In order for them to go to school and continue, and keep the children clothed in school, we help out when we can. We can't reach everyone, but we try. Eventually, the mother goes to work to help out and to get out of the housing project. When they go to work, their rent goes up so high they can't meet it. Then they have back rent piled up on them and they're sued. They get depressed. The father goes to Skid Row, maybe he's already been introduced to it. They move out of the housing project, and unless they have a real sound, sturdy job and a good income, they cannot move on up and get a better place and a small family. Usually the large families settle right back

down in the slums. I'd say from Sullivan back into the housing project. There are only three or four landlords. Maybe there's more. I've only run into three or four landlords, who own a bunch of houses and charge anywhere from \$16.50 to \$22.50. You can see through the floors and the walls. They don't have a refrigerator and a stove when they move in and she charges them about ten dollars each for these items. That doesn't leave very much for clothing, food, utilities and anything else they're paying on... Some families have made it and gotten above and some families haven't. They soon get so discouraged they go back home.

We come to the employment end. They've brought in some families and sent them to school. I don't know what kind of grades they made but when they get out of the schools, go back for employment, they get them a job and say, "You work at this until something comes up in that line." They get discouraged before something comes up in that line, and what happens? They pack up their families and go back home to something that doesn't exist anymore. Maybe they were living in a house and it's not there to go back home to. We still hear from these families. Some of them have gone back out on relocation, and some haven't. They're still struggling along.

Then we come to education. Down in West Dallas the schools are crowded. I'm not putting any bad light on the schools, but I'll use my family as an example. When we came, we had twin babies and a six year old starting to school that fall. He had to walk a mile and a half to school. I was scared to death, and I couldn't leave my children to go up to meet him, but he made it all right. For the first year he did all right. Starting in the second year, he started speaking Spanish and we couldn't get him to speak English. We decided to move, that was time to get out, really, push that extra dollar as far as it could go and move. Well, we did. When we got up into Oak Cliff, he could not compete in school. When he was an A student down there, he was not here. We really had to push him and he had a brother starting to school. We told him, "He's going to catch up with you if you don't learn." Young as he was he tried. I'm not the only one that has faced this. A lot of them have this problem and their children soon get to the point where they don't want to attend school regularly... We can sit down at the dinner table and a call will come in and say that so-and-so is here. They didn't come under BIA and so they don't have any groceries, their

children are sick, and one lady has given them a place to live, can you bring them some groceries? Well, I don't know. I can't always take it from my pantry down there. We do have a place where we can go and tell them, "This person needs a little food." Well, they'll get up and leave their home in North Dallas or where-have-you, and come out, and take groceries in. If they need medical care, they'll immediately try to get them to Parkland. You can't always get in Parkland, not if you haven't been here six months.⁵¹

Others who spoke at the hearings were concerned with general problems of motivation, identity and alienation which could be part of the drinking pattern. Some of these persons suggested attitudes and techniques for success in the city:

When somebody, say, this boy from Alaska, leaves the reservation, he is probably one of the more intelligent, is going to leave with high hopes. His friends, his peers in that village are going to look up and say, "Look, there goes old Tim. He's going off and make it big."

When he has to come back, in a period of months, and admit failure in the city, what is this going to do to the rest of the young people toying with the idea of going off and trying to learn some type of trade?

It is going to hold them back. It is going to make them have self doubts, because they looked up to this person. He was more or less a hero for leaving, and then when he has to come back it has a negative feedback.⁵²

* * *

You know, we weren't born like this. I think we were conditioned not to be motivated.⁵³

* * *

At one plant my daughter did not want to identify as an Indian, which was very sad. Later, as she got older, she began to stand up for the Indian people.⁵⁴

* * *

We talk about alienation. We have a funny kind of alienation in the Indian community. It really starts when we

are born on the reservation, because while we are there, we are geared to a lifestyle that is not very comfortable to take along with us into the city. When we get there, we don't know really what do we leave and what do we pick up to develop a healthy personality and to develop some character out here, because we really haven't the kind of discipline and the kind of character built in and the kind of responsibility on the reservation that we need out here.⁵⁵

* * *

I think one thing that we haven't touched upon, and this has a lot to do, in many way of thinking, is the reservation and the concentration there. This think has hampered the Indian people more than I think we realize. I speak of this from my own personal observation, looking at it myself. I think this is the thing that bugs a lot of us.

I look at the self image, the self respect, the personal worth, this kind of thing, and I don't know what it was like before the reservation got here. This is one of the things that has done a lot to harm the Indian person. I think this is the thing we are talking about when we talk about some of the people with their dropout problems. I think this is very evident. I would have to consider this one of the strong points.⁵⁶

* * *

(Regarding the "six-month syndrome") They come into town, become successful, and bang, in six months everything goes to hell, because we haven't got the kind of discipline that is required out here. We have never had the routine of the reservation that you need out here to live with.⁵⁷

* * *

...I have to relate personal experiences. My trail to California wasn't exactly one of intended relocation, because I had received my schooling and occupation training back in South Dakota. However, I followed suit of my sister who deliberately brought her family to Los Angeles. Her reason for that may or may not have any bearing, but I think it might possibly slant our thinking in this direction. She was a graduate of Augustana College, in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and

sought to make her way in the white world. Therefore, when she began to raise a family, she was a little bit reluctant to have them raised in South Dakota, in the urban areas, because everybody knew an Indian. Even though there was no discourtesy intended, we still stood out. Therefore she brought them all the way to Los Angeles, so they could be raised among the other ethnic races. It used to be that in the high school in Norwalk my youngest nephew, Jerry, used to refer to himself as Mexican, because no teacher had ever taken enough interest in him to ask his ethnic origin. Rather than explaining he was Indian, and very proud of it, he went along with the other Spanish speaking children there. He regarded himself as Spanish-American, to the point he actually wrote that down. After his teacher, a very sympathetic one, realized what he was doing, she pointed out to the mother that the child had nothing to be ashamed of...⁵⁸

* * *

The way I have found to adjust to living in a big city like this -- in what you call urban living -- is not to go in there feeling afraid to speak, but to go in there and ask for information, because if you ask you will receive some answer. Whether it is right or wrong you will get it. Don't go in with a negative approach. Go in with a positive approach thinking to get something out of it, not to have people wait on you.⁵⁹

* * *

Since coming to Phoenix I have married out of my tribe, which I believe is good also. He is Yugoslav. Understand, I don't claim my little girl is Indian. We don't say she is Yugoslav. In fact, I have decided to start a new nation of my own, either Yugoho or Navaslav.⁶⁰

* * *

We are an older group -- there's a lot of us mothers here, that have stayed, have made an effort, and have managed to make ends meet. For myself, I think we've done real well. Like I say, I can speak for a lot of mothers.⁶¹

The preceding observations suggest some of the adjustment patterns, self-concepts, and attitudes which might be compatible with drinking to excess,

as well as some adaptive efforts which some Indians felt were successful. There were witnesses at the hearings who saw adjustment difficulties as being directly associated with drinking, as the following quotations indicate:

I have a family here that was brought to me five years ago. The father was from Weleetka, Oklahoma and the mother was from Potaau, little areas wide apart up there in Oklahoma. The children were brought here under the family relocation service. The father and mother separated, and the children were sent back to Oklahoma. Then when the daddy came back and said, "Well, I'm ready to try to do something for my kids," even though he was relocated here under that type of service, nobody would help him out. The last I heard of this boy, he gave up in disgust and he was on the road to becoming an alcoholic. His children were up in Oklahoma.⁶²

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A lot of times, a man with a family or maybe a single man is really enthused by getting over here to get that good job, that nice car, and nice clothes to wear, and a good home to live in. Well, when he gets over here, he finds it different, you know. So what does he do? He goes to have a few drinks and before you know it, he's in worse condition than he was back home. He's better off back on the reservation.⁶³

* * *

We have, like I say, many people that are frustrated and can't find jobs. Consequently, alcoholism is a problem. It stems largely through some of the frustrations. Some of the problems are that people are not aware of the facilities available to them, and this is primarily why our center has the referral program. We do have a local health center that deals with some of the Indians that come to our center, and I'm sure you can get information from them.

We have an Indian girl working there, and taking one of their local courses a dental program. We have another file clerk. We've been trying to work toward getting Indian personnel in various poverty programs, so they can help orient or keep us informed of the various programs available in the community.⁶⁴

* * *

I work for the Department of Social Services, and I work in the General Assistance Program. We deal mainly with single adults. We have a number of American Indians who are in need of public assistance in our office. Our major problem with the single adult is alcoholism.⁶⁵

* * *

The most tragic thing that exists in Los Angeles today and probably all throughout the United States is the alcoholic problem. It is in this area that there is a tremendous problem, the hardship that extends from alcohol to the family, the results, the loss of jobs, the broken home, the eviction, and finally back home. It has taken millions to indicate that it is the lack of complete vocational training, the feeling of inadequacy among the working men and the employer, this is a frustration. I think this exists because of the lack of training -- not the lack of training, I think the training up to a point is good, but I think it should be further. I think that rather to be a trainee, a man should go out on a job as a full-aledged journeyman. This would eliminate any frustration with working men because then he could carry the load. I have been told many times, "This boy can't carry it because he can't carry his end of the work." Then the boy is let out or probably doesn't have a job.⁶⁶

* * *

Because of not being properly orientated to urban living, Indians directly from the reservation often find it very hard to adjust to the city way of life. Frustration and depression usually set in after finding out that people and things are not like back home, combined with the fact that they are unable to find employment because of lack of education and training. Many have not finished high school.

After about a month or two of trying to find work, many turn to drinking. This type of escape from reality only leads them deeper into the depths of despair. The majority only need a helping hand,

and then they get back up and try again. We try to reach these people. They most always will straighten up, once they find there's someone who wants to help them.⁶⁷

* * *

...The basic problem is a man come to San Francisco. Usually he'll come to a family, to a job, to something he felt was here. He may not have it a month later or two months later, or a year later. He may have come here thinking there are jobs, and there aren't any. He doesn't come here to get in trouble, he comes here to function, and without any help... It's difficult for someone who knows how to wheel and deal to do it.

I spent five months in this town with a Master's degree trying to find a job. To come to this town with little education, afraid of institutions, not knowing how you would be accepted, and to suddenly find yourself thrown into this town with nothing, alcohol becomes a retreat and it can happen very easily.⁶⁸

* * *

While the actual number of Indians who at one time or another become in need of public assistance in California is difficult to establish, their vulnerability to it is easily identified. Typically, they are unfamiliar with city existence; the daily living patterns of such simple matters as transportation, shopping and related service are alien to them and their cultural differences mark them as strangers to the city.

These adjustment difficulties continue even after securing employment. They find it difficult to make friends and to communicate with their fellow workers and neighbors; that the cost of living in the city is far higher than they expected; that budgeting their new wages is a constant confusion; that they are easy prey to unscrupulous merchants; and that often the only base where they maintain contact with other Indians is a tavern where they can commiserate on getting drunk. This "bar-room society" is destructive to the individual and his family but seems to be the only outlet for many.⁶⁹

* * *

Now nutrition goes hand in hand with alcoholism, a severe problem we have at the American Indian Center. The Friendship House has a program to try to help alcoholics back to a way of living. They provide them with a place to live, and help them find decent employment.⁷⁰

* * *

About four years ago, we attempted to work with AA in conjunction with our Indian alcoholism problems. We found they did not understand the Indian; his problem is unique.

According to a psychiatrist that I worked with one time during a survey on Indian alcoholism, he did not classify the Indian as a true alcohol; it's only psychologically that he needs it, and the Indian doesn't have the problem of quitting drinking like the whiteman does. If he is given a little help, he is able to quit on his own, but he must have his own people around him, because they are the ones that understand his problem; have sympathy for him, and they do not feel he has degraded himself or his people because he has slipped into alcoholism. He still remains what is to us a tribesman, or another American Indian. And this they did not understand.

We started out with a group of about twelve. Within two months' time, they had filtered down to nothing. Therefore, we disbanded that portion of it, but we have not given up on the alcohol program.⁷¹

* * *

I would like to say, to express my own opinion, I feel very strongly that alcohol in itself is not the problem, it is an emotional problem. It's the symptom of the lack of social acceptance, not being able to adjust, that alcohol itself, Indians are not different particularly on consumption than anybody else. It's the fact they are trying to tell you or tell the community, they have problems. Liquor doesn't affect an Indian any differently than it does anyone else. He is also trying to reach out to say he has problems and he resorts to alcohol as a symptom of his problem and not the problem itself. At least, this is my opinion. I feel very strongly about it; I think what we're saying is we all recognize alcohol as one of the biggest problems the Indian has. What we should be saying, with the Indian, there are other basic

problems, and this is a symptom of a problem. If he were accepted socially, economically, or fully into the community, I don't think alcohol would be a problem as such. ...I think you will find some of your brightest people will sometimes turn to alcohol because they can't find outlets in other areas...We should look to the root causes of why people turn to alcohol as an outlet for their emotional well-being. I'm sitting here preaching, I'm sorry. I didn't mean to, but it is a stereotype that Indians get branded with, "the drunk, lazy Indian." Now, again, I'm saying this, not because you're the witness, I'm really saying this for the record, that is a terrible stereotype Indian people have to overcome. There is truth to the fact that alcohol is a problem, but, again, when you get hung-up on just the alcohol end of it, and don't get to the root cause, we lost the whole effect of what we're trying to do.⁷²

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MRS. HARRIS: May I ask, is your agency trying to reach these people before they become alcoholics? I have a very strong opinion that alcohol as a problem as a source, I mean, it's a reaction to a larger problem. Are you working on the other end of the problem?

MR. KLEIN: Unfortunately, the Department only sees a person when they have applied for aid. When they have applied for aid, it's been at a point where they can no longer function outside. At that point, they're in trouble.⁷³

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MARY ANN GREY CLOUD: I'm Mary Ann Grey Cloud. I'm a nurse and I work here in San Francisco.

Going back to the discussion about drinking. There are many articles published in medical journals from authoritative sources, where there have been fairly good studies done regarding drinking problems among some of the American Indians. I'm afraid from my own personal experience, my own experimentation with alcohol, and the number of alcoholics within my own family, I have to agree that there is possibly something within the body chemistry of some Indians that does not tolerate alcohol well. Just as there are many people who do not tolerate certain medications, certain drugs, there may very possibly be something within the body

chemistry of some Indians that does not tolerate alcohol. Probably there are Indians who can and do tolerate alcohol as well as anybody else, but from the number of alcoholics I know personally, and within my immediate family --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: The emotional experience they have, isn't that a factor that would have to be considered rather than the body chemistry?

MISS GREY CLOUD: Yes, of course, that very possibly is a great part of it. Some of this has been taken into consideration in some of the studies, but they are people from comparative sociological groups.

I'm not saying all Indians -- I say I cannot tolerate alcohol personally, just as I don't tolerate barbiturates, and certain other things. I can say this from the alcoholics within my own family. They do not tolerate alcohol, the way our next-door neighbor can tolerate alcohol.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Because they don't have the same emotional problems, though.

MISS GREY CLOUD: There are many studies in the literature.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: What exactly do you base your studies on?

MISS GREY CLOUD: I haven't done the studies myself. You know, I've read them in the literature.

MARY LEE JUSTICE: It's easy to come out with a conclusion that it's the body chemistry rather than the social situation he is raised in. If he blames the body chemistry he doesn't have to change the social situation the Indian was raised in.

MISS GREY CLOUD: Well, I'd just like to introduce this as a possible factor to be considered. That's all I really want to do, and I hope I don't alienate a lot of people by saying so.⁷⁴

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They are, like I say, physically wrecked. They have given up hope; they have thrown their arms up and said, "What's the use?" So the next thing that comes to their mind is another drink, to drink themselves into oblivion, completely

unaware of what they can do for themselves.

These people can be helped. I feel that anyone who is still breathing is salvageable. But that's not the way some of the people think. They think that as long as they close their eyes, shut their eyes, that when a person leaves and goes around the corner, the problem is solved. That isn't so. That person is going someplace else, to be a burden to somebody else.

We have received calls from a group of Indians who have no place to go. They have lived and stayed in the park as a group; they have obtained wine or drugs, whatever it might be; have had a great big Indian dance, making a lot of noise. As a result, neighbors called the Indian organization first, because they don't want to see them go to jail.

But what can we do? Absolutely nothing. There is no resource at all that we can refer them to.⁷⁵

* * *

There's only one thing I stand up for in my boarding house. I'm licensed, I have signs all over the house, the first rule -- I have house rules, you know. You can't run anything without rules.

The first rule in my house is, no drinking allowed on these premises. That means what it says. That gets a boy out of the boarding house fast, if he drinks in my house. I'm married to a full-blood Pueblo Indian and I'm half Choctaw. I know Indians, born and raised-- my grandfather was a Cherokee. I was born in eastern Oklahoma, raised there, and never left there, until I was sixteen years old. If I don't know Indians, well, nobody knows them. I love them because you have to love them to know them. If you live with them, you've got to know them, see, if you live with them, you're going to know them. You will know all their ways. I know the boys are going to drink, but I said, "Boys, what you do outside of this house is your business, but what you do in my house, that's my business."⁷⁶

* * *

Another thing about the Indian people, too, it just seems that they haven't been concentrated in one area. I mean, they are spread out all over the city, the whole Bay Area,

and they come to one place that has been, you know, like an established group. If they know there's a dance or whatever, they come, because there's no place else to go. They go to a bar and drink with the white people, and what do they get? They get drunk; and if anything starts, they get a little belligerent because the white guy walks in and says he's no good.

It's his color. It happens to all the people; not only the Indian people.⁷⁷

In Los Angeles, two attorneys -- both of whom had represented Indians -- referred to Indian alcoholism and the law:

...another problem that we have found is where many of the Indians are in difficulty, alcoholism is involved. The courts are at a loss as to what to do to help an Indian who consistently gets arrested. Alcoholics Anonymous at present is not an answer. I feel perhaps it would be best if there were some research, funded through one of the local universities on the problems of alcoholism and its treatment in the American Indian community.

Many of the youth begin to get in trouble with drinking, get arrested, and that is where the merry-go-round starts.⁷⁸

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I would say 99 and possibly some fraction of a percent of the violators violate the law because of alcoholism. We find most of the kids that are rapped in robbery, burglary, grand theft auto, are there because they have done something while intoxicated. Something they would not ordinarily do, steal someone's car, break into a house, etc. There is another problem, I think present tonight. Alcoholism would probably be solved somewhere in the field of education, job opportunities and/or recreation. However, without going into that area, I would like to bring forward to this Commission that there is such a problem. Without alcoholism, we would probably eliminate better than 90% of all the criminal problems in the city of Los Angeles.⁷⁹

In San Francisco, there was talk of self-help programs for urban Indians with drinking problems, and there was the suggestion that institutions attempting to help Indian alcoholics should treat them as an ethnic group:

There is precedent for dealing with alcoholic problems on the basis of ethnic background. Mendocino State Hospital now has a group of American Indians, I understand. It was on the basis of this precedent that the argument was put forth that problems specific to the American Indian should be dealt with on an ethnic basis. I have been attempting to coordinate some of the facilities available to American Indians... We have some places that deal with alcoholic problems which are religiously oriented. I find many of the men I have referred to these places feel terribly restricted within this religious orientation. 80

* * *

Alcohol, as you know, is one of our main problems. Last year we asked the Bureau Of Indian Affairs to set up an alcohol program. They said no. We wanted to set one up for Indians because there are between 8 and 10 thousand Indians right here in the Bay Area, and they estimate there are about 1200 Indian alcoholics, and you go to the alcohol program here in San Francisco and Oakland, and they don't put you in a home.

Oh, they put you in for two weeks, two lousy weeks. In two weeks you don't dry out thoroughly. Then they shove them right out into the streets again. Not into a vocational training course, or into a school where you could learn a trade; they shove you right out on the streets again.

Where are you going to go? You still don't have any place to stay. You're unemployed. You wind up right back where you were before. So we applied for an alcohol program to the Bureau and they turned us down.

We then went to the poverty program and submitted the program for an alcohol clinic, and they turned us down. 81

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...as soon as a program in the field of alcoholism is developed in the Bay Area, I would like to go back down and work with the people from the gutter on up. Because

most of the people who come to us, come straight from the gutter; no job, no means of income of anything.

You might picture yourself across from a person who has come to you because he or she is down and out and you are sympathetic... You try to think of every means that you might use to help him, but where else can you turn to? He has been rejected, usually, from all other agencies and naturally, being an Indian, the only place he can turn to will be the Indian organizations.

We usually call other agencies, but the person has been there so many times that they don't want him there any more. Now, at that point, it is very frustrating, both for the counselor -- myself -- and the individual that is sitting there waiting to be helped.

So the reason why I like to come up here this morning and emphasize more in the way of services to the Indian people - the project that I have in mind that should have immediate attention is the program in the field of alcoholism, in the way of an "all purpose house," whether it be called a "recovery house," "halfway house," or "living center."

No matter what you call it, we need it right away, because people whom we have counseled, we have to refer them to some place temporarily while they straighten themselves out, mentally, physically, spiritually and morally.

Now, these people have come from all walks of life, from all areas. Some people have already been here; have lost their job, but they usually are out of money, cannot go back to the reservation. They have been to the Traveler's Aid, but their reason is not good enough to provide transportation back to their reservations. Indian organizations aren't in a position to help them with transportation back to the reservation. Other agencies are unable to help them. So their person has come back to the Indian organization because of being an Indian.⁸²

Not all the witnesses who commented about Indian drinking thought it should be considered a "problem". In Minneapolis an Indian man noted:

People ask me, "Well, what about Indians and their drinking problem?" I say, Indians just don't have a

drinking problem. It's a blessing. It turns them off, you know. If it wasn't for alcohol, Indians wouldn't have an out. We would have such a fantastic suicide rate, that it would be unbelievable. In effect, it's an outlet. So alcohol, in itself, is merely a manifestation of an inner turmoil. That's the way it goes.⁸³

That comment cause the following retort from another Minneapolis Indian witness:

I lost a good job in the labor movement because I couldn't handle whiskey. I have been on the wagon for twenty years and I hope to keep the wheel straight and stay on it.

I don't believe any Indian drinks whiskey to cover up, to go into a trance and forget the rest of the world. I think it's an easy way to build up your spirits, and have fun. I know a lot of Indians in the city of Minneapolis who are now on the wagon who were real soaks. We used in this group to help our Indians along this line, too. I don't think we should go around saying it's a relief to our Indians to go out and get stiff.⁸⁴

And in San Francisco, and Indian woman twice pointed out the social advantages of drinking to Chairman Harris:

I'm going to defend 16th Street. My goodness, every time you have a meeting like this everybody knocks 16th Street down.

Do you know that's the only place you can go and find your relatives when they come out of BIA, because BIA won't give you their names?

It's the only place you can go and be with other Indians, if you live in an area where there'e all white people. It's like a social gathering place. But the thing there is, when a fight starts there should be someone there with the okay of the police department -- instead of having their policemen going down there and beating the kids up, they should have Indian guys go down there, just regular, like these guys, to keep things from getting out of control, because that's a social gathering place.

You know, we don't have no place to go.⁸⁵

* * *

MISS JUSTICE: You'll notice in all of your urban places that you go to -- I've been to Cleveland and Chicago, and you find the same thing, you have your Indian bars, so instead of trying to change the environment and everything, it's at least a place where you can go to see other Indians.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: We have it in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau people go down there.

MISS JUSTICE: So all this about environment, you're just talking at the drinking, you're not looking at the socializing that goes on, even though they fight.⁸⁶

Finally, in Los Angeles, an Indian minister, throughout his testimony, stressed the positive impact of religion, work, self-confidence, and aggressiveness for Indians with drinking problems:

When we started our work nobody mentioned the Indian revival center, but it has been here fourteen years. It has grown to be the largest Indian group in the Los Angeles area that gathers every Saturday, every Sunday. They come from all over the area, from Glendale, Long Beach, Englewood, Hawthorn.

We have seen a transformation of these Indian people's lives. Consequently, because of the change of life, their change of drink, we have some that are here tonight who, after they have taken Christ as their saviour and begin to live a different life, they have gone to the factories and they have become foremen, they have become instructors on welding schools. They have become -- climbed right up the ladder, but it was when they beat that battle of alcoholism.⁸⁷

* * *

...I have found that, traveling across the United States, the problem at Gallup, New Mexico, the problem on the Sioux reservation, the problem among the Crees, and Crows, and all others, the biggest problem is that they get off the alcohol and realize they are able to do anything anybody else is able to do; they can do it.⁸⁸

* * *

If they meet the requirements there is nothing they can't get in this city. If they meet the requirements going to night school -- we have got several that went to night school for auto mechanics on their own. We have got several that went over to further their education and get their high school diploma.

We have got some that went into this electronics and took night school and studied electronics and are now working in electronic factories. On jobs we have had nothing but open arms.

Even alcoholics that we would bring from the court, we would contact factories and say, "We got an alcoholic." A boy who had been a drinker, and I don't know how successful he would be. He might work until he got his first paycheck, and none out of ten of them did, which I am sorry to say but they did, and back to alcoholism they were. What the answer is, if I knew that would solve the average Indian's problems in the urban area. When the Indian gets aggressive and gets with it he is able to do anything.⁸⁹

Thus, testimony heard at the Urban Indian Hearings had several implications regarding Indian drinking patterns:

1. Most who commented about Indians and their drinking regarded the practice as a serious problem. Very few indicated in these public hearings that Indian drinking was desirable or advantageous.
2. Often, adjustment problems were cited as difficulties leading to the failure of Indians in the city, and these included disillusionment with city life; competition and the fast pace of life; the lack of strong incentives to remain in the city; inadequate instruction in city life; and the combination of large family with poor housing, inadequate job and school problems. Some witnesses spoke of Indian "characteristics" leading to failure in city life, and these were principally matters of motivation, identity and alienation.
3. Difficulties which were specifically linked by witnesses to drinking included family breakdown, disillusionment with the city, unemployment, lack of awareness of city services and facilities, inadequate education and/or vocational training, fear of institutions, alien daily living patterns, communications difficulties, unfair treatment by unscrupulous merchants, inadequate alternative outlets for emotional well-being, lack of institutional programs of alcohol prevention, the indifference of society to the Indian alcoholic's problems,

and simple discrimination. Attorneys pointed out that trouble with the law for Indians often seems to begin with drinking.

4. Self-help programs for Indians with drinking problems were urged as well as the institutional treatment of Indian alcoholics as a distinct ethnic group. Special suggestions for the Indian with a drinking problem included religion, self-confidence, and aggressiveness.

Health and Medical Care

A recurring difficulty with city life, according to some who appeared before the committee, was access to adequate medical care. It was apparent that some Indian people, who were accustomed to special Indian health services in rural and reservation areas, found it hard to utilize urban health care facilities geared to serve many populations. Others found urban medical care to be inaccessible or too costly. But the need and desire for proper health care were quite evident, as the following testimony indicates:

THE CHAIRMAN: In your opinion, what are the health problems of junior high school children that you work with?

MR. BOB CARR: There are all kinds of health problems, dental problems, visual problems, and hearing problems. It's amazing what you do find. The sad part of it is we never seem to have the time, or take the time, once we find out what the health problems are, to follow through to make sure they get the services. There are problems of stuttering. Now here we say, "Well, gee, that's too bad that he stutters like he does." But what do we do about it?⁹⁰

* * *

The one thing we have a lot of in Oregon, I've talked with a lot of people there, especially the older people. They have continuous need of medicine, and have difficulty in getting aid through any organization, during long illnesses, because a lot of them don't have good insurance.⁹¹

* * *

You know, a lot of us came here not through the government, we came a long time ago. I've been here since about '48, and there's quite a few Indians in Fort Worth that came the same way. I was wondering if there was

some way they could get hospitalization through the government. You know, some of these people don't make enough to pay for hospitalization, it's so high, and now they don't make enough to have it taken out of their salary. Some of them have quite a few children and other expenses. Is there any program at all set up to help people who are away from, say Lawton, Oklahoma, and places like that where it's too far for them to go back for any hospitalization?⁹²

* * *

...I deal with Indian children. Most Indian children I deal with have a health problem. We try to take programs such as basketball, Little League baseball, softball, for both boys and girls. We run into the problem that most of the kids need glasses, some of them have teeth that are bad, and we just don't have the kind of money to put out for these children.⁹³

* * *

We need medical attention and medical assistance. People have long illnesses,; diabetics who need constant medication. This assistance has to continue, not only for one year after they leave the reservation. It has to last all the way through, at least until the person is self-sufficient.⁹⁴

* * *

So I know today that most of you who are not terminated, if there is illness in the family and you need help, that you can go to the Indian hospital here in town but those who are terminated will have to go elsewhere.

So I call up people on the telephone, or I don't call them. They call today for information, mostly arthritics, and they want to know where they can go to a clinic. So I tell them there is one at St. Joe's Hospital, and there is one at Maricopa County Hospital. You can go there, but it must be a referral from your doctor. You will pay according to your means, according to your income.⁹⁵

* * *

The health situation is not good. I know of one case where the lady was real ill and she went to the hospital

and the first thing they asked her was, "Do you have the money?" Well, she had ways of getting it the next day, but she needed medical attention that night and she didn't get it. I know that most children tend to get sick at night when the doctor's office is not open. I took my grandbaby once and the nurse at the station told me, "Well, you should have brought her during the doctor's office hours," but the baby doesn't know that you don't get sick when the doctor's office is closed. So, I'd like to see that, you know, and with everything that goes with it, the dental and eye care.⁹⁶

* * *

[Regarding Public Health medical cards entitling the Indians to medical services] I'm a doctor in Oakland. I've been involved with the Indians in Oakland now for about three or four or five years...

We have handled Indians with all these cards in the office, and I'm going to give you exactly what occurs in the office or in the drugstore with all of these cards.

Now, the BIA allows a doctor half of the ordinary fee. Then I have to give the patient a receipt for half of my fee, if he is able to afford one-half of my fee... Then I order him over to the drugstore, for, ordinarily, pills, cough syrup, antibiotics, high blood pressure pills, pain pills, etc. He has to pay half of that fee over at the drugstore. He isn't able to afford half of that fee.

Further, he has to expend carfare on the bus in order to go back to the BIA in order to get his half all back to him.

The ordinary Indian receives from the BIA, for himself and a wife and three children, approximately \$278 a month, of which he is going to have to pay \$110 for a slum area apartment. Out of all of the rest if it, he needs the needs of food, health -- what else is there?

The ordinary Indian is not able to obtain the care he needs for his health, for himself or his wife or his kids. Ergo, we establish in the office a plan. If any Indian in our area is sick, he knows he will be able to come to me, and he will get everything that I know, all of his pills, all medications, all the antibiotics, all the cough syrups, etc., free of charge.⁹⁷

* * *

...I, as the mother and head of a family, have problems where I'm employed and I have insurance, hospital insurance. I have five children in the home and especially over this flu period, it has been quite costly, because they haven't been sick enough to go into the hospital where the insurance can pick this up. Yet, I cannot afford to take off from my job and run them back to the Indian hospital at home. This is one thing, one child alone averaged \$17 dollars for the first visit and the first visit had to be cash per child and the prescriptions, and whatever they had to have. With five children that runs into money and I don't make that kind of money. Another thing is this contracting doctors. Is there any way this could be brought down here for us? I know it's carried out elsewhere. I'm not eligible because of my salary for free care, and yet I don't make that much money, really, to cover these expenses. Another thing, Baylor is wonderful, and they will take you in and your children and we have been here long enough to where my children do need dental care, and yet I cannot run them home for free dental care. I cannot sit at Baylor for hours waiting for our appointment, for them to call us for our appointment. I'd have to take one child through the whole program at a time in order to fit them, in with my one day off per week. Something should be done, I mean, surely something can be done. Another thing, the doctors or wherever you may need medical care for the children, prefer that the mother be with the children. I can speak for a lot of mothers on this point, because we have discussed it many times. We faced it, had to, and where only the mothers can take in the child. Now, that's something, there should be a way out of that. We do need dental care and I'm not the only mother that has faced this problem. We've been here long enough, we've been here since 1963, and we did have dental care before we came here. That was arranged through our agency, Mr. Beames, head of the Anadarko agency when we left from there. We did have dental care -- we probably needed mental, but we did have dental.⁹⁸

* * *

CHAIR: To my knowledge there are no health services available, other than through your county state health office. I think that you really need to know more about health services. One of the biggest questions asked has been concerning the lack of financing for health services to Indians in urban areas. There are no Federal funds specifically for this program. This is one of the reasons we are here, to find out what kind of services are needed or are not available. And your opinion, you feel that health services are needed by the low-income Indian families in this area. Is that what you mean?

MR. TAHMAHKERA: Yes, because in the city county hospitals, you go there and sometimes have a five or six hour wait. If you're very sick --. I thought if there was some special doctor to go to through the government, it would be a big benefit for them to get this health service. There's a lot of Indians that came here on their own. It looks like there would be some way that we could try to help them through health benefits. Also on their housing, you know they can't save enough to make a down payment on a home. If they let them rent a house for so long and have this for a down payment, it would be a big benefit to them. They would feel like they were working for something instead of just spending their money out of their pockets every month and not getting anything out of it.⁹⁹

Some of those who appeared before the Committee revealed resentments about the quality of medical care provided especially for Indians. Testimony from two San Francisco witnesses indicates the nature of these feelings:

We buried my seventeen year-old cousin in January because an HEW doctor put a cast on a gunshot wound. Seventeen years old and he died of an infection. In this day and age, you do not die from infections any more. He was seventeen years old, and when we tried to sue that doctor for malpractice they told us we couldn't. HEW protects their doctors from the Indian people. They slaughter us. They protect them... Indian people are being killed, slaughtered, in those hospitals. You've all had relatives who died in them.¹⁰⁰

* * *

I went back on the reservation two weeks ago. I traveled from one end of the reservation to the other. This is the Navajo reservation, and one of the biggest ones. I went into Tuba City hospital, and there was a big sign, "Accreditation, 1968, Public Health Service for Service Rendered." Yet, I see about thirteen Navajo Indians sitting there. I sat there for one hour, and I talked to each one of them, and you can't even find a doctor in the hospital.. I went behind the curtains there. I see some patients sitting there. They're in pain. Yet, they have this big accreditation. This was Saturday afternoon. Everybody was in Flagstaff or Winslow. It's about fifty or sixty miles away. This is the the kind of thing the Public Health Service has brought to us.¹⁰¹

Perhaps because of such reputed inadequacies in medical care or because of inter-cultural difficulties, there were indications that Indians are sometimes reluctant to use medical facilities. One Indian woman in Phoenix had this to say:

Indians are a little bit apprehensive about coming to our hospital because they are a little bit afraid of the treatment, the care. They know the conditions are well worn.¹⁰²

* * *

And then our patients, and I am sure that any Indian here would back me in saying that an Indian does not go to the hospital unless they're really sick. Half of the time they are dying before they come.¹⁰³

Finally, a recently-retired Indian physician had words of encouragement for Indian young people with professional aspirations:

I'm Dr. Tom White Cloud, Chippewa. I have correspondence from Washington, and they're looking for medical students. And I can assure you that the profession is looking for raw meat to run through their grinder, and if you think you're man enough, why, take a shot at it. There's no reason why an Indian can't go on through medicine. There are a number of Indian doctors, and most of them have gone through on their own. But the Indian Service was kind enough to loan me some money, an Indian

group in Massachusetts loaned me some money, and I got through, and I have a son who is a physician, and I brought him through on my own.

But the profession is looking for people to go into medicine. It doesn't make any difference what color he is, a doctor is a doctor, and the public will accept you as a physician on your own merits. If you're a poor physician, that will change it. But they're not going to not go to you simply because you're white, black, pink, purple, or whatever, as long as you know what you're doing.

I have just retired, and I have never had any prejudice as far as being an Indian. Now, I have been a bastard many a time, but no one has ever called me an old Indian bastard.¹⁰⁴

In sum, then, health and medical care were matters of much concern to city Indians who spoke before the Committee. Various witnesses commented about numerous health problems, including:

1. Inadequate means for follow-up of treatment of the health problems of Indian high school students.
2. Poor medical care for older Indian citizens, who seldom have health care insurance.
3. Lack of federal medical services for urban Indians, many of whom cannot afford health insurance.
4. Dental and vision problems of Indian children in recreation programs with no resources for correction.
5. Need for a longer period of medical care for "relocated" Indian families.
6. Insufficient hospital facilities for poor Indian families in the city and inadequate BIA medical "cards".
7. Cynicism and despair about the reputed low quality of health care in reservation Indian hospitals.
8. Reluctance of some Indians to seek medical care.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs

Inevitably, the Bureau of Indian Affairs received much attention from Indian people at the urban hearings. The full range of ambivalent feelings - from rage directed toward this symbol of white colonialism to fears that Bureau support might be lost through termination -- were expressed. An observer could wonder if an institution so linked with enculturated attitudes of hostility, distrust and dependence could appreciably improve its performance.

There were some who expressed attitudes of general hostility to the Bureau, while others were concerned about the "stigma" of the BIA, as the following excerpts show:

The Bureau controls telling people what's going to happen to them, what are their rights. In California, they were terminating people just as fast as they could terminate them, and they never told them what termination was about and what the consequences were. It wasn't until we came along and published a booklet about termination that the Indians had really any substantial idea of what it was all about.¹⁰⁵

* * *

I think Mr. Walters pointed out a very big problem of relocation. In fact, I go beyond that and question the whole assistance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Up until the last Commissioner the Bureau was not run by Indians, and still it does not meet the Indian needs. I am sure you are aware that is probably the most dirty word you can use on any rural reservation. The Indian leaders have had to work with the BIA and they haven't done anything about their problems. The people are certainly fed up with it. Even if the BIA could not be put out of existence, we question the existence of it under the Department of the Interior. It seems pretty irrelevant when the Department of the Interior deals with wild life, and that is certainly the attitude they have taken in many cases.¹⁰⁶

* * *

Personally, I feel we are going to inevitably come to a minimum guaranteed annual wage. This is the only choice for America, I think, and it has many, many good payoffs. One of them, of course -- and I apologize to the gentleman who spoke earlier -- is to get rid of the wardens, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the various social welfare agencies who manage, spy upon, and take care of their so-called clients. It seems to me this kind of dependency relationship is unhealthy. The only way to get rid of it is the guaranteed minimum wage. I think that is what we've got to come to.¹⁰⁷

* * *

[Regarding expenditures of BIA funds] I'll venture to say that 95% of it is going into the bureaucrats' hands, and into the merchants, in the vicinity of the reservation. It is not going into the economy of the Indian population on the reservation.¹⁰⁸

* * *

...I'd kind of like to get the stigma of BIA off my back. For instance, I went to Parkland Hospital. My husband carries enough insurance for me, but we have a son who is twenty-three years old and he's going to cosmetology school. He didn't have money to see a doctor. Well, they said you just couldn't come in and see a doctor. When we got there, the first thing they said was "Why don't you go ask the BIA?" Everywhere I go this is what comes up. I would like for it to be advertised that the BIA doesn't help all the Indians. We are just as qualified as non-whites to accept services when we need it, not to just stand there for a hand-out. I would like for it to be known that not every Indian gets BIA assistance.¹⁰⁹

* * *

If you are an Indian, people think you can receive all the services from BIA... As a citizen, you should receive the services from that institution, anyway. This is a very hard thing to get across to non-Indians sometimes and, particularly, to institutions that ought to know better. Of course, this is one of the reasons we're having hearings like this, because the BIA does not have the facilities here. You are citizens of this

community and the community has a responsibility and are getting Federal funds for services. This should be understood, you should not be referred to the BIA. You are a citizen of this community, this state and to the BIA. You are a citizen of this community, this state and nation, you are not owned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. You don't belong solely to them, you are a citizen. This is a very, very hard problem, and hopefully, by these hearings we're awakening communities and other Federal agencies to this fact. I know your frustration, I've experienced the same thing myself. I have heard this same kind of thing said many, many times. This is one of the reasons I took this particular task. I think we must dramatize it to the extent that people really realize you are a citizen of this town. This is where the responsibility is in this state and you are, of course, first of all, a citizen of the United States. We have to break down this concept of the "Bureau" Indian, and it's the hardest thing to do. It's a re-education program. You know, it's not the Indians' problem, it's the community's problem, they lack knowledge on these specific things and they should be informed.¹¹⁰

* * *

You have to be in a certain money bracket for your child to qualify to go to any of the Indian schools or you have to live on restricted land. If you get off of them and start working on your own, you're under the white man's way of living. Whenever you go over there, the white man says, "Go to the BIA." You're governed by two people, you see. Just like today, when I asked to get off of work, my supervisor said, "What do you want off work for?" I just said, "I want to go to my other part of the government and explain these things to him." I said, "I have to live under two of these governments, and one bounces back to the other, see."¹¹¹

* * *

I have no quarrel with the administrators of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I think it is the policy they are following. It's straight-laced. They do not vary to one side or the other. They are not flexible enough to meet the situation as it exists. They are not moving in one way. I think they should become more flexible. I think they should be able to say, "We can't do this

because we are not supposed to, but we will give here and we will give there," and take care of the immediate needs. Now, I think this should be done.¹¹²

* * *

Everything that the Indian wants and needs, if he asks the BIA, he is told to go and seek this service from some other organization -- either the state or the county. When you go, and talk to the county about aid, they say, "What reservation are you from? You can get help through the Indian agencies." They pass you back and forth, and this is wrong.

For this reason, I think the laws that govern the BIA have to be changed to help the Indian get off the reservation and stay off. The only existing laws which govern the BIA were made one hundred fifty years ago and were instituted to keep the Indian on the reservation. There were no provisions made for the Indian to leave the reservation. No state agencies helped the Indian after he was off the reservation, especially if the Indian has no education or no job training.¹¹³

* * *

A rather lengthy account of BIA mistreatment of urban Indians from a San Francisco militant is inclosed as an example of the articulate indictment of the Bureau having much currency among Indian people both for its political style and for its particularistic references.

If you're going to hear a mouthful, you might as well hear the whole works, Don't go away with half of it.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Bennett, came out here last year, and while he was here, we were telling him some of the problems. This is getting to be old hat, people coming out here and making surveys, as I said earlier, and they take them back to Washington, D.C., and they store them. They've got a big building back there and they put all these findings in, and they do nothing but draw moths and so forth, because they never use them. It gives them a chance to make another survey.

We told him about the conditions that existed over in Oakland, about two boarding houses. One man over there owned a boarding house and he had homosexuals running

it for our young boys, and he had some dykes, or female homosexuals running it for the women.

We told Bennett about this, and it's part of the Congressional Record. He didn't do a thing about it. The homes are still run by the same person. They are taking our young kids right off the reservation and putting them into boarding schools where they've got homosexuals running them, and they are coming in contact with people like this for the first time, and nothing is done about it.

We've told them about countless cases of this, and nothing is ever done.

They take our kids, and they don't give them enough money to live in adequate quarters, and they have to go into the ghetto. They have to move into the low rent sections just to make a living, or just to make expenses, rather. These kids don't have enough money for recreation. A lot of them turn to alcohol, not because they want alcohol, but for want of finding company.

They go to the Indian center for a dance, and maybe some of their friends are old enough to drink, and they're not. They go into some of these bars just for company, and a lot of them get hooked on alcohol this way.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs doesn't set up any recreation for them. In fact, there is a total lack of counseling here. I was reading an article which came out in the Saturday Review, which mentioned they had 609 students to one counselor in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system.

They had a young Indian girl who committed suicide just recently, which Denis Turner told you about yesterday. She tried to see her counselor on countless occasions and couldn't. She had a definite problem, and she couldn't see her counselor. And she committed suicide by drowning in a bathtub. If she could have seen her counselor maybe we could have prevented this. That girl might be living today. But the Bureau of Indian Affairs doesn't have enough money, it seems, to provide counselors for these kids.

My wife is about the best example of what happens to somebody. My wife is a Sioux Indian from the Rosebud

Reservation in South Dakota. She came out here on relocation, and they were going to train her to be a dental assistant. They put her in a two year course, and drug her out after six months, and decided she had had enough training. They couldn't get her a job.

She went over to the Bureau office and sat in that office from 8:00 in the morning to 5:30, or whenever they close, all day long for about two or three weeks. A young girl, eighteen years old, first time away from home. In a big city like this she didn't know what to do, so she sat on those benches and warmed them for about two weeks.

Finally, they got her a job over in Sausalito working in a laundry, pressing clothes all day long. After pressing clothes for a week she finally got discouraged and she wanted to go home. And the Bureau wouldn't send her home.

She wrote her parents, and they didn't have enough money to get her home. She went back to the Bureau again, and they said they would get her a job, so they got her a job as a scrubwoman for one day. She got blisters all over her hands scrubbing floors out there in the Mission district.

She went back to the Bureau and told them she wanted to go home, and they finally got her a job two weeks later, after she warmed the benches some more.

They flood our agency offices in here with kids, and they don't have adequate counseling for them. They don't have enough people there on the staff to take care of them. This is something that has got to be stopped.

One of the most glaring examples: about six months ago we threw a picket line, the United Native Americans, against poverty program, because they were denying Indians jobs, and one of the young girls that was picketing with us one day, we brought some food for them, and she took a couple of extra sandwiches and stuffed them in her pockets.

I noticed her and asked her if she would like to come over and have dinner with my wife and I that night. My wife said she knew her, she was from the same reservation. We talked to her. The young girl came out to visit her sister, who was separated from her husband. She lived with them for about two months; was babysitting for her. She had only gone through the tenth grade.

The next day, after we found out her problem -- she didn't even have a change of clothes. The next day we took her down to the Red Corss -- not the Red Cross. but the Intertribal Friendship House there, and they gave her two or three sets of clothing.

After this, we called the Bureau of Indian Affairs up and we told them that this young girl had only gone through the tenth grade. She was sixteen years -- or seventeen years old, I guess it was. She had, I think it was ten cents in her pocket. Relocation.

The relocation officer said, "Write to Rosebud, South Dakota, and have your relocation officer send you an application blank. When it comes back, you fill it out, send it back to Rosebud. They will in turn make sure you're registered there; then he will make sure you fill all the qualifications; then he will send it over to Aberdeen, South Dakota. At Aberdeen, South Dakota, they will review it again, and if you fill all the qualifications, they will notify you next year that you can go on relocation."

This is a young Indian girl who is living with some guy just for a place to stay, and that beautiful old colonial office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they did nothing. They tried to waste another life.

This is going on and on and on, and we tell these problems over and over. I'm sure that there are many people in here who have heard these same things. A lot of you non-Indians probably haven't heard them. But the Bureau brings these kids in.

There's a business college down here, Munson's Business College. They have had two Indians graduate from there in the last five years who have managed to find employment as draftsmen, out of five years. The teachers aren't accredited with the state.

I was just talking to a young woman sitting back here. She's in the employment field. She tells me that they are training our young kids in these vocational courses such as welding. They don't teach them how to read blueprints; they don't teach them heliarc welding, arc welding; and when they get out of these schools they've got a vocational training course that's not equal to a good high school vocational training course, and they can't get jobs

because these schools are not accredited with the state. Even the teachers are not accredited. They don't have licenses.

They are flooding the market with these young kids who cannot find jobs because they come from vocational schools that are not state accredited, and they are winding up right on the streets.

The relocation problem has -- I forgot the exact rating of the dropouts, but it's way over 50%. And when they go home, they go home and they live for a little while. They get a little taste of life and they want to come back; they have to come back on their own.

Two weeks ago we have a young Navajo girl who came to United Native Americans and asked if we would help her get into the University of California, and we did. She's now a student, starting this quarter.

Her husband had been put in a vocational training course, sheet metal. Anyway, the jerk came out of this course after about -- it was a nine month course, or something like this, and the jerk came out after six months and told him that they didn't have enough money to finish his training.

They jerked him out and got him some little job doing some menial tasks, making about a dollar-fifty an hour. He worked at that for a week and then he quit and got himself another job making about three dollars an hour.

He then enrolled himself in a vocational training school where he can learn sheet metal work on his own.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a tremendous failure. It's like a cancer that is eating away at our people, and something is going to have to be done other than tell people who come out here to survey us, and we're not sure they're even going to do anything.¹¹⁴

The BIA "relocation" (or employment assistance) program is intended to move into a number of specified urban centers those rural Indian individuals and families who elect to do so. The program maintains these persons while job training is underway. Predictably, it was the target of much criticism by Indian witnesses:

I think most of you are acquainted with a government agency called BIA. It's connected with the Department of the Interior. In the Los Angeles area, they have a program called the relocation program. If anyone called there, they would hear nothing but success stories of relocation, counseling, and job placement. They claim almost 80% success. If there is success, come with me to the Ritz, the Columbine, Jake's, the Shrimp Boat, Moulin Rouge, Tom's, P and M's, the Irish Pub, 16th and Main, better yet down to East Main, and watch our young maidens hustle. Right away someone pops up and says, "That's a small number of Indians that don't care; you can't help them."

Well, three of these places hold over 600 people and three nights of the week you couldn't push your way in with a bulldozer. I'm talking about young people. 115

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As I moved around the area reservations, the one problem which came up most frequently was that of relocating, and as I listened to these people talk to me, it was very apparent that there was absolutely no screening, or very little screening. As a matter of fact, it was more of a numbers racket, and I would imagine that a good many of you people who are here today are nothing but a statistic to the Bureau of Indian Affairs on their relocation program.

They got you out of the reservation. They had not provided industrial outlet on the reservation to the extent that they could. Instead they are shifting the burden from the reservation to the urban areas. And what happens to the Indian, to some Indians, to a good many of them, when they get into the urban situation? They're out of their cultural environment and they do not adjust.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs disclaims any responsibility whatsoever for the repatriation of that Indian back to the reservation. They are through with him. If he wants to go back to Standing Rock, Pine Ridge, wherever it might be, he's going to have to walk, hitchhike, or ride the rods.

I worked in San Francisco, commuted across the Bay Bridge for almost twenty years, and I parked on 5th Street, worked up the street here just two or three blocks, in the flood building on Market, and at least two or three times a week, I was put the touch on by some poor Indian. They were not able to make the transition from the reservation culture to an urban culture. Here they are, broke, no place to go, so they wind up either in the city prison, I would imagine, or on welfare.

Now, is this progress for the Indian people? Actually, the Bureau of Indian Affairs carries your relocatees on its rolls as a statistic to get more money out of Congress.¹¹⁶

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CHAIRMAN: Is there enough money and services available for people coming in on relocation?

MR. PETERS: No, there isn't. I know, I have a family. I have six children of my own, and I know it is inadequate really.

MR. JOURDAIN: How long have you been here, Mr. Peters?

MR. PETERS: I came out in 57. Then I went home for two years because I couldn't take it out. It was worse back there, after living here, so I came back again.

CHAIRMAN: That is a very familiar story. I have had that happen in my own family.

MR. PETERS: I got tired of holding the land for my wife to chop wood.¹¹⁷

* * *

A lot of these guys during the time that they get relocated here, they're new, you know. Well, I believe they get a little bit of money to pay their rent, buy food, and go to work back and forth. They don't get enough but -- so they get a part-time job and maybe earn ten or fifteen dollars. Then they're getting maybe thirty-five dollars from the BIA, deduct that fifteen dollars that he made, so he's still in the hole. He's not getting ahead...He gets a part-time job while they're trying to find him a good job, supposedly. Then

whatever little part-time he earns, I think they deduct all this, whatever they give him to get going. I think I heard several people say that.¹¹⁸ (Dallas, p. 95, Joe Tafoya)

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Going to people's homes, a lot of other complaints is about furniture that the BIA buys them. Most of it came out of St. Vincent de Paul. It seems to me when they are going to do something like that, especially when there are so many Indians coming into Los Angeles, they should get a contract to get new stuff wholesale or something.

Another thing, about the BIA propoganda, and it is propoganda. Some of the people that come out here on relocation, this came out of the paper, thought they would get them jobs paying three dollars an hour. When I came out here I was making \$1.54 to start. Of course that was thirteen years ago. From visiting families and ones that I have helped, they make an average of about \$85 a week. Of course, some of these people that came out of school, instead of putting them in as auto mechanics, they put them in a filling station or something.

Another thing that I don't like is the age limit in the schooling. After age 35 are you too old to learn or what? Because there are a lot of us that haven't had any schooling whatsoever, I mean as far as trades.

When I came out here, I was told back home by BIA there were a lot of dental technician schools. I had one year finished and two years to go. I got here, and they put me in aircraft. Another person came out, he is a cement finisher, and he needed money to get into the union. He couldn't get the money anyplace, so they put him in a bakery. I don't know.

On this housing where they give you a thousand dollars to make a down payment on the home, that's all good and fine, but why is there a limit set on that too? If you are here over five years you don't qualify for it. I think the people that are sticking here, hanging on to their jobs, should be considered too. It's pretty hard to save money to make a down payment on a home. It takes five years to establish your credit.

On this welfare bit, we have taken children that were going to be taken away from their parents because they went down and asked for welfare. Instead of helping them they want to take the kids. That happened three times. We took the kids in until the people got jobs and got straightened out again. I also have had calls from people who wanted to adopt Indian kids. I don't know, maybe there is a racket going on. I wish they would want some of us. I'd like to have somebody adopt me.¹¹⁹

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About the war on poverty, I don't think BIA bringing them, relocating the Indians, aren't letting them know, there are other agencies available.¹²⁰ (Dallas, p. 91, Joe Tafoya)

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I kind of hate to make this comparison, but I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs has played its part in this way, they have brought our people out to the Los Angeles area. They are there to provide the education. They have done so. But where I feel they have failed, is to give them that extra hand, the understanding our people really need.¹²⁴

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As a publisher I get a lot of information, and I gather this information, correlate it, and finally decide what to publish. I meet with a lot of people, and more recently I have talked to many students, BIA students in particular. My son is on the program, and I was against it, but he felt independent and he went back to the reservation. He had to go back to the reservation to get on the program, he stayed for thirty days and came back out.

He is on the program, and I get a lot of information from him and his buddies.

One of our staff members and I made a study, asked questions and they were startled. I think when the student comes from a reservation or any other area to the urban area, naturally he is going to be exposed to all the other problems the other students are exposed to.

What I mean is, like drinking, dope, prostitution, and other unfavorable aspects. I think something should be done. I think somebody, specialists, should be appointed to talk to these students.

When we asked them if they had any counseling they said, "Yes, but we don't go." We said "why?" They said, "We go to the office and have to wait three hours to a whole day."

I don't think they have any confidence in the people dealing with them. They also mentioned a lot of things, they are browbeaten, or it seems the people don't care.¹²²

Responses to some of these criticisms came in Dallas and Los Angeles, where BIA representatives appeared.

On broken promises:

CHAIR: You commended earlier about over-zealousness, over-selling prospects of coming here. Do you think there could be a better coordination of efforts from your end with the other end?

MR. BEAMES: We made numerous efforts to properly inform an agency personnel on what is available in Dallas. We do not attempt to oversell Dallas. I am sure we have individuals in our program at various places who may, in their efforts to assist the family, tell them about the good things that can happen. What are the options and point out some of the bad things that can happen. I wouldn't doubt but what some of them get a false picture of what Dallas or any other Field Employment Assistance Office can offer. I think it's -- communications, again, is a problem. The guy may not intend to oversell this, but the guy listening, he, may look at all the good things and the best that can happen, and it may not happen. Some come there and I think probably find it was better for them than they anticipated. It varies with the individual.¹²³

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MR. MAHONEY: I don't think there is one of the agency men all over the country I don't know personally.

We do find a great variation in the quality, in the counseling and guidance they give these people in preparing them as individuals.

A good many of our staffs at the agency levels do lay it right on the line. They say, "Look, it is not going to be easy. It is going to be rough. It is going to be tough. It is going to depend on you and what you put forth. It will take a lot of intestinal fortitude to do it."

Now, we get alot of this. On the other hand, we undoubtedly have a lot of people out there also anxious to do a selling job, and undoubtedly they do give snow jobs. They paint it all as a big rosy picture. "Here is the pie in the sky. You go for it, and you can do it."

Now, this can be interpreted as encouragement or it can be interpreted as a snow job. Oftentimes, if the individual has made up his mind he's going to go, they are not doing an awful lot of listening about what anybody is telling them.

They're cousin Susie is in Los Angeles and she's doing good. "She wrote me a letter and I want to go."

You would be surprised at the number of telephone calls we get saying, "I don't want to wait until next week or next month. I want to come right now. If I don't come right now under the program, I am going to go on my own."

They don't listen to what is told them back there. It all goes in one ear and out the other, because they hear only what they want to hear.

There is, I am sure, a great flexibility in what is given. It could be improved upon.

I personally feel the counseling at the agency level should be strengthened possibly by review groups as to the people coming and those getting an opportunity to come. ¹²⁴

On subsistence:

As far as subsistence grants are concerned, our subsistence grants there actually applies to our relocatees and trainees, I believe, in similar amounts. This is a monthly subsistence grant, and we generally break this down into weekly or bi-weekly rates. On the monthly basis we can assist a single individual up to \$175 a month for subsistence. A family head plus one, \$235 a month. This graduates -- I'll just skip around here and hit, say, a family head plus five, that would be six in the family, \$365 a month. When we get up to a family head plus nine or more, the subsistence is \$435 per month. We now have and have had since the last fiscal year a large family program, where when the individual's earning capability is not enough to meet his needs, we are able to supplement his income over a period of time, until he can gradually bring his skills up to a level where he can meet what his financial needs are. This, hopefully, is a gradual withdrawal program where, as he earns, we will give less and less.¹²⁵

On orientation to community services:

Well not on a regular basis, no, because many of these things-- the normal individual we serve doesn't need, for instance, some of these. We may refer only one person a year. There are many regular facilities where we do orientate people about hospital services, school facilities, employment, Texas State Employment Service, things of this nature, but many of these are individual things. Most families or individuals never had a need for it, but we do use them on an individual basis. Those come up quite often are incorporated into our orientation program.¹²⁶

On adequacy of counseling:

This is an area where we need training, we need staff with higher technical backgrounds. I think the people we have, are doing a fairly good job in most cases. There are times when we are dealing with people who have problems that our staff -- they may actually need some psychiatric assistance or things of this nature. We do not have that capability on our staff. We do occasionally refer out applications to such services in the community.¹²⁷

On deduction of part-time earnings:

MR. HARGIS: If an individual while waiting for placement during that month period of time has a part-time job, are part-time job earnings deducted from the subsistence?

MR. BEAMES: No. Actually, we encourage many of our people who while they're in training, to take part-time jobs. Now, one thing, if this begins to interfere with their training, then we require them to quit. We do ask them, while they're in training and on a part-time job, that they will deposit in a bank in a savings account their earnings other than \$15 per week., but the rest of them, we want them to save for a rainy day or to buy a car with, eventually, when they complete training, or a TV set or a washing machine. But we don't go and deduct from their subsistence.

MR. HARGIS: So, part-time job income does not affect in any way, the amount of subsistence they get from you?

MR. BEAMES: This is not normally a factor. There may be some isolated cases where an individual income on a part-time job may be high enough that it is a factor; I don't recall any instances coming to my attention. Let me ask if anyone on my staff knows of any exceptions to that statement I just made. Please correct me if you know of anything.

MRS. IRENE DAY: I think there would be a possibility that could arise of somebody -- say, it was a second or third or fourth placement for this person. Financial funds are real limited and in order to plan successfully with an individual, their earnings, what we could assist with, would all be considered, but this would not be a normal procedure. ¹²⁸

On housing:

We do take applications only from reservation areas or former reservation areas such as Oklahoma. In other words, our staff in the Indian country prepares an application, they counsel with the individual Indian or he and his family, and tell them of the services available, and I'm sorry if they're leading people to believe the streets of Dallas are paved with gold; they are not, but there is opportunity here. I

believe many people have found very fine opportunities here and other offices similar to ours. We can only help the individual who's willing to help himself. We sometimes see people go back home, because they have not applied abilities they have, either in training or on the job. Sometimes they go back, because they are homesick, or for various reasons...Our employers are very glad to get our Indian people. We do not have any inkling of racial prejudice as far as American Indians are concerned. We do not have problems in finding housing as far as -- the problem is their ability to pay the rent. Honestly, at the beginning level, the housing, there's not enough of it available. They are building apartments like mad throughout Dallas and For Worth and everywhere else I go, but they are for people at a moderate or high level income. Many of our Indian families cannot afford that kind of rent, so we do have problems in getting them into houses like we would like to have them in. But it is better, for the most part, than what most of them had back where they came from. We work at this very hard in trying to upgrade our housing, but, again, lack of financial capabilities restrict the type of housing they can move into.

On the appropriateness of training and success of job placement:

MR. MAHONEY: As director of the office, the overall responsibility for the functioning of the program is largely mine. Mrs. Willis, who is my deputy director, is directly responsible for the day to day operations of programming.

We are responsible, by and large for administering two programs. One is referred to as Direct Employment. This is the Indian person that applies back on the reservation for employment services but not for schooling services.

He's assisted, as he comes in, for suitable housing. He's covered with medical benefits until he's on the job, and is covered under the program where he may be working.

We are expending roughly a hundred thousand dollars a year for medical benefits. This is almost full medical coverage for those in their initial adjustment until they are covered under plans with their work.

For those that are going to school, it covers them for the full period of their training, up to a maximum of two full years if their training is that long, and thirty days thereafter, to give them an opportunity to get on to a job.

Now, the other program we are responsible for administering is Public Law 959, which has to do with adult vocational training. Within this program of adult vocational training, we have a staff of professional guidance counselors, who assist the individuals in selecting the type of training they are interested in.

Initially, the type of training is selected at the reservation level, before they come here, the type of training and the type of school they want to go to.

As they come in to enter school, depending on the date, they take their turn with others in terms of the availability of funds to meet these needs.

As the individual comes in, he's assisted in locating suitable housing, boarding houses oftentimes for singles, homes for a larger family, or smaller apartments for smaller families, as near as we can get them to the place they are to receive their training.

As I mentioned, back at the reservation level, with their counselor, the individual selects the type of training he is interested in.

We find after they arrive and are enrolled in school, within the first ninety days, twenty percent of these students will change their selected training objective.

CHARLIAN: How do you account for that?

MR. MAHONEY: Oftentimes we find the individual back at the agency didn't know what they were getting into. They were thinking of names but they were not familiar with the details of what would be involved in their training.

We had individuals come in and state that they wanted a certain type of training, and I'll use auto mechanic for example. As he got into it, he found he had five thumbs.

On the recommendation of the instructor from the school, this individual just did not seem to be able to go forward in his particular field of training. He would sit down with his training counselor, take various types of tests given, go on tours of a number of other schools, and eventually select another type of training opportunity.¹³⁰

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It also has been my experience that the individual coming into the community, usually the first year, will change jobs one to three times. We find if he stayed for the second year, he pretty well establishes himself and a job. He usually will stay with it. After the second year, you usually will not find loss of jobs, but the man has steadied down, and follows through with this employment. Many of them go up to foreman's position or other positions, and establish themselves well in the community.

I would say we probably find as many as five jobs for every individual that comes through the first two years before he eventually settles down.¹³¹

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Certainly, the hearings suggested that many Indian people perceive the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be a central difficulty in their lives. While some Indian witnesses thought that the Bureau should be replaced - perhaps with a guaranteed income plan - most were intent upon reform.

Specific objectives and recommendations for change included:

1. Indians do not understand the BIA and need more information about it.
2. The BIA has been ineffectual and it perpetuates an unhealthy dependency relationship.
3. BIA funds do not improve the community of the reservations, benefiting instead bureaucrats and border town merchants.
4. Non-Indians need to be re-educated to understand that BIA services are limited and that urban Indians are eligible for the same benefits and services as are non-Indians.
5. The Bureau's assistance is not effective largely because of inflexible rules.
6. The Bureau's employment assistance program is unsuccessful despite BIA claims of success. It results in shifting the burden from reservations to city, where the culture is inhospitable and where the Bureau declines responsibility.

7. Employment assistance support and services are independent. Furniture purchases by the BIA for those relocated is of poor quality. BIA promises of jobs and income are misleading, and the Bureau does not inform relocated Indians about the services of urban agencies.
8. BIA students need counseling in the city, but seldom find satisfying counselors at the Bureau.
9. Bureau representatives maintain that BIA "overselling" was mostly due to poor communications. Also, they noted, many individuals decide to go to the city independently of counseling.
10. BIA personnel indicated that orientation to community resources was on a need basis. They also indicated that upgrading of counseling personnel would be desirable, and that the Bureau does not have such capabilities as psychiatric counseling.
11. Bureau personnel indicated that only in rare cases are earnings from part-time jobs deducted from the subsistence allowance granted relocatees.
12. BIA representatives observed that Indians coming to the city for adult vocational training not infrequently change their training objectives. Similarly, Indians relocated for direct employment often change jobs during the first year.

Problems With the Law

Difficulties with legal problems and law enforcement frequently were mentioned. Descriptions of the state of affairs between urban Indians and the legal system ranges from evidence of much violence to unfair law enforcement to the notion that Indian drinking - often the cause for arrest - is symptomatic of cultural conflict. The following quotations are illustrative:

Does Madam Chairman know about the stabbings? We've had about ten stabbings down in the area within the last three or four months. 132

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Law and order. This is a very touchy subject. We find much concern on the part of the Indian community with the police department. There are complaints of police harrassment. They told you of the patrol necessary up and down Franklin Avenue. We look a little deeper than that and say why is this necessary? We find alcohol is a big problem to the American Indian people. This is a big problem. In fact, many of our problems stem from this. You look at alcohol and say, why is it such a problem? Actually, it's only a symptom of something else. What is it a symptom of? It looks like a symptom of cultural conflicts. American Indians have cultural values quite different from those being imposed on us. Nobody ever stopped to think of this before. This is something that is real and is coming to the foreground. We are beginning to look at it. 133

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We had a director who went down the street one time and asked the cop to give his number. You know what they did; they grabbed both him and his wife and threw them both in jail. They were trying to help. That's the grown-up adult you are talking about. What can they do? They are Indian. 134

We were invited to talk to the mayor of San Francisco about this. We did. He appointed a gentleman on the Human Rights Commission -- not the person we elected to represent us on that Human Rights Commission, but someone else. Nothing has been done about 16th Street.

Look, Gerald has been arrested three times within the last month. And this isn't just Gerald, this is all of those kids down there, and all of our young men. You take a couple of girls, they could be arrested for being prostitutes, and all they are doing is standing.
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MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: Are there any Indian men on the San Francisco Police Department?

MR. JONES: Not that we know of.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: Well, in the San Jose area there are some, and on special occasions, you know, around the Indian center, we always notify the police department, and the department usually puts an Indian policemen on the job.

MR. JONES: At SF State they do the same thing. They send black policemen out there where there're black students out there.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: And this always alleviates, you know, conditions and --

MR. LIVERMORE: We're presently trying to recruit Indian people. I brought one down. He has taken the examination, and he has very good qualifications. As far as talents he has a commercial pilot's license and I think that hopefully he will be on the force.
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And then I had my sister down there (Sixteenth Street) one time. I have a sister that has a drinking problem. She was down there when this guy get stabbed, and she went over and she helped the guy, picked him up off the street. She had blood all over her. So the cops came over. My sister is real quiet. The

cops asked what happened and she couldn't say anything, so they grabbed her, they threw her in jail, and they accused her of the stabbing.

MISS JUSTICE: She was up for attempted murder.

MR. JONES: Yes, and all she did was pick the guy up. We didn't know anything or we'd a got her out. They picked up her and this other guy who had nothing to do with it. I guess it was about two days later before they picked up the other guy who did it. They had to drop all the charges; they had nothing on her. But she was there. They picked her up. 137

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Indians, we find, are not getting the proper type of justice in the courts. Most of them have to rely on the public defender to defend them, and the public defender comes from the same community which, by and large, is hostile to the American Indian. So how can we expect any kind of justice in the courts, and how often have you ever heard of an Indian being acquitted of a felony? That is something to think about. 138

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Some witnesses indicate that the Indian arrest record is disproportionately high because Indians do not know how to protect their rights:

In some of the testimony from other metropolitan areas, we found in arrest records, the percentage compared to the general population was so much higher than in the rest of the community with the Indian population, and like you say, they come from the reservation and they're just not knowledgeable of what their rights are and don't know how to protect their rights. 139

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They're aware of legal services, but when you get on the legal service, you wait forever. Some of them will give up, go back, and receive the same punishment before it's brought to court. 140

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CHAIRMAN: I would like to take this opportunity because of your profession, to ask you about the convictions of Indians. Are there more convictions of Indian people on misdemeanors than the average citizen in the Los Angeles area, in your opinion?

MR. WAPATO: Well, I feel at this time for the record, I must indicate that I am here as a representative of the Indian Welcome House. Any other statements would be opinions of mine.

CHAIRMAN: Personal opinion, yes.

MR. WAPATO: Personal opinion.

The conviction of Indians for misdemeanor crimes is probably higher than for others.

When I say, "others," for white people. This would be, I believe, the mere fact that Indians are more apt to plead guilty rather than raise any fuss.

When they get to court -- they just put in a plea of guilty and get it over with. I don't have any figures of those that go to court or might be represented by private counsel.

Anybody arrested would have counsel, either private or appointed public defender.

CHAIRMAN: You think that is a culture characteristic? Not, say, more than any other ethnic group? I mean that --

MR. WAPATO: Yes, I think, through the years the Indian person in this situation probably has developed the attitude of what's the use so they'll go ahead along this line. 141

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Several witnesses noted the special problems of Indian inmates and suggested ways to combat the high failure rate of Indian parolees:

Invariably, you could find the Indians out in the "jungle"--and this is what they call the main yard at San Quentin -- you'd find them out at the "Indian wall." Any time you wanted to find an Indian out there, you just go to the "wall," and there you found the guys hanging out in clusters, just a constant problem to the authorities; a nuisance to other inmates. Many of them were on close or maximum security.

The counselors couldn't get through to them; the psychiatrists, or anybody involved with them. These guys said, "What the hell's the use," you know. Even our free people have a tough time. The unemployment rate in California on a reservation level is 40%. We have the lowest educational attainment of any ethnic group in the state of California, and to top it off, we have a felony rap against us when we go out into the free society.

If the free Indian has got all these problems, what the heck kind of chance do you think we have as convicts?

But now there has been a change, because of Officer Papke becoming their sponsor, and the introduction of Indians from the outside free community interested in their welfare and well-being. They gradually, by working with themselves, self-help programs, getting the guy off of sniffing -- I don't know how many people here are familiar with sniffing -- they would sniff glue or anything they could to get high on over there, and this of course meant more infractions, and the more infractions he got, the less chance he has of parole. ¹⁴²

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I came here to relate to you a personal experience as part of a program called the U.S. Prisons Program. If it weren't for this program, I wouldn't be standing here talking to you. If it weren't for this program, I wouldn't be with my family. I, Jerry Fallis, am a guy who came from a broken home. All these conditions these people are talking about, have been meeting with you people in Washington about, I am a product of all that, and eventually I turned to a life of crime for sheer survival.

The first time I went to jail was when I was fifteen years old. There were no youth centers, nobody concerned, no organizations. In a little town called Wood -- Cato knows where it is, it's on his reservation -- I broke into a grocery store, me and my buddy, to get some food. Because we didn't know how to pull a clean job, we got caught. Third degree burglary. Okay. Probation.

The next thing I knew I came out of that prison, no assistance, nothing. You try to get a job. You've got to establish some kind of employment record. We can't help you, we can't help you, we can't help you. You have to get out on your own, and try for six or seven months to establish some kind of work record, they keep telling us. Okay. The only thing I know how to do is steal. So I go back to stealing.

In 1961 I entered Sioux Falls Stonewall College, as they call it, out there on the hill. I graduated from that, came out here and still no assistance, no help, nothing.

I went big-time, started committing federal crimes, violating federal laws, there's bigger money in it and a lot more action. I went to federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, right up here. I came out of there -- still no help. Again I turned to what I know best. Again I am not as good as I thought I was, so I got caught again. I was sent back to Sandstone and this time I thought, by gosh, there is something that has got to be done. I got together with friends of mine -- a guy from North Dakota, another from Rosebud, he dances quite a bit down there. We got together and talked about an organization called the American Indian Club in that institution. I am here to explain the purpose of that club, what we have accomplished so far. In a period of two years, we have covered a lot of ground. We encourage education through this organization, and with the help of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we have made available for men coming out, a vocational training program, and employment assistance program. This year we got about thirteen guys out of that institution. Ten are still with us. I believe this is a pretty good batting average.

We have had, over a period of two years, forty-five graduates of different kinds -- colleges, vocational schools, high school, etc., because this help is now available to us when we leave an institution. 143

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Because of the large return to the prison system, the solution that state of California has isn't sufficient. The answers they have aren't right. Since the indeterminate sentences of 1948 within this state, the Indian has more or less been program rejective, to the extent that California, to rehabilitate a convict, initiates programs for the individual inmate. The Indians of this state and other states, and the Indians committed to this system, have rejected these programs, and consequently return in violation of their parole. In violation of many, many different technicalities and inconsequential disorders, excessive intake of alcoholic beverages, violation of traffic ordinances and these things.

To combat this return, which is very high, the Antelope Indian Circle has initiated a proposal for All Tribes Halfway House. Basically, this All Tribes Halfway House will be operated for and run by Indians. It's interest is to create some meager in-between situation, where the individual Indian being released from the penal system can assimilate slowly in today's society. 144

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This young man, the point he's trying to make about the halfway house, a very very important things. The Indian that comes out of the institution where has he got to go? No place. It has only been recently, since we initiated a joint statement of the department and the bureau of Indian Affairs to assist Indians going on parole. This is fine, but how about the Indian that would like to go back to northern California, or to work up there and get out of the city? This is a big jungle, so he'd rather be up in northern California, the most beautiful part of the country. But he has no housing.

Halfway House is housing for a man coming out of the institution for a period of ninety days, and on special conditions, as Mr. Gorbet said, to exceed that. The most important is that thirty to sixty days, in between from the very first day that he's released to that ninety day period of adjusting to the free world as the inmate says. There's some difficulty. He's not used to budgeting money.

He's so used to the bell ringing in the morning he'll go in to breakfast, and there's somebody to serve him his breakfast or lunch. Adjusting to the free world takes some adjusting.

So there's a place, the halfway house that Mr. Gorbet talks about, where the Indian coming into the free world can go, with people that he's used to -- the job, the language, the counselor that understands him and someone to help him get adjusted. We have inmates coming out of prison living in rat traps. You know, after working all day, to come back and crawl into some alley, that's discouraging. Sometimes you get to wondering which is better, a nice clean cell or a dirty cockroach-infested room to crawl into. He stayed in prison for eight years just to come back to a bug-infested room.

The halfway house is a step to rehabilitate, to adjust Indians coming back into the community.¹⁴⁴

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There were numerous comments about the problems of Indian young people with the law. The following quotations give some indications of the ways in which these problems were perceived by the Indian adults who appeared before the committee:

Out here at our juvenile department today we were observing the list of referrals and why a child was brought out here. I'm ashamed to say it, but we've got a list that reads just like an adult list at the county or city jail -- we have everything from murder, to burglary cases, to assaults, to attempts to kill, you name it, and we've got it out there. This isn't strictly the American Indian kid, we're talking about the whole group.

CHAIR: But what kinds of juvenile delinquency do you find that the Indian child is more apt to be involved in?

MR. WILLIS: Well, it comes back to an old saying, "the Indian and his whiskey will not mix," and this is what we find with this type of kid.

CHAIR: Alcohol?

MR. WILLIS: Yes, and this alcohol is a big problem.

CHAIR: And they're arrested for drunkenness?

MR. WILLIS: Minor in possession of alcohol. But, like I say, this isn't real big.

CHAIR: No, but these are the kinds of problems.

MR. WILLIS: Right, and I think it's social service -- if it were extended, I believe that we could help.

CHAIR: This is a symptom, not a cause.

MR. WILLIS: Right. 146

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My name is Gerald Sam, from Bridgeport, California. I'm Paiute and Washoe. We're dealing with the youth which is many, the movement of American native youth, and I think essentially we're dealing with education which we feel is the biggest problem of the Indian people, because even on the reservations, or in the cities or the urban areas, the children, the Indian children, shouldn't have to compete with the Anglo-American learning program. To learn to read is to have education, or to learn what education is all about, and if you can't read, you're nowhere.

So, as a child, if you're taught not to have an inferiority complex, which I think many Indian people have, but won't admit it. It is brought forth by the white people, they give that to them. It is not just put there.

So, what we're dealing with are the people of 16th Street and what is happening there. They come from the whole Bay Area. I mean, not only the San Francisco area, but the complete Bay Area. They're on 16th and they're at a dance. They pay a dollar and a half or two dollars, and that's all they get out of that.

I myself am going to court on a felony charge for a fight, and for what reason? I didn't even start it. It was a white person. They put me in jail, they let the white person go, and I'm still paying a white lawyer \$500 to get out of jail. And this is the whole problem in the San Francisco area that no one has even recognized. 147

THE CHAIRMAN: What type of arrests are being made? What are the young people arrested for?

DELORED RAISCH: Well, car theft, running away from home, truancy from school.

THE CHAIRMAN: Truancy from school? Absenteeism from school is enough to put them in an institution?

DELORES RAISCH: Oh, yes. If they miss too much, if they have a poor record, absenteeism, this will put them in an institution. This is why we have been talking to the Commissioner of Corrections. We believe the judges are also a little prejudiced toward the Indians. I personally know this to be true.

I don't like to air my family problems, but I have a boy who is fifteen years old. He has been in trouble with the law about two years. Some of the charges against him was with white kids, and he got the blame for them. He was sent to a forestry camp up in northern Minnesota, thirty-four miles from Nashwauk, right out in the woods. He wasn't going to school, but was working forty hours a week. The kid was going crazy up there. He slashed his wrist; it took nine stitches to close it. I almost fainted when I went there and saw that cut on his arm. We asked, as his parents, to have him transferred to some other institution. We went to the Commissioner of Corrections, and he agreed to review the case. My boy is now in Red Wing and doing fine.¹⁴⁸

* * *

Having worked with the community for fifteen years, we made many contacts. We were asked on a number of occasions to be present in courts -- this is one of my chiefest concerns, both in the juvenile and the adult courts. We had to witness sometimes the termination of parental rights. This is one of the most serious things for any ethnic group to face.

Early when I came here, I was invited by the Chippewa tribal council to meet with them at Bemidji. I brought this concern up and I said, "When children no longer have their parents, it seems to me it behoves us as a tribe and as an Indian ethnic group to say that the tribe is behind you. We should take issue with this, then establish either centers or make some provision so they can feel their own ethnic group is then responsible, have the re-

sources." Yet last week when I was asked to be in court -- because we certainly work with all agencies in the community, public and private -- to be there with a family, to try to make what plans we could, this is a case where both parents are beset by the disease of alcoholism. The children did have a grandmother although she was handicapped physically. She looked after the seven children in this case, but we had no temporary place where we could house Indian couples, where they could have the support of the Indian community and members of their families and friends still in the area. I think this is a vital concern.

It still plagues me that welfare agencies should take families and disperse them, put the children all over the state in boarding schools, wherever they can find them, when they really need the strength to be able to relate to each other. A strong person like a grandmother or an aunt is very helpful at this time -- it's less traumatic.¹⁴⁹

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THE CHAIRMAN: Are parents notified when young people are arrested?

DELORES RAISCH: Yes, they are notified.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do they know what the procedures are to get help?

DELORES RAISCH: We are beginning to get help along this line. We are going to have a Legal Aid clinic set up in our center, starting next month. It will help with these problems, to get legal advice. These things are beginning to come out. Our main concern is keeping these young people occupied and busy so they don't have time to be roaming the streets. This center is really the only place they have to go. There was a settlement house, but it has been moved. We have quite a few families on the North Side.¹⁵⁰

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Regarding the operation of a North Side youth Center: Another reason we have the center is to keep the kids off the streets and cut down the police problems. As everyone know, we have a high percentage of arrests among our Indian youth in Minneapolis. Many of these young people are committed to state institutions. We have been meeting with the state officials from the Department of Corrections. We had one meeting with the Deputy Commissioner so far, and some of the young people told him of

the things they had suffered at the hands of the counselors at some of these institutions.

One of the boys told how he was beaten by one counselor. Both eyes were blackened and his face was all puffed up when his mother went to see him on Christmas Day. I remember, because my husband and I took the mother out to see the boy.

Naturally, the Commissioner was shocked by these stories. The parents who go to visit their youngsters in these institutions are treated very discourteously. If the parents are treated like this when they go and ask a question, you can imagine what these youngsters are treated like when they are there 24 hours a day for months or years...

These people are willing to sit down and listen to our complaints and try to do something about these problems. We are in the process of writing a proposal to present to the Commissioner asking for Indian personnel in these institutions, not only case workers, social workers, and counselors, but also guards, cooks, janitors, matrons, typists, and any other personnel they have. We would like Indian people themselves to go and talk to the case workers and counselors who are with the younger people constantly and try to have them understand a little of the Indian culture and history. They need to know that what they see on TV and reading books are not the true facts -- that we are human beings and should be treated as such.¹⁵¹

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Thus, problems with the law were seen by numerous witnesses as a major problem of adaptations to the city. Observations offered by Indian witnesses included the following:

1. Violence is a common occurrence in areas frequented by Indians.
2. Police harassment and unfair law enforcement are common.
3. There are few, if any, Indian law enforcement officers.
4. Indians are arrested and convicted in disproportionate numbers partly because they do not know how to protect their rights. They "give up" when there are delays in receiving legal assistance, and they have a tendency to plead guilty rather than "raise a fuss."
5. Self-help programs for Indian inmates may be the only effective means of rehabilitation, and they half-way house for ex-offenders is an important vehicle.

6. Indian young people are arrested for a range of violations similar to that which occurs with adults. Drinking problems are common. In some cases, Indian young people are arrested for truancy.
7. A contributing factor to Indian juvenile delinquency, may be the termination of provided rights by agencies and courts.
8. One purpose of Indian growth centers is to keep Indian young people off the streets where trouble with the law is likely to occur.

* * *

Needs For Social Activities and Recreation

Several Indian people who spoke to the committee stressed the importance of suitable recreational facilities, as well as opportunities for Indian social activities in the city. As noted in an earlier report, many Indians feel that a special urban Indian center should be the site for such activities, but until recent months, there has been little evidence of the likelihood of funding these facilities.

Social and recreational needs were described by Indian witnesses as follows:

... if you are on a vocational training program, you leave school at 5:00 or 5:30 p.m. There is no place to go for recreation. There is just no place to go.

Being unfamiliar with the city and not apt to travel around looking for the closest park, and not knowing anyone, there's only one other thing to do. That is sit around the house or apartment or visit your friend and drink. That is what happens.

I think if there were good recreational facilities available for Indian people, they would know there were Indian people there, and would be welcome as an Indian. The recreational facilities would be more than used. Probably be looking for added space within several months, but there just is nothing.¹⁵²

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The Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent millions of dollars in the last two years on "relocating" Indians and yet has totally ignored social and recreational programs. As a result of this a large percentage of Indians have returned to their reservations homesick and disillusioned.¹⁵³

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Now, as has been brought up, our Indian people tend to want to congregate where there are other large groups of Indian people, they don't go to the parks, they'll go there, maybe just two or three -- they don't feel at home. They may not go back. We're trying to contact these people and develop some leadership from within the group, the young ones in particular, to see if they are willing to organize and let us guide them in the utilization of the facilities. I think we can work out a program with the Park and Recreation Department that will make special nights -- if we've got a group of Indian people that come in and say, "We want a part in your program," and make it a part of their program and not a reservation thing, I think that facility would be provided if there is space available. I think we've got to get the Indian population interested enough to go and do these things and we're going to try and guide them along these lines.¹⁵⁴

* * *

I'm with the Dallas Park Department ... The Dallas Park Department has a lot to offer, but there are a lot of qualifications to it. I remember somebody mentioned something about summer employment for students. Dallas Park Department has summer jobs for kids going to school and even though they are not in school, it works both ways. They get a salary. I think it's \$1.60 an hour. For my part, I worked with kids of different nationalities. I'm a recreation leader and I work in West Dallas. I work with Anglos, Mexicans, colored, and Indians. I haven't run across a Chinese yet. We deal with all different kinds of people, teenagers to adults, senior citizens. I find a lack of communication with the Bureau of Indian Affairs ... Even today I work with Haskell Institute, and a lot of kids come from different schools all over the United States. They come to Dallas. Some have played ball. They don't know where to go. I think this is where the BIA should help. It has people coming into the state who have never lived in a city before, and I think they could be more helpful to the people. We have a lot of young people and they need to know where they can go for recreation before we can be of service to them.

That is where the BIA can help those who come in from all parts of the country -- to let them know about services that are available to them in the city. I think some Indians are bashful and they don't ask as they should. There has to be some sort of central agency to direct these people to the services. The Dallas Park Department has sixteen recreational centers where they offer free art oil painting classes, basketball events, soccer, golf, bowling, and ceramics and beading for the ladies. ... The city pays us and we do the teaching, then we have some volunteers. Volunteers are important. These people volunteer their services to communicate with people and acquaint them with the local area. Like myself, I teach beading, I also handle the basketball events. Right now, I have eight Indian basketball teams with a tournament coming up next week. Six of these are from Oklahoma, one from Houston, and one from Dennison, Texas. Since most Indians are a little backward about mixing with other people, it would help if they could have a center by themselves. The Dallas Park Department offers a lot of different cultural things such as painting in the centers, but I still think it would help the Indian people to have a center of their own, both cultural and sports-oriented ... I know a lot of them have gotten discouraged and have gone back to their home states because they didn't fit in.¹⁵⁵

* * *

Some social and recreational activities were related to the committee by witnesses. The following excerpts from testimony provide descriptions of urban Indian social and athletic events in Dallas, Los Angeles and Minneapolis.

I heard you ask about the involvement of parents within the PTA in the school. I do know several mothers who belong to the PTA, and we have dad's clubs here and fathers who do belong to the Dad's Club. We have children who belong to the Scouts, and we work closely with the Scouts. We also have recreational opportunities for some of our people, we have basketball games, softball games, and volleyball teams. We just need to get out and do a little more advertising. We also have the Indian churches.¹⁵⁶

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I know that within our own church, we have a very active group of young people. We do have the basketball team, softball teams, and we try to keep our young people interested.

We have made alot of new contacts with children through this ... I believe ones with parents, we can reach within the church, but there are young people who, on Sunday morning, would rather turn over and go back to sleep again. 157

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My experience is mostly with the self-relocated Indian who is a stable person in the community at this time. We have had the good fortune of organizing the Many Trails Singing Club of Los Angeles, over six years ago. It has been a financial success and a social success.

I think it is due to the fact that these people are stable in the community. They have resources in the community, they like their jobs, their family is here, or part of it, and it gives them a sense of responsibility to the community and to themselves to make a success of their own organization.

The families are relating to the schools fairly well, seeing that their children are educated in the public system and in some instances, in parochial school situations. They do gravitate toward their own tribal group. If there are others in their tribe here, their family social events are scheduled to include the family. Some of them participate in athletic programs that are provided by the Indian groups. Some of them are quite active in their own local community park department development programs and athletic programs.

Part of them, about half, are church members of all the different denominations. 158

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I do know of two parks that you can find any number of Indians. You can go up there and if you can't find them, they'll tell you they're at the other one, because it's closer to home. These two places have a bus running right by there. Now, J.C. Park, where Joe Miller is from, has no bus service. It's way out, it's just barely in the city limits and transportation is one of the problems, going out there. It's not around the Indian community, where these other two parks -- I know that on Monday night, there are four or five girls, completely Indian girl teams, who play at one gym every Monday night. And on Thursday nights, they have Indian boys teams. I don't know how many there are. I've never gone to any of their games, but I do know they have after school programs that my children participate in and other Indian children participate in, but they just happen

to be where there are so many Indians and it's convenient for the children to get there. It is a little more convenient at these two places. On Sunday afternoon, you will find all the kids from any of the churches; they all congregate at these parks because they come home from church, eat, and go and play, then go back to church. 159

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A week ago, on Sunday, we were allowed to use one of the junior high school buildings on Sunday afternoon for a family day. The gym and the pool were open, and we got some films from the Audio-Visual Department. It was for children, grown-ups, and grandmothers, and everybody. We were just hoping we would get at least thirty-five, because that was the number of people that the School Board felt would make it worthwhile to keep the building open. We were very happy because we got seventy. They weren't all Indians, but we let the white people in, too. So I think we going to continue this ...

Anyway, as our culminating activity on this spring community school thing, we have got a real plan going. If anybody in this room has become acculturated to the point where you have taken over the white man's ulcers and tension headaches, along about the third week in May, we are going to have a canoe trip up on the border, again for families, kids, grandmothers, anybody who wants to come. Bring your own canoe, if you have it, and if not, we will stir up a few extra. I don't know just how primitive we are going to get, but we expect to have a lot of fun.

We will be glad to have anyone come along who wants to. 160

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Thus, some witnesses saw a crucial need for better recreational and meeting facilities for urban Indians. The lack of these facilities contributes to drinking problems, according to some. Without "Indian" places to meet, others asserted, many Indians abandon attempts to adapt to the city and return to the reservation. Despite the lack of facilities, urban Indians were actively organizing themselves for social and recreational purposes.

* * *

Agency Inadequacies And Needs For Social Services

It was clear from testimony at the urban Indian hearings that ordinarily agency services in the city were regarded as inadequate. There were criticisms, statements of needs, and suggestions for improvement.

Some who spoke to the committee believed that Indian self-help and self-reliance were the key to successful urban adaptations:

The main function that agencies should play is not to do it for him, but to teach and help him to do it for himself. He must learn new things and adapt to new ways. I would like to use myself as an example on some very simple things that are not understood.

When my family moved here from the reservation twenty-three years ago, I didn't know how to give my house number. I thought the four digit number was read as regular numbers were and not as two sets of numbers. This is just a simple thing but add many more little misunderstandings and you have confusion.¹⁶¹

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An idea discussed amongst some of the Indians is why could there not be some organization, set up to help newly arrived Indians. The ones who are here one to five years have become aware of the hazards of living in the city. It's like when somebody is brought off the reservation, it's a completely new world. It would be like somebody leaving the United States and going to China, attempting to get a job and make it in their society. They would not be equipped. They don't know the language. They would not be able to get a job. It is similar to that, when the new Indian is brought to the city. They are trained, or taught a skill. They may well become adept at the skill, but they are given no instruction in, say, credit buying and the pitfalls of credit buying, and how to become a proper consumer. It is awful tough for anybody to make it in the city, with all of the schemes around and the high credit. Somebody totally naive to the situation, is just like a lamb going to the slaughter.¹⁶²

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I think that to really help the Indians, the Indians have to do it themselves. They have to be concerned with and help each other out that way.¹⁶³

The nature of assistance also was discussed. Some witnesses felt that orientation to city life should be gradual, that social training was important, and that guides to helping Indians could be obtained from the experiences of other ethnic groups:

We would recommend also that a slow paced orientation be given to the American Indian when he arrives here. When we say "slow paced" we mean introduced to the community, advising him of opportunities, the Department of Employment, the federal offices, the local offices that are available, and not just to rush through a quick tour and forgotten in that respect. But really given an opportunity to learn what services these various agencies may give.

As Mr. Walters has indicated, we give the same services to Indians as any other person who is eligible for services in the county with public assistance.¹⁶⁴

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There are other countries in the world that are struggling with the same problem. One of the best examples of this is Israel. I think there are models we could look to and program from them.¹⁶⁵

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We need social adjustment and social training.¹⁶⁶

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Also, it appeared that existing urban agencies seldom were able to meet immediate, emergency needs; Indian organizations more often were structured to do that, although they were not adequately funded:

Social workers start at eight and quit at four. This isn't the answer.

Problems that come up on Saturday night, like they get thrown in jail or get jack rolled, and you don't have bus transportation for the following week. This is where you need help. He needs help Sunday night. If he has a problem that is going to affect his attendance Monday morning, he should have a place where he can call and say, "I got a problem. Will somebody help me?" He has no place at the present time.¹⁶⁷

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From a representative of the Antelope Valley American Indian League:

I think one thing has been overlooked here. It may not be important to you, but this organization I belong to is an organization that gives immediate need. That work, "immediate need" is very important.

Whether people think this is necessary or not, we have our organization that has helped 83 families in the last year. That may not seem like much. At the time, it was very important, because these people had problems and needed immediate aid. There was no place they could go to.

This is why our organization was formed. I would rather not see an organization like this, but it is necessary.

I would like to give you an example of some of the aid we have given. We have helped three women with children that did not qualify for welfare aid because they had to go through certain legal channels.

We were able to help financially there -- to pay for the legal fees.

I think there is one other organization in Los Angeles that offers immediate aid -- the Shooting Star Foundation. They help where they can, until their resources run out.

I feel if there were some agency funded to help with immediate needs, it would be a help.¹⁶⁸

* * *

From the president of the Shooting Star Foundation:

What we do is furnish food to the needy, pay their utilities, and find them employment, give them rent, and at Christmas, send two truckloads of things to the Tule Reservation. That is Tulare.

We also have been sending medicine there. We were fortunate enough to get two doctors to sign for medicine that was donated.

There were also two nurses that volunteered their services to make calls at home.

We are supported by the Eagles, Girl Scouts, and a general contribution from some golf club, through the efforts of Fred Gabourie.¹⁶⁹

* * *

The criticisms of urban agency performance were many. Some of these criticisms are included here to suggest the nature of Indian dissatisfaction with urban agencies:

I think we can agree the real initiative in Indian affairs in Los Angeles, is the Indian people of Los Angeles. Over and over, we have heard one story after another, of people attempting to assist themselves and their fellow tribesmen with inadequate support.

I see too little evidence of serious involvement on the part of the local community, the county, or the state. I see little evidence of involvement on the part of the institution of higher education.

I have heard nothing of the contributions and involvement of the great philanthropic foundations. I think this has to be pointed out.

We have seen a great deal of self help and involvement on the part of Indian groups. We see stories and hear stories of lack of flexibility in the administration of programs, a preoccupation with form more than substance sometimes.¹⁷⁰

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The only people that I refer to are the people I go to church with, or if they're in a position, I usually go to them. I say, "Here's a poor Indian guy that's got a family, and needs a job," These are the only ways I can get people in a position. The state employment and the county are not about to help. The Bureau of Indian Affairs staff with how many people -- counselors sitting there running back and forth from coffee period. They're not helping. You talk about it, and you raise tax money. This is where it comes from. I think it could be used in a lot of ways, I think there should be watchdog committees watching some of these agencies.¹⁷¹

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The social life as such, as I mentioned before, seems to gravitate toward the bars. It would seem that possibly the Bureau of Indian Affairs or possibly an unnamed organization could take over the task of coordination, or the working together, to see that the new Indians are directed toward some organization that can help them, be it a church organization or the Los Angeles Indian Center, or the Indian Welcome House. All of these organizations are in the city. Yet we have to go out ourselves and contact newly arrived Indians. It seems like a little coordination

could be set up in this field. 172

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What we should have is a land reform. When the Indian leaves the reservation, he should be able to exchange his property, the evaluation of it, toward property close to where he works. He shouldn't have to leave his family on the reservation. He should be able to take his family with him, when he leaves. He should be able to take his evaluation with him when he leaves. He should have good counselors who would have the Indians' interest at heart.

We have counselors -- I've seen counselors -- they're paid money, and that is the only thing they work for. They'll come in, turn their ear to you and listen, but they won't do anything for you. What the Indian needs is good counseling after he leaves the reservation, so he can get a good job and hold on to that job. He needs good counseling when he is discouraged. 173

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I also feel at a certain period we're also part of the larger Dallas-Fort Worth community. I have a feeling that there is no give and take. It's just all kind of on a one way -- maybe I'm reading into it. I'm not criticizing you and your agency, I'm saying I have a general feeling this is so. The hearings we had in Los Angeles, the school board was there and made one of the best contributions to the hearing. You know, it was a whole different atmosphere. It seems there is a whole element of the local community -- it's like a one-way effort, like it's all the BIA's responsibility or all the Indians' responsibility to push himself in that community. I don't think that's so. I think this is a community concern and people are a part of this community and the community should respond to them. Maybe I'm overstating or maybe overemphasizing, but it just seems like from the things I'm getting, it's kind of a one-way street. The Indian is giving, they go to the opening ceremonies for the library and they go and perform free. They volunteer their services for civic activity, opening of art shows, things like that. I don't see anything coming in the other direction. Maybe the city itself isn't knowledgeable of the Indian population. 174

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See, people in social service agencies go on and on and on. They never seem to have an event, where they have a

beginning and an end. One of the things in working with industrial people, they have a chart and say by May 1st, June 1st, etc., etc., I am going to have X amount accomplished. When you bring this up to a lot of our social agency people working with our Indian people in public schools, this threatens them, see. This means you have got to produce, and I don't know, this is why these people seem maybe to hate industry. I don't know what it is. If we could institute programs in the Indian community, I would say this, we would have to go overboard and pay a salary that would be equivalent to what that individual would earn in industry. I know quite a large number of Indians that we never hear or see about who are making ten, twelve, fourteen thousand dollars who never even finished high school and they live right here in town. They are doing real well, and we don't see or hear about them. These are the people who have gone through the mill, without an education and yet who are buying homes. It's estimated around three hundred homeowners in the city of Minneapolis, so not necessarily the people with the MSW have the answer. We have proven that. We have had social agencies for years and yet we have riots. They haven't cured. They haven't seemingly done that much. I would make a recommendation, if we were ever to have an effective Indian program, we are going to have to instill within that program on-going evaluation with business thinking. Just forget the social agency stuff of sitting back in the rocking chair and drawing their pay regardless of your ability or your production. 175

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We had a family of Sioux people from South Dakota whose car had broken down in Phoenix. They were on their way to look for work. They were out in the cold because the BIA could do nothing for them. The state welfare could do nothing for them, because they were not local residents. And no matter what agency we tried to get help from, it just wasn't their problem.

If the Indian community had not rallied around, and from what little money they had earned selling fried bread and baked beans at the State Fair, and helped this family and collected some clothing and food, I don't know what would have become of this family. This is why I say the only one that will, in the long run, help the Indian is another Indian. 176

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I went to work for an agency, and I thought I could get something done. There are several of my Indian fellow workers who can support what I am telling you. That is, you make a suggestion as to how the Indian people can be better served or how the Indian people can be helped. There's always some reason why it can't be done, but you are never told the reason. You say, well, why can't this be done. Well, we just can't do it. So the first thing you know you start growing an ulcer like the businessman does, and you get lumps on your head from knocking your heads against the wall. And it gets pretty damned frustrating.

This brings me to that six month syndrome, because that is one of the reasons why we have this, because the Indian person who tries, who really tries to get something done, after he runs into this for a while, he says: the heck with that. I'm going to where I can get something done.¹⁷⁷

* * *

Another thing, this education for our children, our school lunch program. There was a period of time, when I sent my children to school without lunches, no lunches. When I first started on my job, I was paid every two weeks, and this school had a lunch program, but we were not eligible because of my salary I was making. Well, it would be three weeks before I would have gotten my first paycheck, and it would have been for the one week at the beginning. These emergencies, surely there should be a fund or something where you could run to for an emergency during this period of time, but there are none. I have looked. So I wasn't eligible for welfare, because I was working on the night shift. I went to the welfare and they told me they didn't have people like me, coming in there. Well, my job was seasonal, it was ending, because I was working on this job, I wasn't eligible for welfare. It was ending, there was nothing they could do; these are technicalities that we run into and this should be looked into. There are a lot of people that would try harder, I know, if there was something just to tide them over for that period of time.¹⁷⁸

* * *

I would like to make my presentation on our kidney room at the Indian hospital. I was brought down from Nevada, Fallon, Nevada. When we first got here, I inquired for my family to come down after I got on the machine. That

is what the doctor told me. Then I found out my family could not come down right away because I didn't have no proper house for them to come.

I went to a social service, went all over. They could do nothing for me, financial problems and everything and not place to get any money, just from welfare, and I did not want to do that. So I was lowering myself, I felt like.

Now I have got a different attitude about it. I figure they owe it to me.¹⁷⁹

* * *

Some witnesses were particularly interested in the relationship of urban Indians to established employment centers. The following excerpts refer to Indian participation in an opportunities industrialization center, a community action program, and a pilot city center employment program:

MR. EFFMAN: How many Indians have gone through OIC in this area?

MR. CARMOUCHE: Through OIC? I can find out for you. I can't tell you right off the top of my head. I'd say this: very few, very few. The process of outreach we have is limited because of the few people we have. There are many people who will not just voluntarily go in, so that's why I say very few.

MRS. TITTLE: I'll say one further word. We're trying desperately to bring men into the program. It's predominantly female and we're trying desperately to get men into the program. There are jobs waiting.¹⁸⁰

* * *

MR. STATON: I was wondering, you have about 8,000 Indians in the city of Dallas, according to estimates we've gotten the last couple of days. The State of Oklahoma, which is the Indian state, you don't have eight times that many. In other words, right in the home city of Dallas, you have sixteen percent as many Indians as the entire state of Oklahoma. Yet, there is no evidence that the Indians have been involved at all in your Community Action Program. Is that correct?

MR. CARMOUCHE: I'd say this basically is correct.¹⁸¹

* * *

MR. VALANDRA: How many Indians go through your center per day?

MR. PATRICK LUSSIER: About ifve.

MR. VALANDRA: Five per day?

MR. PATRICK LUSSIER: Per day.

MR. VALANDRA: How many Indians in the city of Minneapolis and St. Paul?

MR. PATRICK LUSSIER: I'd say around twelve thousand.

MR. VALANDRA: Twelve thousand. You only get five a day in the particular area you are in?

MR. LUSSIER: Well, it varies. It depends if it's warm.

MR. VALANDRA: Depends on what?

MR. LUSSIER: Between Tuesday and Thursday we get a lot of them. (laughter)

MR. VALANDRA: What's the matter with Monday?

MR. LUSSIER: That's a good question. (laughter)

MR. VALANDRA: Are they in jail or something like that, do you think?

MR. LUSSIER: Well, I wouldn't say that. They just don't seem to --

MR. VALANDRA: Maybe they sleep Friday, Saturday and Sunday and Monday and come in Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. What do you think is the reason you are not getting any more Indians to report to the Pilot Center? Why don't more report on Monday or as many on Monday or as many on Friday?

MR. LUSSIER: We have never made a study on that. A lot of people say they are celebrating Cochise's birthday until Monday. (laughter) I don't know how to get them in there on Mondays or Fridays. If they are there we help them.

MR. JOURDIAN: Do you have many repeaters, Pat?

MR. LUSSIER: Oh, yes. A lot of them. Another big problem is the Indian going back to the reservation after saving up some money. Going back and forth, is a big problem keeping them on the job.¹⁸²

* * *

Other witnesses saw a particular need to serve older Indian people in the city, and found existing agency services to be inadequate:

... the older people have to be utilized. They can't get a job because they're too old for the employable market. You only have certain ages between the ages of around 24 on up to maybe forty that people will hire. The Indian, the older Indian, has a very hard time. They have to go on General Assistance, which does not offer enough for people to really live on. They can live, but not live good.

So these people, they're on General Assistance, but what do they have to do with their time? Nothing. We have all these different programs for the non-Indian. We have the foster grandparents. We have things like this for the non-Indians. You find programs in Chinatown. You find programs all over for the old people in these areas but not in the Indian community.¹⁸³

* * *

I work for Hennepin County Welfare in Social Services to the Elderly. We are a component of Pilot City on the North Side. My topic is the problems that the elderly Indians have with the welfare system. I am talking about the Indian that moves from the reservation to the city. The reasons for the elderly coming here are really very basic. They want better living conditions. The city offers a better life than the reservation does. The problems crop up because there is no planning stage involving the welfare department in the county they live in. They have no idea that their present welfare grant will not meet the living expenses in the city. Public assistance grants are based on need and the need has to be established before the grant can be opened or increased.

The client sometimes doesn't know that the grant can be increased to meet his higher living expenses here. For example, his total income may be \$55 a month on old age assistance. Maybe this was enough to live on when

he was on the reservation where his expenses for rent and utilities were next to nothing. His first step is to move in with relatives. He doesn't realize he would get more money if he were to rent an apartment by himself. He doesn't know what to do and doesn't ask so nothing happens. The basic hangup is that his grant can't be increased until he has established living arrangements on which a budget can be based and an increase in his grant recommended.

This means he must first have the money to rent an apartment. He hasn't got it so he can't get a place. He can't borrow from a relative to tide him over until his grant is increased because his relatives don't have the extra money to lend out. So there he is in the vicious circle of having to move in with relatives. It takes approximately two months to get an increase in a grant. The case worker from this county must set up a budget based on the person's new living arrangements. The recommendations are sent to the county where the client receives his old age assistance grant. That county must then submit the charge to the local board which meets once a month. This request may just have missed board action and have to wait until the following month to even get an okay for the increase. It takes time to process and it can take as long as two or three months before he gets the increased welfare check. You must recognize this stumbling block does exist. Steps must be taken to overcome it. Tell them to go to the relief department for emergency funds to supplement the Old Age assistance check until the grant can be increased. Be sure the relief department is aware of the situation and knows how to handle it promptly and efficiently. When moving, the person should first clear with his own county welfare department so his check can be sent to him. Once he gets here, he should contact the Hennepin County Welfare Department to help him get his adjustments.

Get everyone aware of just what steps to take and avoid hang-ups caused by not knowing who to call, what to do, or what they are entitled to. The problem happens over and over. He arrives here and does not know the proper channels. Many people try to help, but they don't go to the right source.

Maybe the daughter takes her father in. She is already on AFDC for herself and her childre. The next thing that happens is the daughter's AFDC grant is lowered because her father must pay his share in the household expenses.

Her father is unhappy too, because he doesn't really want to stay there. He doesn't understand when the case worker tells him he can move. This is all very confusing to him. He usually just moves to some other relatives or friends. He never does get adjusted because he becomes discouraged and quits. He either goes back to the hopeless reservation or he turns to drink as an escape. The drinking leads to other problems -- with his landlord, his neighbors, and the police. So he just moves on, perhaps owing rent and unpaid utility bills. This bad experience hasn't helped him gain any pride in his self worth. It's lowered his own image of himself. He now feels there is nothing to gain by trying so he gives up.184

* * *

Two witnesses, one an official of the Los Angeles Department of Social Services, and the other a BIA official commenting about the cooperativeness of the Texas State Welfare Department, provided insights from somewhat different perspectives:

The American Indian group aided by the Department ... is slightly less than four percent of the twenty-five thousand low estimate of American Indians residing in Los Angeles and slightly less than 2.5 percent of the forty thousand high estimate. This is less than the approximate five percent of the general Los Angeles population aided by the Department of Social Services.

Superficially, these figures seem to suggest that the plight of the Los Angeles urban American Indian is not as grave as the President's message would indicate. Yet the Department, during the course of research reading on American Indians, contacts with community organizations servicing American Indians, and inter-agency conferences held on May 14, and July 9, 1968, has learned and is well aware that accurate statistical data on urban American Indians is difficult to gather since, in the urban setting, American Indians are not readily identified, receive no benefit from so identifying themselves, and indeed, are under pressure from the dominant ethnic group and its institutions to become assimilated.

We were informed, furthermore, by the directors of various private service agencies that our figures do not represent

a true picture of the plight of the American Indian since members of that group are either mistrustful of or lack knowledge of the services of government agencies and so, in crises, turn to friends, church groups, or Indian centers for assistance: we adopt a nomadic pattern of life; or return to reservations.¹⁸⁵

* * *

Of course, they have their own eligibility criteria, but when our people have been residents long enough, this is no problem. I think they get the same services, any other citizen gets, based on our information.¹⁸⁶

* * *

Finally, an urban Indian spokesman referred to one barrier to the organization of needed services as having its origins in the Indian community:

We have got some ten organizations in the city fighting each other, trying to build up their own little bailiwick and their own little empire. We have seen the same thing happening in the government, in the political entities. Everybody is building a little empire. Who comes out on the short end of the stick, and who always comes out on the short end of the stick both on the reservation and in town? Our people have, and especially those that most need the resources and services and help in the city and on the reservation, because of our lousy fighting with one another.¹⁸⁷

* * *

In summary, typical urban social service agencies (other than the BIA) were perceived by many witnesses to be inadequate insofar as meeting the needs of Indians is concerned. There were urging for greater self-help and self-reliance among urban Indians. Programs of gradual orientation to the city were thought to be best. The need for social training was stressed, and it was thought that urban Indians could learn from peoples in similar situations, as in Israel.

Most urban agencies were failing to meet emergency needs, according to many witnesses, and some attributed this to the bureaucratized behavior of social workers. Indian agencies, poorly funded, were trying to satisfy emergency needs.

Urban agencies were said to be inflexible and preoccupied with form rather than substance. Counselors were criticized as ineffectual, the BIA was criticized for not contacting newly arrived Indians and orienting them to the city, and local communities were criticized for not initiating more involvement.

Some witnesses indicated that Indians were not using established employment programs, and there was some indication that life-style or cultural factors were important in this. The special problems of older urban Indian citizens were described.

Non-Indian agency representatives stressed the cultural difference of Indians as significant to the delivery of services and indicated they felt urban Indians received the same services as non-Indians.

Finally, one urban Indian spokesman thought that in-fighting among urban Indians was contributing to the diminution of agency services.

FOOTNOTES*

¹Woods, Richard G. and Arthur M. Harkins. An Examination of the 1968-1969 Urban Indian Hearings Held by the National Council on Indian Opportunity. Part I: Education. Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, June, 1971.

Ibid., Part II: Interracial Aspects. July, 1971.

Ibid., Part III: Indian Self-Definitions. June, 1971.

Ibid., Part IV: The Indian Center, July, 1971.

²Minneapolis, pp. 146-147, Dennis Wynne.

³Minneapolis, pp. 65-66, Alfrieda Beaver.

⁴Minneapolis, pp. 179-180, Emily Peake.

⁵Minneapolis, p. 77, Patrick Lussier.

*The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

- ⁶Minneapolis, p. 68, La Donna Harris, Alfrieda Beaver.
- ⁷Minneapolis, pp. 60-61, Fred Roberts.
- ⁸Dallas, pp. 110-111, Robert W. Beames.
- ⁹Dallas, p. 120, Robert W. Beames.
- ¹⁰Dallas, p. 28, La Donna Harris.
- ¹¹Dallas, pp. 198-199, Delores Seckletstewa.
- ¹²Dallas, p. 197, Mrs. Glenn Beezley.
- ¹³Dallas, p. 93, Joe Tafoya.
- ¹⁴Dallas, p. 72, Bernice Johnson.
- ¹⁵Dallas, pp. 111-112, Robert W. Beams, La Donna Harris.
- ¹⁶Dallas, p. 33, Dan Willis, La Donna Harris.
- ¹⁷Dallas, p. 106, Robert W. Beames.
- ¹⁸Dallas, p. 25, Peggy Larney.
- ¹⁹Dallas, p. 45, Virginia Edwards.
- ²⁰Dallas, p. 26, Robert W. Beames.
- ²¹San Francisco, p. 33, John Denton.
- ²²Phoenix, p. 38, Mrs. Rose King.
- ²³Phoenix, p. 23, Bill Street.
- ²⁴San Francisco, p. 6, Earl Livermore.
- ²⁵Dallas, p. 50, Herbert Brown Otter.
- ²⁶Los Angeles, p. 154, Joe Vasquaz.
- ²⁷Los Angeles, pp. 144-145, Sam Kalb.
- ²⁸Dallas, p. 88, Peverend Oliver Neal.
- ²⁹Los Angeles, p. 153, Joe Vasquaz.
- ³⁰Dallas, pp. 164-165, La Donna Harris, Joe Miller.

- 31 Dallas, p. 29, La Donna Harris.
- 32 Los Angeles, p. 152, Joe Vasquez.
- 33 Los Angeles, p. 152, Joe Vasquez.
- 34 Los Angeles, pp. 109-110, Tim Wapato.
- 35 Phoenix, p. 27, Eva Metikos.
- 36 Dallas, p. 12, George Younkin.
- 37 Dallas, p. 153, Claude Watson.
- 38 Dallas, p. 194, Dorothy Henson.
- 39 Minneapolis, p. 182, Emily Peake.
- 40 Los Angeles, pp. 203-204, Mrs. Fred Gabourie.
- 41 Los Angeles, p. 212, Sunne Wright.
- 42 Los Angeles, p. 222, William Carmack.
- 43 San Francisco, p. 192, Eric L. Byrd.
- 44 Minneapolis, p. 182, Emily Peake.
- 45 San Francisco, p. 38, Denis Turner.
- 46 Dallas, p. 5, Richard Lester.
- 47 Dallas, pp. 90-91, Joe Tafoya.
- 48 Los Angeles, p. 195, Formal Statement of Don Byron.
- 49 San Francisco, p. 15, Anthony Matcha.
- 50 Dallas, p. 74, Bernice Johnson.
- 51 Dallas, pp. 67-69, Bernice Johnson.
- 52 Los Angeles, pp. 106-107, Tim Wapato.
- 53 Dallas, p. 97, La Donna Harris.
- 54 Phoenix, p. 54, Mrs. Hazel Harold.

- 55 Phoenix, p. 43, Lee Cook.
- 56 Minneapolis, p. 47, Charles V. Buckanaga.
- 57 Phoenix, p. 45, Lee Cook.
- 58 Los Angeles, pp. 85-86, Steven S. Jones, Jr.
- 59 Phoenix, p. 26, Eva Metikos.
- 60 Phoenix, p. 26, Eva Metikos.
- 61 Dallas, p. 126, Eula B. Palmer.
- 62 Dallas, p. 35, Dan Willis.
- 63 Dallas, pp. 95-96, Joe Tafoya.
- 64 San Francisco, p. 10, Earl Livermore.
- 65 San Francisco, p. 25, Jerome H. Klein.
- 66 Los Angeles, p. 146, Sam Kalb.
- 67 San Francisco, p. 5, Earl Livermore.
- 68 San Francisco, p. 27, Jerome H. Klein.
- 69 Los Angeles, p. 185, Formal Statement of Bert Walters.
- 70 San Francisco, p. 6, Earl Livermore.
- 71 San Francisco, p. 124, Stella Leach.
- 72 Dallas, p. 80, La Donna Harris.
- 73 San Francisco, p. 26, La Donna Harris, Jerome H. Klein.
- 74 San Francisco, pp. 62-63, Mary Ann Grey Cloud, La Donna Harris,
Unidentified member of the audience, Mary Lee Justice.
- 75 San Francisco, pp. 120-121, Harold Red Bird.
- 76 Dallas, p. 55, Mrs. John Archuleta.
- 77 San Francisco, p. 233, Gerald Sam.
- 78 Los Angeles, p. 276, Joseph Merdler.

- 79 Los Angeles, p. 114, Fred Gabourie.
- 80 San Francisco, p. 26, Jerome H. Klein.
- 81 San Francisco, p. 242-243, Lehman Brightman.
- 82 San Francisco, pp. 119- 20, Harold Red Bird.
- 83 Minneapolis, p. 107, Charles Deegan.
- 84 Minneapolis, pp. 184-185, Ed Holstein.
- 85 San Francisco, pp. 234-235, Mary Lee Justice.
- 86 San Francisco, pp. 236-237, Mary Lee Justice, La Donna Harris
- 87 Los Angeles, p. 158, Reverend Stoneking.
- 88 Los Angeles, p. 161, Reverend Stoneking.
- 89 Los Angeles, p. 159, Reverend Stoneking.
- 90 Minneapolis, p. 138, Bob Carr, La Donna Harris.
- 91 San Francisco, p. 18, Anthony Matcha.
- 92 Dallas, p. 24, Vance Tahmahkera.
- 93 Los Angeles, p. 89, John W. King.
- 94 San Francisco, p. 14, Anthony Matcha.
- 95 Phoenix, p. 9, Mrs. Ellen Stevens.
- 96 Dallas, p. 36, Wanda Kostzuta.
- 97 San Francisco, p. 135, Dr. D. J. Tepper.
- 98 Dallas, pp. 124-125, Eula B. Palmer.
- 99 Dallas, pp. 24-25, La Donna Harris, Vance Tahmahkera.
- 100 San Francisco, pp. 169-170, Miss Mary Lee Justice.
- 101 San Francisco, p. 30, Horace Spencer.
- 102 Phoenix, p. 37, Mrs. Rose King.
- 103 Phoenix, p. 58, Mrs. Rose King.

- 104 San Francisco, p. 175, Tom White Cloud.
- 105 San Francisco, p. 167, Lee Sclar.
- 106 Los Angeles, p. 211, Sunne Wright.
- 107 San Francisco, p. 34, John Denton.
- 108 San Francisco, p. 179, Frank Archambault.
- 109 Dallas, p. 47, Virginia Edwards.
- 110 Dallas, pp. 47-48, La Donna Harris.
- 111 Dallas, p. 54, Levi Edwards.
- 112 Los Angeles, p. 144, Sam Kalb.
- 113 San Francisco, p. 14, Anthony Matcha.
- 114 San Francisco, pp. 238-241, Lehman Brightman.
- 115 Los Angeles, p. 231, Meredith Quinn.
- 116 San Francisco, pp. 178-179, Frank Archambault.
- 117 Los Angeles, pp. 96-97, La Donna Harris, Ernie Peters, Roger Jourdain.
- 118 Dallas, p. 95, Joe Tafoya.
- 119 Los Angeles, pp. 267-268, Clem Janis.
- 120 Dallas, p. 91, Joe Tafoya.
- 121 Los Angeles, p. 150, Sam Kalb.
- 122 Los Angeles, p. 91, Francis Allen.
- 123 Dallas, p. 112, La Donna Harris, Robert W. Beames.
- 124 Los Angeles, pp. 140-141, D. L. Mahoney.
- 125 Dallas, p. 107, Robert W. Beames.
- 126 Dallas, p. 122, Robert W. Beames.
- 127 Dallas, p. 116, Robert W. Beames.
- 128 Dallas, p. 123, Jerry Hargis, Robert W. Beames, Irene Day.

- 129 Dallas, p. 109, Robert W. Beames.
- 130 Los Angeles, pp. 124-125, D. L. Mahoney.
- 131 Los Angeles, p. 130, D. L. Mahoney.
- 132 San Francisco, p. 231, Walter Jones.
- 133 Minneapolis, p. 181, Emily Peake.
- 134 San Francisco, p. 232, Walter Jones.
- 135 San Francisco, p. 232, Mary Lee Justice.
- 136 San Francisco, pp. 235-236, Unidentified member of the audience, Walter Jones, Earl Livermore.
- 137 San Francisco, pp. 230-231, Walter Jones, Mary Lee Justice.
- 138 San Francisco, p. 98, Adam Nordwall.
- 139 Dallas, p. 35, La Donna Harris.
- 140 Dallas, p. 75, Bernice Johnson.
- 141 Los Angeles, pp. 108-109, La Donna Harris, Tim Wapato.
- 142 San Francisco, p. 95, Adam Nordwall.
- 143 Minneapolis, pp. 205-206, Jerry Fallis.
- 144 San Francisco, p. 48, Sonny Gorbet.
- 145 San Francisco, pp. 57-58, E. E. Papke.
- 146 Dallas, pp. 36-37, La Donna Harris, Dan Willis.
- 147 San Francisco, p. 230, Gerald Sam.
- 148 Minneapolis, pp. 124-125, Delores Raisch.
- 149 Minneapolis, pp. 193-194, Isabelle McLaughlin.
- 150 Minneapolis, p. 125, La Donna Harris, Delores Raisch.
- 151 Minneapolis, p. 122, Delores Raisch.

- 152 Los Angeles, pp. 119-120, Fred Gabourie.
- 153 Los Angeles, p. 152, Joe Vasquaz.
- 154 Dallas, p. 170, Robert Beames.
- 155 Dallas, p. 161-162, Joe Miller.
- 156 Dallas, p. 37, Juanita Ahtone.
- 157 Dallas, p. 38, Juanita Ahtone.
- 158 Los Angeles, p. 200, Mrs. Fred Gabourie.
- 159 Dallas, p. 171, Juanita Ahtone.
- 160 Minneapolis, pp. 72-73, Audrey Wyman.
- 161 Minneapolis, p. 178, Amy Flocken.
- 162 Los Angeles, p. 103, Tim Wapato.
- 163 Los Angeles, p. 67, Noel Campbell.
- 164 Los Angeles, p. 196, Donn Byron.
- 165 Los Angeles, p. 173, Burt Walters.
- 166 Los Angeles, p. 151, Sam Kalb.
- 167 Minneapolis, p. 102, Charles Deegan.
- 168 Los Angeles, pp. 228-229, Mrs. Marion Rawlinson.
- 169 Los Angeles, p. 266, Clem Janis.
- 170 Los Angeles, p. 281, William Carmack.
- 171 San Francisco, p. 29, Horace Spencer.
- 172 Los Angeles, p. 103, Tim Wapato.
- 173 San Francisco, p. 16, Anthony Matcha.
- 174 Dallas, pp. 171-172, La Donna Harris.
- 175 Minneapolis, pp. 99-100, Charles Deegan.
- 176 Phoenix, p. 62, Juana Lyon.

- 177 Phoenix, p. 62 Juana Lyon.
- 178 Dallas, p. 126, Eula B. Palmer.
- 179 Phoenix, p. 23, Bill Street.
- 180 Dallas, p. 185, George Euffman, Joe Carmouche, Bess Tittle.
- 181 Dallas, p. 188, William Staton, Joe Carmouche.
- 182 Minneapolis, pp. 85-86, Mr. Lussier.
- 183 San Francisco, pp. 68-69, Mary Lee Justice.
- 184 Minneapolis, pp. 176-177, Amy Flocken.
- 185 Los Angeles, pp. 189-190, Formal Statement of Conn Byron.
- 186 Dallas, p. 119, Robert W Beames.
- 187 Phoenix, p. 46, Lee Cook.