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Barriers to Workplace Advancement Experienced by Native Americans

Keith James

United States Glass Ceiling Commission

Willie Wolf

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Chris Lovato

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Barriers to Workplace Advancement Experienced by Native Americans

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Glass Ceiling Report

Barriers to Workplace Advancement Experienced by Native Americans

Keith James
Colorado State University

Willie Wolf
Wolf Enterprises

Chris Lovato
Colorado State University

Steve Byers
Denver Indian Health and Family Services
&
University of Colorado, Boulder

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Figures from the U.S. Census show that while Native Americans made gains in achievement of higher level organizational positions in the 1960's and 1970's, they are still underrepresented in such positions relative to EuroAmericans. For instance, according to the 1990 census while 13.1% of the working adults in the latter group were in managerial or administrative jobs, among Native Americans only 7.9% held such positions. In addition, progress halted or was even reversed between 1980 and 1990, and more so for native males than for native females. For instance, according to the 1980 census, 9.6% of native males held professional or technical positions. By 1990, this figure had slipped to 6.7%. There are also good reasons to question the accuracy of federal figures on Native American occupational representation; other indicators of Native American economic and employment success indicate that these may be even worse than indicated by the census data. Similarly, the apparent greater recent success by native women compared to native men in attaining administrative/managerial and professional/technical positions may be at least partially illusory. A variety of historical, cultural, social, situational, and individual factors that have influenced these patterns of Native American economic and occupational success are discussed. Trends in and the current status of occupational distribution and tribal economics are described. Barriers to Native American career and economic success--such as lack of educational attainment and lack of capital for tribal enterprises-- are examined. Similarly, strengths that could be built on further--such as cultural norms and values and reservation resources-- are detailed. Recommendations for improving native education, public and private sector employment and advancement, and tribal enterprise success are offered. These include: -Increased community control of education, resources and economic development

- Educational and organizational approaches that fit with the norms and values of tribes
- Attention to substance abuse and poverty as sources of educational and economic problems
- Research and application aimed at dropout prevention and promoting attainment of the most valuable types of skills and knowledge
- Increased financial and technical support to tribal community colleges
- Increased research and applied attention to inter-tribal differences and tribe, gender and situational interactions
- Interventions in mainstream organizations to reduce bias against, and promote support for, native male and female workers
- Increased managerial training for native people in mainstream and tribal organizations
- increased financial and technical support for start-up of tribal enterprises

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND, PURPOSE, AND SCOPE

Overview of the Focus and Scope of the Monograph

Perhaps more so than for any other U.S. group, the unique histories, social patterns, and legal status of Indian groups need to be understood if their current and potential economic and employment outcomes are to be analyzed. Thus, while the focus of this monograph is on employment and, especially, employment in higher-level organizational positions, we begin with a historical review.

Next, we attempt to address, relative to work and economic outcomes of U.S. tribal peoples, both general conditions, general possibilities, and general problems; and current differences, differences in trends, and differences in opportunities and needs. We also focus on patterns for females and males across tribes and within them, and attempt to relate both tribal and female/male outcomes to historical, situational, and cultural conditions. To make our task somewhat more manageable, we will not attempt to explicitly address Native Alaskans and Inuits. These groups have their own distinctive and multiple physical conditions, histories, cultures, and economic patterns (e.g., the Native Corporations set up to manage and invest sizable oil revenues) and reasonably addressing these would substantially add to the complexity of our task. The same is true of Canadian Native groups, though we recognize the abstract and partially artificial nature of national borders. Some of the studies we cite involved each of these groups, however, and many of the conclusions we draw may apply to them. This report is intended to apply even less to native groups in Mexico, Central and South America.

Even with the restrictions just outlined, the scope of the task is great and is compounded by the fact that employment and economic outcomes among Native Americans have received comparatively little attention relative to the same outcomes for other U.S. ethnic groups. Combined with the shortness of time allowed for preparing this report and the limited resources available to support its preparation, this means that this review and analysis will necessarily be many-times flawed. We ask for the reader's and the people's indulgence (grace?) and hope that this work will help promote improved research and analysis in the future even if it does not capture past and current realities completely.

Multiple Traditional Patterns: Productive Activity in a Tribal Context

Numerous and varied Native American groups exist. The United States government currently recognizes over 270 separate reservations or tribal communities in the lower 48 states alone. Over 200 distinct languages are spoken by the peoples of these areas, and other aspects of their cultures and ways of life differ as frequently as does language. For instance, some groups, such as the Cumash (in what is now called California) and the Wampanoag (Massachusetts) did much fishing and gathering of shellfish; others, such as those now known collectively as "Pueblo" tribes (e.g., Acoma; Hopi) and those commonly referred to as "Iroquois" engaged in extensive agriculture; others, such as the Lakota bands and the Arapahoe, were mainly gatherers and hunter/trappers (see, however, Foster, 1993 for discussion of exceptions and complications within the Plains group that were echoed elsewhere). Prior to the advent of Europeans, the number of tribes and the variations in traditional ways of life were even greater.

Living arrangements and other social patterns, spiritual practices, and physical characteristics and materials also varied widely among the many indigenous peoples. Thus, there is not and never has been an "Indian" or "Native American" way of life. There may be some commonalities in experiences, reactions, and needs, but there are also always unique components of histories, ways, and issues. These variations in traditional productive activities and cultural norms and values still tend to lead to differences across tribes in individuals' career choices and success, and in tribal economic development outcomes and needs (see pages 13-17).

Perhaps one common element, however, relative to Euro American ways, was that roles and systems for obtaining foods and materials, producing tools, engaging in battle, and providing

necessary services to others were inseparable from spirituality and community (see Bopp, et al., 1989). For many indigenous people, especially more traditional ones, this remains true. Work was not, and often still is not an element separate from all other aspects of life. This can create some difficulties and discomfort for some when they attempt to work in settings organized according to mainstream approaches (see pages 25-27). It also creates a strong emotional commitment to the notion of tribal enterprises even in the face of some indifferent success in the past (see pages 16 & 31-33).

Contact and change. One major difference across tribes is in when major contact with non-Indian peoples occurred and how well it was endured. It has been four or five hundred years of substantial sustained contact with Europeans for the Eastern tribes, those of the Caribbean, and some Mexican border-area and Californian tribes. Some of these groups, such as the Mandan and the Matinocock survived only as fragmented families, with huge genetic and cultural devastation, though survive they did regardless of whether that survival is currently "officially" recognized or not. Many of the other groups that experienced early contact, such as the Choctaw, survived as tribal entities, but experienced tremendous physical, cultural and social upheaval in the process. Physical disruption included great loss of numbers to disease and starvation, and dislocation from much or all of traditional lands. The latter occurred especially during the infamous mass relocations of tribes to the (short-lived) "Indian Country" west of the Mississippi beginning in the 1830's but also in numerous more limited tribal relocations.

Early and enduring social and cultural disruption is often (though not always) reflected in relatively small percentages of speakers of the tribal language, a very obvious example of many cultural losses and adjustments triggered by adaptation and coercion. Early contact among these groups resulted in great suffering and disruption over an extended period. Yet, it also allowed them more time to adapt to changes in their physical, cultural, and political surroundings. This may facilitate individual success in mainstream organizations. As one eastern elder put it, "A big difference between the eastern and western tribes is that we've been dealing with whites for much longer. We know they're crazy and we know more about how to handle that (Slow Turtle, quoted by Wesley James, personal communication, November 16, 1993)."

Other, mainly Plains, southwestern, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific northwest groups had much more limited contact with EuroAmerican society until more recently. The Apache, the Cheyenne, and the Haida are examples of this set of tribes. While the death, destruction, and cultural disruption attendant on contact took heavy tolls on them, as well, they typically came into this century social, culturally, and physically (their lands as well as themselves) somewhat more intact than groups that experienced earlier contact. Thus, both the social and physical resources for tribal economic development are in place more for these groups. The cost, however, was less time to adapt combined with reservations that, while insufficient to sustain traditional ways of life, were often highly tempting to governments (federal, state, and local), private companies, and individuals as places to farm, ranch and harvest timber, to mine gold, silver and other minerals, to build dams, dump waste or otherwise exploit. Industrialization and increases in the non-native population also made relatively late contact more jarring and called for more abrupt shifts of social, cultural, and physical patterns that were difficult to achieve.

Regardless of specifics, however, all native groups have had to deal with severe challenges from massive social, technological, and physical changes. With advances in transportation and communication technology, especially since World War II and continuing into the future, all native groups have faced and will continue to face great new challenges to adapting and thriving. It is not surprising that the challenges of the past have led to ongoing social problems with implications for employment and economic attainment (see pages 22-24). The early major challenge of tribal physical survival was weathered by many, though. So too, no doubt, will current economic, social and political ones.

Ways of survival in times of darkness. For many years after concerted efforts to physically eliminate Native American tribes had ended, efforts to eliminate them politically, socially and culturally continued. From the late 1800's through most of the 1940's, federal policy aimed at promoting the full assimilation of native individuals into American society. Efforts were consistently made to break down traditional cultures and social patterns through out-of-tribe adoptions, relocations from existing communities and lands, restriction of hunting, fishing, and trapping rights, and coercions, rewards, and forced "education" aimed at inculcating the values and norms of main-stream American society, including its biases. These tendencies persist, to some extent, to the present (see pages 18-21 & 29-30).

Educational policies and approaches and the reactions they triggered are prototypical of this period. The full history of Indian Boarding schools and missionary schools is told elsewhere (see, e.g., Szasz, 1977), and tribal perspectives on them can be found in case studies such as that by Lomawaima (1987), as well as in fictionalized, but reality-based, works by authors such as Vizenor (1981). In essence, though, the policy in both types of schools was to eliminate native ways and inculcate those of the mainstream society. This was accomplished with prohibitions and punishments against, for instance, using tribal languages or engaging in tribal rites; and indoctrinate into allegiance to white values and norms. Education in the sense of imparting knowledge and skills typically took, at best, second place. While some parents agreed or even desired to place their children in these facilities, many were coerced into sending them.

An association of education, in particular, and government efforts at "assistance" with culture loss and outgroup dominance was established that still persists to some extent today and may inhibit entry into and success in mainstream organizations (see pages 25-27). In addition, while many were wrenched at least partially away from traditions and community during this period, few were assisted in developing suitable substitute skills, social patterns, or other life ways. Already tattered social and physical fabrics were often further rent and then left to the people to patch as best they could.

Resilience and resistance were there, though. Languages, customs, and spiritual values and practices that were targeted by U.S. authorities and society for elimination persisted in buffered pockets, in settings beyond the view of authorities, or in modified public forms. In fact, the prejudice, bigotry, and social assaults of the majority, while harmful, also helped to sustain tribal identity and unity and helped to develop some level of pan-tribal cooperation and identification.

Reservations, while typically inadequate in space or characteristics for full subsistence let alone thriving and subject to encroachment and appropriation, did provide locations and some autonomy on which to stake social and cultural survival. Beliefs, ceremonies, histories, and structures that sustained identity and unity continued to exist. Reservations have also provided some basis for economic activity (see pages 30-33). Federal treaty obligations, while often fully or partially ignored and frequently subverted into excuses for meddling and assimilation schemes, provided some of the wherewithal for physical survival.

Resistance to introduced diseases spread, food access improved and the most desperate phase passed. Citizenship in 1924 brought with it some legal protections, though it also brought more efforts at forced assimilation. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 formalized tribal governments, often at the cost of forced adoption of some alien structures and processes, and was accompanied by years of efforts to vest control of tribal governments (and, thus, the resources they controlled) with assimilationists and appeasers. This led to conflicts and divisions within tribes that often persist to the present and help impede individual and tribal success. One example of imposed alien elements was that patriarchal systems of power, control of resources, and inheritance were established and supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other entities even among groups that had traditionally been relatively egalitarian or matrilineal/matrilocal/matrifocal (see pages 13, 16-17, & 27). This was imposed not only

because it fit directly with the tenets of male-oriented EuroAmerican society but also because that society's norms allowed white male-native female involvements much more than native male-white female ones. Patrilineal systems therefore allowed many mixed-heritage children to be excluded from the tribes and from treaty obligations. Nevertheless, the formalization of tribal governments brought a measure of legal and political recognition and autonomy that was an improvement over the situation of the previous years and, in particular, a surge in efforts to promote tribal businesses. And so, deflected but not destroyed, they all went on.

Post WWII recovery, cultural revivals and "red power". After world war two, several factors came together to further promote social and economic revitalization. Veterans returning from service in Europe and the Pacific had gained experience, confidence, and skills. They had fought, been wounded, and seen friends and relatives die in service of a nation that had abused them and theirs for centuries. Yet, they saw that nation pour massive resources and effort into fighting for foreign peoples and rebuilding foreign nations. In addition, the number, power, and cultural strength of the Japanese and other Asian peoples impressed veterans of the Pacific war. Indian fighters returned less inclined to accept the old patterns in the future. Military service, like boarding schools, also helped to promote a measure of inter-tribal interaction and cooperation that helped spread trends from tribe to tribe and enhance overall Indian voice and influence. Then, too, skills learned in the military and G.I.-Bill funded opportunities for education and training after the war opened new possibilities for some.

Mainstream American society had also been changed. Prosperity was back. Social rigidities weakened and political power shifted. Revelations about the extermination policies of the Nazi's and others triggered conscious and unconscious guilt among some of those who had long professed equality and justice for all while meting out inequality and injustice to many, including the native peoples.

While new rounds of "termination" of tribes as federally recognized entities and of relocation of native individuals and tribes were initiated in the 1950's and beyond, the trend was, nonetheless, generally toward more subtle and less coercive forms of control and exploitation. These provided less hinderance, if not necessarily encouragement, to cultural revivals, social reorganizations, and economic and political development (see pages 30-32).

Thus, first parallel to, and then stimulated by, the civil rights, Black Power, and counter-cultural movements came Indian improvement and Red Power movements (see page 30). The relatively small numbers and scattered state of Indians; value and norm impediments; cultural and historical differences among tribes; and the unique treaty relationships and rights most tribes have with the Federal Government prevented strong coalitions among Indians or between them and other groups, however. Similarly, orientations toward traditional cultural values, factors promoting tribal and pan-tribal solidarity, and the partially buffered status of reservations helped limit the effects of the women's movement in the general society on native women (see page 11). Nonetheless, the near fifty years since the second world war have seen increased cultural, educational, and economic pan-tribalism; more collaboration between native and other ethnic groups on economic, environmental, and social issues; and increased (or renewed) sex-role flexibility and economic and political power and opportunities for native women.

Native groups today. Native Americans are now among the fastest growing ethnic groups in the U.S. Relatively high birth rates account for some of the increase in numbers, but increased identification with native heritage accounts for part of it (see page 9). Federal recognition of tribes that had previously been terminated or never formally recognized has increased in pace. Political autonomy and economic and political power are coming more slowly, but have come some.

The average age among Native Americans is comparatively low, and this presents some unique challenges and needs. Social, cultural and physical diversity are great across individuals and across tribes in part because it always has and in part because of differential effects of

contacts with white society. Education, income, and health levels are still below the national average, though some improvement in all of these has been seen in recent years. Overall, many issues and challenges remain for native individuals and groups. But the picture is brighter than it has been for some time both because of changing external circumstances and as a result of individuals' and groups' own efforts and resiliency. In the next section, we focus on trends of occupational involvement and type over time. This is done comparatively between NativeAmerican males and females, between NativeAmerican males and females and men and women from other ethnic groups, between rural and urban NativeAmericans, and among selected tribal groups.

COMPARATIVE OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT TRENDS

Table 1 shows figures, derived from U.S. Census reports, for the proportions of NativeAmerican, AfroAmerican, AsianAmerican and EuroAmerican workers employed nationwide in each of four categories of professions (non-farm managerial and administrative; nonmanagerial profession and technical; non-farm unskilled labor, and non-domestic service workers) in 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

First some cautionary comments. Ethnic identification and employment type in the Census is by self-report. The numbers shown in these tables are the percentage of all employed individuals who identified themselves as a member of a particular ethnic group who indicated employment in a particular profession. It is known that the number of individuals identifying themselves and their families as NativeAmerican increased substantially in the 1980 and 1990 censuses, more so than birth rates would justify. Stigmas in earlier years may have resulted in under-reporting of Indian ethnicity. Fads of recent years may, however, also be resulting in claims of Indian identity by substantial numbers of individuals whose native heritage is tenuous or dubious. It is also well accepted that failure to participate in the census is higher among native peoples than in the population as a whole. Those NativeAmericans least a part of mainstream activities and institutions are, in fact, most likely to be underrepresented in the census, a tendency that would especially distort figures such as those for employment levels and type. Illustrating the potential unreliability of Census-based occupation figures is an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission report from 1973 that was based on data collected directly from private employers. This set of data showed larger percentages of NativeAmerican employed as administrators and managers (7.3%) and unskilled laborers (15.6%) than the Census figures for 1970 given in Table 1, but smaller numbers of professionals (4.4%) and service workers (8.6%).

In addition, since the figures are percentages of the total number of employed persons in each ethnic group, they do not take into account higher unemployment rates among NativeAmericans and AfroAmericans compared to Asian- and EuroAmericans. Studies of unemployment rates in particular Native communities or reservations in the 1980's yielded estimates in the 35% to 75% range. Census and Labor Department estimates of NativeAmerican unemployment yield much lower figures than these, though ones still higher than those for whites (see, e.g., Table 3), but these are subject to the same under-count problems outlined above and are distorted by the government definition of "unemployed" as out of work and having sought a job in the last four months. Given long-term chronic unemployment in many native communities, many who are without work and who would accept reasonable work were it available are not counted as unemployed under this definition. Thus, the numbers shown in all of the tables here, while the best available estimates for studying occupational trends over time, are probably still problematic.

Table 1.
Percentage of Four U.S. Ethnic Groups Employed in Four Occupation Groups, 1940 - 1990

		1940	1950	1960	1970	1980					
						Males	Femls	Total	Males	Femls	Total
NativeAm- ericans	Mngrl	1.4	2.2	2.8	5.0	7.8	6.5	7.2	7.2	8.6	7.9
	Profes	2.2	4.5	4.9	9.2	9.6	14.3	11.7	6.7	11.6	9.0
	Labor	11.4	18.3	20.2	13.2	9.6	2.7	6.6	9.7	2.5	6.4
	Servc	2.6	13.8	6.3	10.4	9.5	23.2	15.4	14.1	23.8	18.6
AfroAmer- icans	Mngrl	1.3	1.8	1.9	2.8	5.7	4.7	5.2	6.6	7.4	7.0
	Profes	1.8	3.2	3.4	5.7	7.9	15.2	11.5	6.6	12.1	9.5
	Labor	21.4	15.6	22.2	16.1	11.5	2.9	7.2	10.2	2.3	6.0
	Servc	15.3	15.2	16.0	15.9	13.7	23.6	18.6	18.8	24.9	22.0
AsianAme- ricans	Mngrl					13.2	7.6	10.6	13.4	11.0	12.3
	Profes		Not			26.8	20.9	23.8	18.8	16.5	17.7
	Labor		Avail	able		4.2	1.8	3.1	3.6	1.6	2.7
	Servc					12.8	16.1	14.3	12.1	15.1	13.5
EuroAmer- icans	Mngrl	10.7	9.5	12.1	12.4	13.5	5.6	11.1	14.1	11.9	13.1
	Profes	5.9	9.0	11.6	14.9	14.5	12.7	15.9	12.6	17.1	14.6
	Labor	7.5	5.0	6.0	6.0	5.7	1.4	4.1	5.5	1.7	3.8
	Servc	6.0	6.8	5.7	7.3	5.9	10.8	9.8	6.0	14.2	9.7

Note: Figures for 1970 and before are for males only. Figures for NativeAmericans include Native Alaskans and Alutes.

The figures in Table 1 do show, however, a trend toward improved NativeAmerican representation in the higher levels positions up to 1980, after which proportions in these positions either held constant or decline. The exception is for proportions of NativeAmerican women employed in administrative/managerial occupations, which increased between 1980 and 1990. The proportion of native males so employed declined slightly over the same period. The proportions of both native men and women in professional positions declined from 1980 to 1990. In fact, all groups except white women showed declines in proportional representation in professions in the latest census. NativeAmerican representation in the two lower-level positions (i.e., service and labor), on the other hand, either held essentially constant or actually increased. Again, this was similar to the situation for the other three ethnic groups. Both NativeAmerican men and women showed continued sizable underrepresentation in higher level positions relative to EuroAmericans and AsianAmericans. NativeAmerican representation in the higher-level occupations in 1990 was fairly comparable to that of AfroAmericans.

Native women appear from these figures to presently be better represented overall in higher-level positions than native men. This may be partially a real effect and partially an artifact. Native women generally tend to achieve higher education levels than native men, which would give them greater access to most types of higher level positions. However, it has also been argued that many women have historically "managed" small offices in tribal governments or urban social-service agencies because the manager must also perform most of the clerical duties and training and tradition makes this more the province of women. This is supported somewhat by indications (see Table 2, below) that urban males are better represented in administrative and professional positions than rural (i.e., more likely reservation) males, while this difference does not appear for women. In addition, many of the profession positions held by women are likely in social-service types of jobs (e.g., nursing, social work, childcare) in tribal, federal (e.g., Indian Health Service), and non-profit organizations. These jobs are critically important, but tend to pay less well and be less associated with creation of additional jobs than managerial and professional positions in technical or manufacturing settings. Other evidence (see James, Khoo & Harbold, in press) indicates that native women may be the most underrepresented ethnic/gender group when it comes to higher-level technical and manufacturing positions.

Urban/Rural Differences

Table 2 shows comparative census figures for representation in four occupations among urban and rural NativeAmericans in 1970 and 1980. Comparable information from the 1990 census has not yet been released.

There are clearly some differences between urban and rural employment for NativeAmericans as shown in Table 2, mainly in favor of urban dwellers. Several things may contribute to this. One is that rural unemployment is greater across all ethnic groups because there are simply fewer opportunities in rural areas because most large employers are located in metropolitan areas. A second is that, since census information on ethnicity is by self-report, counts of native individuals on reservations are more likely to be accurate than those in from urban areas. This might have had different effects on the census figures across the decades, in that previously individuals may have tried to deny Indian heritage because of its social stigma, but increased pride, positive native social images, and affirmative action possibilities have led to increased self-identification as NativeAmerican or member of a particular tribe both by those with legitimate claim and those possessed of more dubious evidence or reasons. A third source of urban/rural differences in employment levels and types may be differences in the personal and cultural characteristics of those genuine native people who have ended up in these two types of locales through the years.

Table 2.
Urban and Rural Native Americans in Four Occupation Groups Across Two Decades

Urban Native Americans		1970	1980
Males	Managerial-Admin.	11.4	10.9
	Professional-Tech.	5.8	8.5
	Unskilled-Labor	10.8	8.5
	Service	10.8	9.7
Females	Managerial-Admin.		14.1
	Professional-Tech.		7.0
	Unskilled-Labor		2.4
	Service		21.6
Rural Native Americans		1970	1980
Males	Managerial-Admin.	6.8	7.6
	Professional-Tech.	4.2	6.8
	Unskilled-Labor	15.8	11.3
	Service	10.1	9.1
Females	Managerial-Admins		14.7
	Professional-Tech.		5.7
	Unskilled-Labor		3.1
	Service		25.8

Note: Figures for 1970 are for males and female combined.

That last explanation is a popular one. The most common version is that either the most adapted/adaptable or the most skillful native individuals have tended, over the years, to be drawn away from reservations by government relocation programs or educational and employment opportunities available in urban areas. The argument is that the individuals who remain on reservations are either generally more traditional and, thus, less inclined to participate in modern industries and economic activities; or less educated and skilled, and thus less able to obtain positions or advance beyond low-level jobs (e.g., Presidential Commission on Indian Reservation Economies, 1984).

An examination of the labor pool at Navajo-land in the mid-80's, however, indicated higher than expected education, experience, and skill levels, but relatively high unemployment

even among the most highly educated/skilled segments of the reservation population (Pottinger, 1985, 1986). In addition, urban and reservation populations probably typically experience a great deal of interchange as urban-livers return after education, short-term jobs, or periodic city residence, and reservation-livers explore social, training, and economic possibilities in the city. Moreover, some commentators (e.g., Jorgenson, 1978) have argued that, far from long-term reservation leavers being the most skilled and adapted, they may actually be likely to include high proportions of misfits and both "positive" and negative "hedonists" (i.e., the seekers after material goods and comfort as well as drug and alcohol abusers). There is no doubt some truth to all of these arguments, and variations in how true each is for different tribal groups and at different periods of time.

Analysis of the Current State of Native American Employment Across Tribes

As was noted previously, one major difficulty in discussing Native American history, culture, and conditions that is too often ignored is the great variation that occurs across tribes on a variety of factors. This is no less true for employment and employment opportunities than it is in other areas. The number of tribes precludes, however, a detailed discussion of circumstances and influences for each one. So, we have selected eight somewhat "representative" reservations and present data on occupational attainment among members of each of them in Table 3, which appears on the next page. Unfortunately, separate occupational figures for males and females within these tribes were not available. The tribes are 1~ representative", however, only in terms of the subjective selection criteria that we thought might be major influences on employment and other economic outcomes for Native men and women.

Explanation of tribal selection criteria. We selected the eight tribes included in Table 3 on the basis of the following criteria: balance of reservation location in rural versus more metropolitan areas; inclusion of traditionally "female-centered" versus "male-centered" societies; region of the country; levels of resources on tribal lands; and percent of members who speak the tribal language as an indication of degree of cultural difference from mainstream American society. We acknowledge that other reasonable criteria might have yielded a completely different set of groups. Rural reservations typically provide fewer opportunities for private-sector employment than ones that are closer to urban areas. In this case, the Mississippi Choctaw, Ft. Peck (Assiniboin and Sioux tribes), Penobscot, Pine Ridge (Oglala Sioux), and Navajo Reservations are more rural, while the Puyallup, Oneida, and Eastern Cherokee groups are closer to major urban areas. Differences in occupational attainment by male and female native folk across tribes may have roots in different cultural traditions for gender links to productive activity, which is why variation in gender-centering of cultures was attempted. The Oneida, Navajo, Puyallup, and (to some extent) Eastern Cherokee groups have more female-centered traditions than the other groups (see, however, Foster, 1993; and LaFromboise, Heyle & Ozer, 1990 on the complexities of gender roles both within and between tribes). For instance, nine out of ten current tribal council members at Puyallup are women. Groups in different parts of the country have different contact lengths, different historical relations with (while) local and state governments and other elements of white society, and must contend with different regional economic climates and trends.

We also obtained figures for percentages of reservation families that speak the tribal language at home to represent levels of cultural traditionalism, and attempted to balance regions of the U.S. to represent differences in government and economies. Language percentages are shown in Table 4 on page 15.

Table 3.
Percentage of Members of Eight Tribes Employed in Four Occupations, 1990

	Total Population	Unemployed	Mngr./ Admn.	Profsl./ Tech.	Labor- Unskl.	Service Wkr.
U.S. Total Pop.	Males 49%	Males 4.7 (30.2)				
	248,709,873	Total 4.1 (41.0)	7.4%	10.7%	2.4%	6.7%
	Females 51%	Females 3.5 (46.7)				
West Oneida- WI.	Males 50%	Males 3.7 (20.4)				
	18,033	Total 2.9 (27.0)	10.2%	13.1%	3.1%	6.9%
	Females 49%	Females 2.2 (33.6)				
Navajo-AZ., NM., UT.	Males 49%	Males 15.5 (64.5)				
	148,451	Total 12.5 (67.8)	2.1%	5.9%	2.6%	5.5%
	Females 51%	Females 9.7 (70.8)				
Ft. Peck-MT.	Males 49%	Males 13.5 (43.0)				
	10,595	Total 9.7 (47.8)	3.9%	7.5%	1.9%	7.8%
	Females 52%	Females 6.1 (52.3)				
Puyallup-WA	Males 50%	Males 3.8 (27.7)				
	32,406	Total 4.0 (37.4)	8.2%	9.8%	2.8%	6.6%
	Females 50%	Females 4.2 (46.6)				
Penobscot-ME.	Males 47%	Males 11.4 (35.5)				
	485	Total 5.6 (46.9)	6.8%	8.6%	2.7%	12.5%
	Females 50%	Females 0 (57.9)				
Eastern Cherokee-N.C.	Males 48%	Males 13.5 (40.9)				
	6,527	Total 10.8 (46.3)	4.1%	5.9%	3.5%	7.4%
	Females 49%	Females 8.3 (51.2)				
Pine Ridge- S.D., NE.	Males 51%	Males 17.9 (62.2)				
	12,215	Total 14.3 (65.0)	3.0%	7.7%	1.8%	4.8%
	Females 49%	Femls 10.8 (67.5)				
Mississippi Choctaw-MS.	Males 50%	Males 9.9 (43.4)				
	4,073	Total 8.2 (48.2)	0.5%	5.4%	3.3%	6.8%
	Females 55%	Females 6.8 (52.0)				

Note: Unemployment figures in parentheses include those classified as "not in the labor force".

Table 4. Percent of Members of Each of Eight Tribes Speaking Their Traditional Language in the Home, 1990

Oneida	246/18,033= 1.4%
Navajo	105,686/148,451= 71.2%
Ft. Peck	508/10,159= 4.8%
Puyallup	1456/32,406= 4.5%
Penobscot	26/485=5.4%
E.Cherokee	771/6,527=11.8%
Pine Ridge	3,226/12,215=26.4%
MS. Choctaw	3,287/4,073=80.7%

Variations in tribal natural resources yield differences in possibilities for tribal enterprises, as well as different number and types of non-tribal enterprises with interest in locating on or near a reservation. Of the groups included here, the Navajo have the most extensive resources with coal reserves as well as uranium, extensive agricultural lands, forestry, and recreational/tourism activities. The Penobscot have good timber and recreational lands. Ft. Peck has minerals, agricultural, and recreational/tourism resources. Pine Ridge has uranium and (poor quality) range lands as well as tourism. The Puyallup have seafood and timber resources. The Choctaw have some, but relatively limited, agricultural and timber resources.

Three reservations shown here (Navajo, Ft. Peck, and Pine Ridge) have tribal community colleges. It may be that the presence of one of these promotes development of the kinds of skills and knowledge that will allow individuals to have more employment success, including ability to move into higher level positions. Finally, these tribes differ in the extent to which tribal enterprises (primarily, i.e., those that are at least partially, if not wholly, owned by a tribe) have been developed and private (non-tribal) organizations attracted to the reservation.

Based on the figures in Table 3, reservations relatively close to urban areas do seem to have lower overall unemployment--5.9% across the 3 "urban" reservations versus 10.4% across the 5 more rural ones. Also, the percentage of individuals employed in the 2 "higher" level positions is greater on the relatively urban reservations (8.5% versus 5.1%).

The three more eastern reservations (Cherokee, Choctaw, and Penobscot) seem to show somewhat smaller (8.2%) unemployment and a much narrower range of it (5.6% to 10.8%) than either the mid-western (8.6% average; 2.9% to 14.3% range) or the western (8.7% average; 4.0% to 12.5% range) ones. It is not clear whether regional economic/political/social context or length of contact accounts for this. The fact that the low unemployment mid-western group (and lowest overall--the Wisconsin Oneida) is actually something of a relocated eastern tribe argues for length of contact (or for differences in culture) as a factor.

The language figures shown in Table 4 provide some mild support for this. Three of the

five groups lowest in tribal language use are eastern (Eastern Cherokee and Penobscot) or relocated eastern (Oneida). Two are western (Ft. Peck and Puyallup). Two of the three highest in use of traditional language (Pine Ridge and Navajo) experienced more recent and jarring contacts with the mainstream U.S. society. The other (Mississippi Choctaw) is something of an anomaly in that this tribe was partially relocated to Oklahoma and then had members return to Mississippi; and because Mississippi, while more of an eastern state, has never experienced the type of urbanization characteristic of most other eastern states. Although we could not obtain specific figures for male and female employment by occupation-type, subjective impressions obtained from members of the relevant tribal governments did indicate greater employment of women in the higher-level positions among the groups that are traditionally relatively female-centered.

While the three groups with tribal community colleges show relatively high unemployment, it is the groups with more recent contact and more isolated reservations that have the population base and the practical need for reservation colleges. This means that they also have fewer large employers close at hand, and potentially more cultural conflicts that may hinder occupational and economic success in mainstream society.

Figures for percentages of the residents of each of the eight reservations employed in various types of organizations are shown in Table 5. Again, separate figures for female and male tribe members were not available.

The figures in Table 5 indicate that the three tribes (Oneida, Penobscot and Puyallup) with the lowest overall unemployment and the best representation in the two higher-level categories of positions (as shown in Table 3) differ from the other tribes in having higher percentages (68.87% versus 43.48%) of tribal members employed in private, for-profit organizations. Some of those organizations are tribal, however, in that they are located on tribal lands, utilize tribal resources, or were established at least in part from tribal investments. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain data on employment levels and types in purely private concerns versus those with significant tribal involvement. Clearly, however, employment outcomes seem to be better given greater access to profit-oriented concerns instead of greater reliance on non-profit or government employment.

Barriers to Workplace Advancement Experienced by Native Americans

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Table 5.
Employment by Type of Organization for the Total U.S. Population and Eight Tribes, 1990

	Private Profit	Private Non-Profit	Local Gov't	State Gov't	Federal Gov't	Self-Empyd	Unpaid Family
U.S. Pop.	70.7	6.7	7.1	4.7	3.4	7.0	.4
Oneida	74.0	7.5	6.9	2.4	2.3	6.4	.6
Navajo	48.3	5.3	15.9	9.7	18.4	2.3	.1
Ft. Peck	42.8	6.9	15.9	3.2	13.1	16.7	1.3
Puyallup	74.5	5.1	5.7	4.3	3.5	6.6	.2
Penobscot	42.5	12.3	20.7	7.3	16.2	1.1	0
E. Cherokee	51.5	9.2	19.0	2.3	12.5	5.5	.3
Pine Ridge	17.1	15.0	29.2	4.1	22.1	12.5	0
Choctaw	58.1	4.8	19.0	4.2	12.0	1.9	0

BARRIERS TO WORKPLACE ADVANCEMENT: REVIEW OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO UNDER REPRESENTATION IN HIGHER LEVEL POSITIONS

Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination

Stereotypes held by mainstream society. From the earliest days of contact between Europeans and Native Americans, a variety of stereotypes have been held by the former groups about the latter ones. Devils, sub-humans, savages noble or ignoble, warriors, squaws, lazy drunkards, princesses, fierce animals, passive stoics, sneaks, embodiments of nature--native peoples have been lumped into these and other categories through the years. Europeans initially lacked experience with people so different in custom and appearance. They also possessed a set of values, norms, and goals that, combined with a lack of experience, understanding, and appreciation of the strength and effectiveness of native systems, promoted great ethnocentrism. High death rates from disease, banishment to out of the way areas, and social Darwinist beliefs inherent in EuroAmerican society even before Darwin contributed to a long-standing belief that Indians were certainly "conquered" and probably "vanishing", which then provided an excuse for domineering, exploitive and destructive actions by the majority society and its institutions. Thus, stereotypes held by EuroAmericans of the indigenous peoples were persistently condescending and dismissive at best, and vicious at worst until very recently.

There is some evidence that views of Native Americans have become generally more positive in recent years (e.g., Hanson & Rouse, 1987). As is noted below, however, in the section on gender-identity and gender-stereotypes, even positive stereotypes are still stereotypes and can have negative implications. Some aspects of modern perceptions of Native Americans, though, such as increased awareness of the breadth of cultural, social and physical diversity among the peoples failing under that broad label, can only be for the good. Ideas and understanding differ among EuroAmerican subgroups and across regions, however, and tend to be most negative where competition for resources or services are most intense. In addition, the extent to which recently-acquired conscious positive ideas about particular characteristics have entirely rooted out deep seated negative views about the same traits developed by the implicit and explicitly negative messages in society in previous years is questionable.

Perceptions appear to persist widely, in unconscious if not conscious form, for instance, of native individuals as unskilled, uneducated, "potlatching" wastrels who are nepotistic, naive, unable to focus on long-term goals, and generally unable to manage their own affairs effectively (Trimble, 1987). Such perceptions seem to partially underlie the paternalism seen in the design and requirements of many federal and private programs for Indians. Those employed in these programs also have a vested interest in maintaining the stereotypes because they are necessary rationales for the programs and their employees' jobs (Hall, 1987). Thus, the stereotypes may help shape the nature of Indian programs, and the nature of the programs may help to maintain the stereotypes. In fact, the norm of sharing and the sense of obligation to family and community members that these stereotypes distort are positive traits that have at times been put to positive use in collaborative educational and economic development efforts. The ideal of individualism in mainstream society often leads, however, to negative views of communal approaches as well as policies and programs that mitigate against them. And the view of native groups and individuals as unable to use resources wisely for long-term benefit leads to limits and restrictions that can prevent initiatives and restrict ability to take advantage of opportunities.

Stereotypes and bias in education. Minority children generally seem to receive less positive feedback (e.g., verbal praise, smiling) and more negative feedback (e.g., interruptions; non-verbal signs of disdain) from teachers than do non-minority children. This seems to be based on beliefs (often unconscious) held by teachers about the ability and deservingness of minority children that translates into biased treatment. Such effects may be most pronounced

around mathematical and scientific content that stereotypes indicate are typically not the province of minority individuals, especially minority females (Linn & Petersen, 1986; Jussim, 1986; Steele, 1990). This can set up a self-fulfilling prophecy wherein teachers' negative expectations and negative messages help trigger relatively poor performance, which then reinforces both teachers' and students' expectations and behavior patterns (see Jussim's, 1986 review of the self-fulfilling prophecy literature; and Steele, 1990). Conversely, factors that build confidence among minority individuals in their ability to perform well tend to lead to good academic or organizational-training achievement (Schneider, 1984; Steele, 1990).

External stereotypes in education still indicate that native children are less capable than Euro-children, especially in science and mathematics. They also promote the idea that Indian children are more inclined toward arts and crafts than intellectual pursuits. Such condescendingly "positive" stereotypes can lead to lack of intellectual challenge and stimulation that helps mitigate against intellectual interest. Native children also typically score less well on standardized tests of intelligence and skill than their EuroAmerican counterparts. There is substantial evidence that such tests underestimate the true abilities of native children because of language difficulties, value and normative influences, and inhibiting social and physical conditions in the home and in schools (Bolz & Varrati, 1983; Brescia & Fortune, 1989; Mishra, 1981). Despite their questionable accuracy with native children, standardized test scores can lead to a negative perception of native children on the part of teachers that reinforces stereotypes and leads to subtle and unsubtle derogatory messages.

Feedback of poor test performance and communicated stereotypes can undermine confidence and belief about ability to achieve academically and economically, and influence choices about learning. For instance, Lauver and Jones (1991) found that Indian high school students had significantly lower self-efficacy beliefs (i.e., perceptions of likelihood of personal success) about many occupations than did their Hispanic or EuroAmerican peers. In this study, socioeconomic status was also assessed and examined for its effects on self-efficacy beliefs and, contrary to the oft-expressed view that native differences from non-natives may reflect economic differences as much as anything else, socioeconomic status was unrelated to efficacy beliefs.

Mathematics and science. Stereotyping effects on mathematical and scientific training and achievement may be a major precursors of native-white, and female-male differences in occupations. The importance of a strong background in mathematics for training in many technical professions has led to the idea of math as a "critical filter" (Sells, 1982; Sherman, 1982). For instance, adequate mathematical training in high school is a major precursor to choice of majors in engineering or natural science in college (Sells, 1982). Females and minorities lag behind white males in math participation during elementary and secondary education (Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990). This gap grows greater with increases in grade level (Berryman, 1983; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990) and there is evidence that this is related to social norms and stereotypes.

Similar increased levels of academic failure among native children in mixed-ethnicity schools relative to that in one that are solely or primarily native have also been observed (Luftig, 1983; Sanders, 1987). Part of this probably reflects effects of bias from teachers and peers; part of it also no doubt sometimes results from the discomfort some native children feel with situations of individual competition and distinctiveness that occur frequently in mainstream schools.

Evidence also shows that when minority individuals do pursue mathematical, scientific and technical training, they can experience social sanction and attendant threats of identity loss and isolation (Gonzalez, 1988; James & Khoo, 1991). Is it, therefore, any surprise that many either self-select away from some types of training or drop out of school altogether? This may be especially the case for Indian youth from reservations, because of clearer demarcation of own versus other community.

Stereotyping and bias in organizations. Minority individuals are overrepresented in lower-level jobs and underrepresented in higher level ones not just because of historical coincidence or lower general skill or training levels (which, as noted above, may themselves be partly the result of social stereotypes and biases) but also because societal norms and status hierarchies tend to be recreated in organizations (Fernandez, 1981; Feagin & Feagin, 1986).

As shown in Table 1, there is over-representation of both Native American and AfroAmericans in low-status positions, and underrepresentation of them in high-status positions. Similar patterns were found with large samples from U.S. military archival data even when individual intelligence and training were controlled for (Cheatham, 1989).

Native applicants may be seen as less skilled and intelligent regardless of their actual abilities, experience or skills. Their qualifications for jobs may be perceived as less good than they actually are because the ethnic and/or gender stereotypes evaluators hold include characteristics that do not "fit" (match) with the stereotypes they hold of the type of person- who traditional has held the position or who could potentially be effective in it (see Heilman, 1983. for more on the "fit" model of job candidate evaluation). Lower-level positions may be more likely to be seen as appropriate for minority workers (Banks & Ackerman, 1989; Pacey, 1983; Rotella, 1981). That is, social status and other aspects of stereotypes may make minority individuals seem most appropriate for the least desirable jobs and less appropriate for high prestige positions (Banks & Ackerman, 1989; Fernandez, 1981; Kanter, 1977; Pacey., 1983; Romalis & Romalis, 1983). One study (Butt, 1976) found that native individuals were generally viewed by members of mainstream society as particularly deficient on two characteristics--appearance and assertiveness--deemed important to workplace success, especially management and professional success. Similarly, because of perceived lower general social status, there may be reluctance to give native folk responsibility for supervision of non-minority individuals or advanced technologies (James, Khoo & Harbold, in press; Rybczynski, 1983). There is a bit of a realistic component to this in that some evidence indicates that majority employees may feel, often without full conscious awareness, anxious or hostile toward minority supervisors because of discrepancies between their status at work and internalized stereotypes about general social status (e.g., Fernandez, 1981; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989).

Bias can also be unconscious and sometimes entirely unintentional. While white workers have too often intentionally harassed native co-workers, they have been known to create offense unintentionally. For instance, they may make fun of symbols or rituals important to Indian colleagues simply out of lack of awareness of their meaning combined with a norm of teasing that exists among workers from their own group. Intentional or not, these situations can create an uncomfortable climate for native workers that makes attrition among them more likely. Policies and sanctions against harassment combined with efforts to sensitize white workers to the possibility that actions they see as innocuous may offend and to sensitize both groups to cultural differences can help.

Unintentional bias can even extend to physical characteristics that differ between the majority and at least some native people. For example, one mining operation on the Tohono O'Odham ("Papago") reservation in Arizona had an agreement with the tribe to give tribal members preference in hiring. Few tribal applicants were being hired, however, because almost all were failing the company physical due to a spinal curvature that exceeded that allowed in the company's guidelines for laborers and machine operators. This spinal curvature was eventually identified as a genetically-based physical characteristic of the Tohono O'Odham as a group that did not predict back injury for them the way it did when it occurred, more rarely, in individuals from other ethnic groups (C.D. Edwards, personal communication, October 22, 1993). The upshot is the cultural, interpersonal, and even physical assumptions that underlie hiring, placement, and promotion policies and decisions may need to be considered for whether

they unfairly impede the success of native people in an organization.

Bias in favor of other groups can also indirectly impede success of Native Americans. For instance, Tummala (1987) found evidence that veterans' preferences in Montana state law help contribute to Native American underrepresentation in state jobs. Preference for other groups, be it legally, psychologically, or normatively based, is a major source of difficulty with Native employment. One study (Pottinger, 1986) found that even the majority of educational and other service positions on the Navajo reservation were held by non-Navajo's despite the availability of many skilled and unemployed members of the tribe. Since hiring for many of these positions has been controlled mainly by Federal (especially Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Service), state, and non-indian private companies, this outcome would seem to indicate bias. Other federal policies and procedures also have inherent biases that contribute to economic and employment difficulties for Indians. These are discussed in a separate section on government policies, below.

Identity and internalized stereotypes. Stereotypes are held not only by other people, but also by individuals about themselves. In a sense what happens is that individuals can begin to stereotype themselves with internalized social stereotypes for their groups (James, 1993) that can include elements that inhibit career success. For instance, Pacey (1983) proposed that women and minority individuals are often less interested in, and have less success with advanced technologies than white males because of internalization of socio-cultural norms. Gender did not predict perceived ability to perform different types of male and female stereotyped jobs among Indian high school students in Lauver and Jones (1991). However, Native American women did have the most negative attitudes about positions involving working with advanced technology of any category formed by the intersection of gender and ethnicity in a study by Harbold and James (1991).

Socialization for stereotypes for jobs occurs in a variety of ways. Some involve fairly direct messages, as described above, such as encouragement to pursue some options and discouragement from pursuing others. Feedback about "appropriate" occupational involvements for native peoples, in general, and by gender, in particular is not all explicit, however. Unfortunately for native peoples, their self-stereotypes also tend to be strongly influenced by media depictions and subtle verbal and non-verbal messages from members of the majority. Until very recently, these views of outsiders have tended to be either negative or dismissive. Media depictions of native peoples are generally of limited scope. The most common ones seem to be historical, thus reinforcing the "vanished" stereotype; unrelated to work, such as involving social or political activities; symbolic of nature, such as Iron Eyes Cody shedding a tear over pollution; or show only stereotypic Indian work, such as rug weaving, or flying off to make rain for distant farmers. Such media depictions provide role models that can be unconsciously absorbed and help to reinforce ethnic and gender differences in education and job choices. Even some of the more positive recent depictions and reactions are in reality based on shallow, condescending, and restrictive stereotypes, albeit ones with more of a positive emotional tone to them. Another "subtle" source of self-stereotypes is simply observing the numbers of members from one's own social group in different types of positions. Expectations about what careers are acceptable and achievable can result. Self-stereotypes developed in these more subtle ways may be particularly detrimental because their impacts are likely to be entirely unconscious and automatic and, therefore, difficult to detect or counter (James, 1993).

For instance, since Indians have been and are under-represented in higher level positions and over-represented in lower-level ones, they may come to believe that they can only succeed at lower level positions. Native individuals may also have internalized general social status norms that give them lower status than EuroAmericans. If so, they may find it difficult to assert authority over EuroAmerican subordinates. They certainly understand that, in majority dominated organizations, they are likely to find themselves the target of at least discomfort and possibly disdain if they move into higher level positions. Minority individuals of all sorts are

also typically stereotyped by others as having gotten their positions only because of Affirmative Action. Native individuals in such positions receive subtle and not-so-subtle messages to that effect which may undermine their confidence in their ability to perform.

Gender-identity and gender stereotypes and bias. Gender roles are a component of culture which influence both perceptions and actions directed toward others; and individuals' own values, attitudes, and self perceptions. As such, gender roles can influence perceptions and treatment (e.g., hiring, training) by organizational authorities who can influence both the availability of opportunities; and individuals' own willingness and ability to fill particular types of positions.

We see in Table 1 that native males are relatively highly represented in manual labor work and relatively underrepresented, compared to all but EuroAmerican males, in service occupations. Out of cultural norms and historical myths, many native males may disdain clerical and service types of work and see physical or even dangerous work as more appropriate (Oppelt, 1984). Outsiders may also stereotype native males more than females as more physical than mental, as inclined toward "gaining coups" by performing risky acts, and as less able to maintain the kind of presence and control needed for managerial and service positions.

In addition to other stereotypes, native women may sometimes be seen as "princesses" or squaws" (Tupahache, 1986). That is, that they will be viewed as exotic, interesting and, at least initially, seen in a highly positive light. This is also a form of stereotyping, however. And excessively positive stereotypes in the long run create their own problems in that individuals feel pressured to live up to an inflated image and to constrain their behavior to keep within the limits of the projected image. They are highly likely to disappoint observers who hold such stereotypes, and when this occurs, it can trigger negative attitudes and actions on the part of those observers (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987; Taylor & Fiske, 1978). The "princess" and "squaw" stereotypes in mainstream society also carry with them an aura of sexual availability and excitement. Thus, for native women, being stereotyped as a "princess" or squaw" by a majority male supervisor may also make even more acute the problem of maintaining an appropriate level of intimacy --an issue in all male-supervisor/female-subordinate relationships (Burke & McKeen, 1992).

Although the figures in Table 1 show native females at an advantage in both managerial and professional positions relative to native males, as was mentioned previously, this is probably at least partially misleading in that the most influential and highest paying positions may be more achievable for native males. For instance, the Minnesota Advisory Commission on Civil Rights (1978) found that native males were much more likely to obtain higher-level civil service jobs than native females. Similarly, James, Khoo and Harbold (in press) show figures indicating that native women are by far the most underrepresented of any gender/ethnicity combination among technical workers, scientists, engineers, and college faculty of science and engineering.

Poverty, Early Parenthood, and Substance Abuse

Especially for Native women on reservations, a major issue in obtaining education and employment and, especially, the education to allow employment in higher level positions, is early childbearing, sometimes as a single parent. As with other groups of girls, teenage pregnancy contributes to dropout levels among young native women. It can also disrupt employability for years if the child is kept. On the other hand, Indian children given up by their parents (other than to relatives) may experience many additional barriers to healthy, productive lives, especially if placed in temporary foster care or institutions. Tribal and charitable institutions have, in fact, been caring for increasing numbers of Indian children in recent years.

Limited education and the need to care for and provide for a child or children encourages the young women affected to enter the welfare rolls, and life on welfare can become self-

perpetuating for individuals and within families. This happens because of a general sense of dependence and helplessness that participation in welfare programs can produce; through program policies and rules that hinder efforts at educational and economic advancement; and because of the social and self stigma that can attach to welfare recipients. Dependency may be made even more likely given internalized stereotypes and the realities of limited opportunities. It appears to be the case, however, that two-parent families with children make up more of those below the poverty line among Indian groups than among white or black Americans (Sandefur & Sakamoto, 1988). Thus, while teenage pregnancy and single-parent households seem to be an increasing problem among the tribes, they are still not as much a primary source of poverty as among other groups.

Parenthood at a young age, single or otherwise, also hinders mobility in search of educational and employment opportunities. The economic, social, and physical support of family and friends become even more crucial so that individuals are less able to even temporarily leave reservations or urban Indian communities to learn or work. And, in fact, the endurance of extended family and community networks among Native Americans more so than in other segments U.S. society is a strength that is not generally recognized and that has not been capitalized on enough in educational and economic programs (Red Horse, 1980; Carson, et al, 1990). A fully integrated familial, community, educational, and work system would probably work well for many native groups (Bopp, et al., 1989).

Poverty and unemployment are also associated with malnutrition, child- and spousal abuse, alcoholism, and drug abuse. While the direction of effect between poverty/unemployment and the other outcomes listed is not clear and no doubt goes in both directions, it seems likely that poverty in childhood and subsequently, and unemployment among native adults helps to promote the damaging behaviors listed above, which then make moving out of poverty and gaining employment that much more difficult. Perceived hopelessness and lack of control, acculturative stresses, and stereotypical and normative support of drinking as a coping mechanism can combine with the high levels of unemployment and poverty among Native American to set the stage for social and individual ill-health that cycle back to make unemployment and poverty more likely.

For example, one study (W. James, 1990) in Washington state found that, at 43%, unemployment among Indians arrested for driving while intoxicated (DWI) was substantially higher than unemployment levels among AfroAmerican (24%), AsianAmerican (26%) or EuroAmerican (20%) DWI arrestees. Indians were also represented among drunk-driving arrestees at more than twice their levels in the state population as a whole; and substantially more Indian arrestees were female (25%) than was the case for any other group (9% for AfroAmericans; 13% for AsianAmericans; 16% for EuroAmericans). Arrest rates for younger age groups (i.e., under 20, and 20 to 29) were also somewhat higher for Native Americans than for members of the other groups. In addition to providing a more objective indicator of the extent of substance abuse problems among native adults than many other studies, these results have ties to a number of important health and economic outcomes. One is that levels of fetal alcohol syndrome are higher among Native Americans than among the other major ethnic groups. We see evidence for part of why this is so in the figures given above: more alcohol abuse by native than by non-native women, and more alcohol abuse among the age groups of natives who are most likely to be having children. Even minor alcohol exposure during fetal development may make educational and employment success less likely. Fetal alcohol/drug exposure can be further compounded by poor nutrition pre- and post-birth. Malnutrition by itself or in combination with fetal substance exposure can contribute to impaired mental functioning that makes learning difficult. Other major economic implications of high levels of DWI's among Native Americans are more direct. Along with alcohol abuse go other problems such as child abuse that can hinder children's academic achievement, and poor physical health and lack of dependability that make it hard for adults to hold jobs. In addition, an arrest record for drunk

driving is viewed negatively by potential employers; and the likely loss of driver's license due to a DWI conviction reduces ability to seek and keep jobs.

Alcoholism has been identified by the Indian Health Service as the number one health problem for Native Americans. This is true both on reservations and among urban populations. For instance, Miller and Wittstock (1981) found that almost every Indian individual in the Minneapolis-St Paul area suffered some direct or indirect negative consequences of personal or family alcoholism. Relatively high levels of alcohol and other substance abuse among Indian youth also no doubt contribute to educational underachievement and high dropout rates. In addition to all of the social and cultural factors outlined above that promote substance abuse among Native peoples, there also may be more of a physical/genetic susceptibility to alcohol addiction and the effects of alcohol for some of them than is the case among other groups (Mail, 1984).

On the other hand, there are also tremendous variations in alcohol problems across tribes. For instance, figures indicate a rate of alcohol-related death among the Oklahoma Cherokee of only about 2 1/2 % of that among the Cheyenne and Arapaho in Montana (Cohen, 1982). Moreover, about 60% of Navajos never drink, a percentage of non-drinkers much higher than that in the U.S. population in general. Some evidence exists about factors, such as strength of cultural identity (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990), that contribute to variations in the susceptibility of Indian individuals and groups to alcohol and other substance abuse. But much more work needs to be done to identify the cultural, biological, social, familial and other factors that help protect some native folk against, and help to predispose others to, substance abuse.

Lack of Educational Opportunity and Attainment

Another major factor inhibiting employment success by Native Americans, especially in higher-level positions, is a common lack of educational credentials. It may, though, be somewhat overemphasized as a source of unemployment or under-employment in a stereotypic way (Pottinger, 1986). Figures from the Educational Testing Service (1988) actually indicate surprising levels of educational attainment and success among Indians. Their figures show that 0.6% of individuals taking the graduate record examination (GRE), a test for those on the verge of completing a bachelor's degree and considering graduate school, are Indian. While this is less than the native proportion of the population as a whole, it is better proportional representation among GRE takers than that seen among AfroAmericans, and much better representation than among Hispanics. Moreover, scores for verbal skills on this test among Indians are roughly comparable to those of Asian Americans and better than those of any other minority group. Similarly, scores for Indian mathematical skills from this test lag (albeit somewhat further) behind only those of whites and Asian Americans. These figures must be viewed with some caution, however, since ethnic categories were self-identified. The first author has encountered more than one applicant to graduate school who indicated Indian ethnicity but evinced no discernible physical or cultural connection to a tribe. Suffice it to say here that improved educational success may be a prerequisite, for many native people, to economic opportunity.

Native groups have historically had the highest dropout rates of any ethnic category, though these, too, vary across tribes (see Hill, 1970 for a description of one tribe's educational successes). Dropout rates seem especially high for boarding school children. In addition, dropout rates from college among the limited percentage of native students who attend them have also typically been very high. Reasons that have been advanced for Indian youth leaving school include: norm and value conflicts with the educational system, lack of perceived relevance of the information and skills, doubt about the utility of education given high tribal unemployment of even educated members, lack of confidence in intellectual ability, learning disabilities, bias from without, stereotyping oneself as lacking ability or opportunity, conflicts between pursuing education and maintaining family and tribal connections, lack of family or other social encouragement, financial problems, teen pregnancy, and substance abuse.

Tribal community colleges seem to be more successful at retaining students to graduation

(Oppelt, 1984). Reservation elementary and secondary schools that are heavily infused with traditional culture, and Indian-centered urban schools may have the same effect. Native-centered schools that incorporate tribal culture into all aspects of education have had some success on both reservations and in urban areas (Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978; Murphy, 1993; Stengel, 1990).

Language issues need to be attended to as necessary. Where language in the home is typically not English, instruction should be conducted in the home language or bi-lingually. English proficiency does need to be developed, however, to allow individuals to bridge to or function in the larger society if they so choose. Where English is the dominant language in homes, school programs to teach tribal languages should be expanded and strengthened as a way of building cultural strength and pride. Others of the educational barriers and approaches that may be useful for dealing with them are discussed in other sections of this monograph.

Cultural Strains and Restraints

Culturally-based values may create problems for native individuals in dealing with EuroAmerican-male oriented educational and organization-training systems (Pacey, 1983; Sanders, 1987; Schneider, 1984). Public education in most parts of the U.S. is based largely on individualism, interpersonal competition, and other "Western" norms and values. These approaches can be antithetical to the values of native folk (Badwound & Tierney, 1988; Schneider, 1984; Sanders, 1987). Mathematic, scientific and computer courses are especially likely to be organized in individualistic and competitive fashions; this may favor those of European descent and may be especially negative for native women. In tests on course material or standardized tests of overall ability and skill, the inherent competitive component may inhibit performance. Many Native Americans may be generally more socially and communally oriented than are white males (e.g., Badwound & Tierney, 1988). Thus, it has been suggested that group-based and cooperative forms of mathematical and scientific education may be more effective for them than the traditional individualistic/competitive approaches.

Educational approaches based on EuroAmerican values can be difficult for Native Americans for reasons other than individualistic focus. For instance, Sanders (1987) argued that incompatibility between Native American and cultural values and those held by EuroAmerican teachers or classmates produces stress and conflict that is a major cause of academic failures among Native American students (see also Luffig, 1983). As Bopp, et al. (1989) and the tribal representatives in Morley and Gilliam (1974) and elsewhere argue, however, educational and organizational systems and policies can and should be created and used in a manner congruent with native traditions and values.

In addition to cultural-based value conflicts, perceptions that science, technology, and history are biased against one's group or is the source of historic damage to that group's culture and well-being is a potential source of negative attitudes toward education and other mainstream institutions (Ogbu, 1987; Rybczynski, 1983; Staudenmaier, 1985). According to this explanation, this problem is most common among groups, like most Native American ones, that were involuntarily and violently incorporated into the U.S.

In the workplace, reports (e.g., Fay, 1976) of high levels of voluntary job-leaving among native workers relative to non-native workers, and of difficulties encountered by some reservation employers in attracting native applicants may at least partially reflect cultural conflicts. Some companies have also encountered problems with relatively high absenteeism among native employees. This has been attributed variously to demands by family members that take workers away from the job; conflicts between cultural rites and activities and work; and lack of cultural norms promoting regular attendance.

Differences in "Anglo" and "Indian" leadership styles and norms may also be a cultural source of difficulty. Aggressive assertion of leadership is not accepted in many tribes. Leaders are expected to serve as examples, to seek not personal power or status but the common good,

and to reach decisions by consensus. EuroAmerican managers and supervisors of native individuals who take other approaches may not be entirely effective. Conversely, native managers and supervisors who use these approaches with EuroAmericans may be seen as weak or incompetent. Native leaders may also tend to be unwilling to praise their own skills or accomplishments (see, for instance, Wares, et al., 1992), and this can have implications for the performance evaluations, rewards, and promotions they receive in mainstream organizations where touting one's own accomplishments is more the norm. A wider understanding of the implications of cultural values such as consensus-seeking and humility for native leadership styles and self-evaluations might be effective in assisting Indian success in main-stream organizations.

Many native adults have, however, developed the flexibility to be able to shift approaches, if they deem it worthwhile, depending on whether they are dealing with other native people or with EuroAmericans. It would be nice if most EuroAmericans were someday at the same point. Needing to make such shifts may lead to stress and weakening of identity, however. The extent to which these outcomes occur and factors that prevent them or allow them to be better tolerated should be examined further in the future.

Culture also helps shape attitudes toward economic development, in general, and toward specific occupations. For instance, Schoeple, Burton and Begishe (1983) found that more culturally "traditional" Navajo were more negative about economic development schemes for the reservation than a comparison group of less traditional individuals. Educational, economic, and work experiences also influence socio-cultural values and attitudes, however, such that economic, educational, occupational, and geographic sub-groups within a tribe tend to have somewhat different norms and values (e.g., Henderson, 1979). Attitudes toward development also vary substantially across tribes, differences reflecting both historical trends and cultural norms and values (see, e.g., Cornell, 1987).

Some native individuals and, especially, some native women, may also have more negative attitudes about working with advanced technologies than individuals from other groups (Harbold & James, 1991; see also Staudenmeier, 1984). These more negative attitudes may be partially due to real differences in outcomes across social categories such that native groups, in general, and native women and more traditional individuals, in particular, have experienced more negative and fewer positive effects from economic development initiatives and technology (James, Khoo & Harbold, in press). Such negative outcomes would help reinforce negative attitudes that might have developed for some of the other reasons discussed above.

Own-group pressures. The expectations and patterns of one's own tribe can create some problems, as well. For example, Wares, et al. (1992) found that NativeAmerican administrators of Indian Child Welfare programs were happier with their positions when they worked with a tribe other than their own than when they worked with their own tribe. This apparently occurred at least in part because managing a program within one's own tribe made it more likely that one would get caught in the middle of political conflicts between different tribal factions. Those who ran programs for their own tribe also described their supervisory skills as less good than those who ran them for other tribes. Wares, et al. concluded that norms of humility and equality operated more strongly when Indian administrators were in their own group and led the individuals to be less willing to profess status and skill than when they worked with members of another tribe.

In addition, those who work in main-stream organizations are often seen as having abandoned their traditions and their group (and may feel so themselves), and are pressured to demonstrate that this is not true (Tupahache, 1986). This can occur for any group, native or non-native, but is made more likely and more extreme by highly communal norms. Conforming to the dress or behavioral norms of the mainstream organization can make this pressure even more likely to occur. Thus, native individuals working in mainstream organizations are often caught in a vise of pressures from both sides that are incompatible with each other.

A classic case of tribal reaction to a member's apparent assimilation efforts was that of the great "Iroquois" diplomat, orator, and leader Red Jacket. Red Jacket visited England on a diplomatic mission at a time when most Europeans still used heavy scents rather than regular bathing to deal with body odors. He returned from his trip in English dress and wearing scent. When he appeared at his home village, the people found his clothing shocking and his smell offensive. At the urging of the clan mothers, they seized him, tore off his foreign dress, threw him in creek, and rubbed him with bear fat, dirt, and hearth ashes to bring him back to reality and back into the tribal fold. He thanked them.

Roles of women. Gonzalez (1988) found that Mexican-American males held more traditional and restrictive sex-role beliefs than White males. This led them to pressure the Mexican-American females in their lives against pursuing professional careers. The same types of external pressures and internalized stereotypes have been argued to influence some Asian-American women (Tong, 1971) and help explain why they show substantially less representation in professional positions than Asian-American males, though they are not underrepresented relative to their proportions of the population (James, Harbold & Khoo, in press). The same types of effects may occur for some native women relative to some types of education and leadership and professional positions (Miller, 1978; Parezo, 1982).

On the other hand, within some Native-American groups, there has traditionally been more flexibility to male and female roles and behaviors and more acceptance of power and success by women (Green, 1980; Gunn Allen, 1986). This is not always reflected in occupational attitudes and outcomes, however. For instance, Witt (1979) described a situation at the Bureau of Indian Affairs where, even though the agency's work is focused on Native-American groups and there was supposedly a hiring preference given to Native-Americans, native women seemed to derive less career benefit from their training than did native or non-native male employees. Clearly, if an organization's practices make it seem that certain types of individuals will benefit less from training than will others, the group that expects less positive outcomes will have little motivation to pursue training opportunities.

Positive Potential of Indigenous Values

The unique social and cultural patterns of Native-Americans are a resource that, if harnessed, could help increase the vitality and adaptiveness of many organizations and institutions. One potential benefit of native workers for mainstream firms, as well as a potential advantage for tribal businesses, is that changes in technology and products or services have been leading to more and more team-based organization of work. Many Native-American cultures seem to promote a greater orientation toward cooperation and group cohesiveness than does mainstream American culture. This may be even more true of many Native-American women than of men. Organizations may find, therefore, that native individuals fit well with this particular aspect of the new structure of work. Cultural orientation toward cooperative, coordinated work seems to be one factor that has aided the success of Japanese firms (Hasegawa, 1986). It could do the same for tribal enterprises. At the supervisory and managerial level, cooperative and consensus-based approaches are also needed in dealing with team-based organizations. Also, participative and collaborative approaches to organizational management and decision making seem necessary among the most highly skilled workers to maximize productivity and promote retention. Native-American managers are likely to be effective in these respects.

For mainstream companies, some evidence (Cox et al., 1991) indicates that cooperative norms held by minority individuals can even help pull Euro-American co-workers toward a more collaborative and supportive approach to work. Thus, hiring Native-American workers and managers (along with other minority individuals and non-minority women) may create positive ripple effects among other workers.

Tribal companies may also be able to take advantage of this conjunction of tribal values and

demands of advanced technologies and some types of products and services in a way that allows them to be highly productive and compete successfully with other companies. This requires, of course, that the proper choices between types of business be made, and that the technical skills needed be available or developed. It also requires that the organization of work be appropriate to cultural norms and values. Rather than simply adopting organizational structures and practices from main-stream companies, tribal enterprises need to examine what approaches are most likely to maximize their own individual, social, and physical resources.

Another set of potential advantages of employing Native Americans in mainstream organizations is that bringing to bear different sets of knowledge and different perspectives on projects and issues can improve decision making, innovation, and creativity (Nemeth and Staw, 1989). Pacey (1983) argues that cultural differences can help promote the creation of uniquely valuable forms of technology and help insure that existing technologies are put to the best possible use. James, Chen and Goldberg (1992) produced evidence supporting these views. They found that involvement with organizational colleagues whose values and beliefs differed from an individual's could increase originality of thinking and help trigger more creative approaches to addressing organizational and social problems. Despite strong cultural ethnocentrism, even some Japanese companies have, in fact, been intentionally attempting to increase the social, value, and belief diversity in their organizations in order to promote development of new technologies or better applications of existing technologies (Hasegawa, 1986). They have recognized that heterogeneity can increase organizations' ability to adapt to a rapidly changing environment.

Aside from the value of difference in perspective and knowledge, in general, the specific values, approaches and ideas of native people may lead to some unique products and strategies. The values and historic experiences of native individuals would also, if brought into positions of authority, be likely to help temper tendencies toward exploitation and abuse of people, animals, or the land for short term organizational gain. In the face of tensions between women and men and ethnic groups in modern organizations, the history and norms of sex-role flexibility, female leadership, and social tolerance in many tribes also provides a model for, and could provide a catalyst toward, necessary new organizational patterns of balance of female/male power and mutual respect.

Social Structural Factors

Informal hiring networks. Several studies over the years have shown that many positions in main-stream organizations are filled through what are at least initially informal recruitment contacts rather than through more formal procedures. Informal recruitment typically occurs through friendship and family networks. Since these networks are often substantially ethnically segregated, native individuals and members of other minority groups may be at a disadvantage in gaining positions in majority-dominated organizations (Braddock & McPhartland, 1987). The extent to which this happens for native peoples probably varies by tribal culture, degree of intermarriage of tribal members and others, region of the country, community physical isolation, and other factors. It does seem to occur to some extent, however (see, e.g., Amanullah, 1970). Similarly, since positions of authority in mainstream organizations are still dominated by white males and friendship networks in organizations tend to be segregated (Fernandez, 1981; Burke & McKenna, 1992), informal networks probably also tend to limit internal promotion for native individuals.

Cooperative education programs, internships, and recruitment through tribal community colleges, pan-tribal organizations and other Indian institutions have been successfully employed by a number of companies, such as Honeywell and Hewlett-Packard, to give Indian students valuable practical experience and to give the companies a recruitment edge. These approaches, along with clear and enforced formal hiring policies, may also help counter some of the effects of informal hiring networks in mainstream organizations. Formal mentoring programs (see the next section) may help counter internal network segregation effects.

Intergroup relations in organizations. A great deal of research indicates that when majority-group members perceive that value and norm differences exist, liking and helping can be reduced and negative emotions increased because such differences threaten majority identity (Greenberg, Pyszczynski & Solomon, 1986). Native men and women who join primarily nonnative organizations or work units often actually do hold some values and norms that differ from those of their non-native colleagues. Simply categorization as one social group as "us" and one as "them", however, tends to lead to greater perceived group difference and more negative appraisals of "them" (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989) especially by members of higher status groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In organizations, this has been observed to lead to exaggerated evaluations by non-minority individuals of the extent of behavioral and value difference they have with non-minority colleagues (Fernandez, 1981). Accurate or not, perceptions of value and norm difference frequently seem to trigger hostile reactions and efforts to pressure individuals to conform to all of the norms, values, behavior patterns, and beliefs of the dominant group whether or not these are actually relevant to organizational duties or goals (Fitzgerald, 1988; Kanter, 1977). Individuals subjected to such pressures are more likely to experience stress which can lead to poor performance and health problems (James, Lovato & Khoo, in press), as well as make them more likely to leave the organization (Fernandez, 1981). Such conformity pressures can also lead to poor decision making by restricting discussion and consideration of alternative courses of action and of potential problems with initially-preferred options (Nemeth & Staw, 1989).

An extreme example of the problems that can occur when culture-conformity pressures are brought to bear is the case of a Native American individual who was the sole minority employee of a state government agency that uses sophisticated testing equipment to assess compliance with environmental regulations. This individual is highly educated and well trained in using the technologies of his profession, and had consistently received high performance evaluations. A few years back, a professional sports team in his area won the league championship. The manager of his agency announced that all of the employees were being given the day off on the following Friday to attend a victory parade for the team. Not being a sports fan or inclined toward this type of event and having a strong identification with his tribal group, he opted to take advantage of the three day weekend to drive to the reservation on which he had been born. When his boss found out that he didn't go to the parade, he was fired. He filed a bias complaint and his dismissal was eventually overturned but he still felt that the message was that he had to conform to the values and desires of his boss, even on things irrelevant to his duties, to avoid trouble. Though he still works for the organization, he has decided to leave it as soon as he can find a good alternative. So, this incident created a legal problem for the agency and its director, led to tensions in the workplace that affected several people's productivity, and it will eventually lead to the loss of a skilled performer and discourage other members of his tribe from considering employment in similar settings.

Several resource extraction companies that operate on tribal lands have had success with cultural training programs for non-native employees and managers conducted by tribal leaders and other knowledgeable tribal members. These programs aim to educate the non-native workers about the nature and functions of tribal values and norms and that sensitize them to how they might unintentionally offend with words or actions. Such individuals should also be made aware of the company's contractual, legal, and moral obligations to the tribe and its members and meeting these should be, by norm and policy backed with rewards and punishment where necessary, an obligation for all. Training native employees about what positive, negative, and neutral patterns they might see from non-native colleagues and systems, why these occur, and individual, group, and institutional approaches to handling them would also be of use. These strategies could be used in a variety of types of reservation-based and off-reservation organizations.

Another problem for minority workers and especially minority women is a lack of advice,

encouragement, information, and support from those at higher levels in the organization. That is, a lack of mentoring. Many organizations do not have sufficient number of minorities in management or professions to allow for role models, mentors, or support groups. The situation is often worse for native women. Male mentors for women may not be as effective and men are sometimes reluctant to fill such a role with a female protege because of concerns about how the relationship will be perceived by other organization members (Burke & McKeen, 1992; Ford, 1985). Similarly, non-minority male mentors for minority women may not be as effective as a source of psychological support (Ford, 1985; Thomas, 1990). Because supervisory and executive positions in main-stream organizations in the U.S. still are typically dominated by white males, such a double difference from supervisor will almost always occur for the native women in them.

Support systems such as formal mentoring and native advocacy groups are used by companies like U.S. West, and are likely to help reduce attrition and enhance native-employees' performance. Corning Glass also includes assessment of efforts at retaining and promoting the success of minority and female workers in determinations of supervisory and managerial rewards and promotions. This approach helps go beyond discouraging negative actions into encouraging positive actions, and could be used among colleagues as well as with supervisors.

Reservation/job disfunctions. Reservations tend to be in relatively rural areas and, therefore, away from metropolitan job concentrations. They also tend to lack transportation, physical resources (e.g., drinking water; energy system); information input; capital; waste management; and facilities and systems needed to attract many private companies. Some of the physical limitations may change with recent and pending advances in technology but, to this point, they have been major hinderances to economic development and employment in many areas. Urban native communities, being more likely to be in central cities, also tend to lack many of the modern physical facilities and the social conditions that many companies want. Both reservation and urban communities also tend to lack amenities such as quality schools, symphonies, and electronic entertainment that many corporations deem necessary before they consider locating in an area. They are also typically well away from centers for advanced technology development and training, as well as from other professional education institutions. This makes it difficult for tribal members to gain the skills needed for personal and tribal enterprise success. High-technology firms are some of the main sources of new jobs in the modern U.S. economy. New businesses of this sort tend to be stimulated by quality higher education in an area. Similarly, existing high-technology companies tend to establish new facilities in areas that have a solid high-technology education base. Reservation and urban native communities tend not to have this.

However, technology, itself, may also make it more possible for rural, urban-center, and otherwise educationally disadvantaged communities to access even the newest and most sophisticated technological skills and knowledge. With improved and cheaper satellite and fiber-optic transmissions, video and audio CD's, videocassettes, computer networks and other innovations, it is now possible to tap a varieties of expertise despite distances of time, geography, or community. What is needed are the seed resources and the organizational initiatives to make these possibilities realities in Native communities. One obvious approach would seem to be by way of government, industry, and university partnerships with tribal community colleges and other tribal educational and social units. The ways seem to be there if the means and the will can be found.

Government policies. Consistently through the years federal and state governments, often in collaboration with private enterprises or individuals and sometimes with the collusion of compliant tribal governments, took land, water and other resources from tribes with little or no compensation. This made economic self-sufficiency unlikely. Even resources that technically remained with tribes were often effectively appropriated. The Bureau of Indian

Affairs often entered into leases of reservation resources (many of which remain in force today) that brought little or no return in royalties to tribes or jobs to individuals. Even the companies that contracted with the BIA to exploit reservation resources often did little to promote hiring, retention, or advancement of tribe members until legal, political, and direct action efforts associated with the "Red Power" movement of the late 1960's and 1970's forced some changes in leasing procedures and outcomes.

Government policies and procedures have also often contributed to frustrating NativeAmerican employment and advancement in the manufacturing and service sectors. For instance, most training programs targeted at native individuals have focused either on bluecollar, craft, or simple clerical skills, not technical or truly professional training (Fay, 1976; Minicilier, 1992). Then too, government programs supposedly targeted at improving the lot of native individuals or groups in various areas, including employment, have often actually primarily benefited others. For example, Fay (1976) reported that during the 1960's and 1970's, an Industrial and Commercial Development Program that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) ran to try to create non-governmental (manufacturing and service) employment on reservations yielded more jobs for non-Indians than for Indians. Similarly, federal and state skill training programs for Indians have always been under-funded and, even when available, have primarily focused on training for low-level agricultural and blue-collar manufacturing jobs. Jobs of both types have been in decline for some time in the U.S., and neither type carries much economic or political power.

Many dollars flow off of reservations because needed services are unavailable on it, Yet, little has been done by the government to encourage or support establishment of service businesses (e.g., auto-repair shops; laundries) on reservations. Financial and technical support targeted at establishing native businesses of this sort would be an important step. So, too, would policies encouraging/requiring government agencies operating on reservations to at least partially patronize Indian-owned service business, and government and private agencies providing service on reservations to hire and train substantial numbers of Indian workers.

Even mandated hiring preferences for Indians, which might seem at first glance a way to increase opportunities, have not necessarily done so. Since private companies and public agencies other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs typically rely on self-identification to determine ethnic status and use ethnic status in conjunction with credentials in implementing hiring preference, benefits frequently go to individuals with tenuous or no known Indian heritage and culture. Even the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has recently reached the point of being mainly staffed by Indians, is widely seen as employing mainly "white Indians", that is, those whose first inclination will be toward accommodation to, and assimilation with, non-Indian individuals and groups (see, for instance, Minicilier, 1992).

Things are worse elsewhere. For example, one examination of individuals listed as NativeAmerican employees by the state of California found that fewer than 25% of them were enrolled members of a legally recognized tribe (C. D. Edwards, personal communication, October 22, 1993). Most employers may not care about this, as long as they can present a credible case for minority hiring and promotion. Even if they do care, however, by law they cannot investigate individuals' ethnic claims. One solution to this situation would be to rely on tribal governments and pan-tribal NativeAmerican organizations, such as the Council for Tribal Employment Right,,, to identify and recruit Indian applicants from among whom companies and government agencies could select qualified individual to hire.

It has often also been the case that even an Indian hiring preference that resulted in hiring of genuine native people has end up benefitting the most assimilated Indians or members of tribes other than the one that programs serve or whose resources are being exploited. Zurcher (1967), for instance, describes a case in which an individual who was 7/8th EuroAmerican, with the 1/8th from a tribe other than (and historically in conflict with) that at which 2 federal program was directed, was hired as the Indian representative in that program.

Government programs and some private employers on reservations still sometimes treat Native Americans as interchangeable for purposes of hiring preference. In some circumstances, bringing in members of another tribe to work with a reservation or urban Indian group can have its advantages (see, for example, the discussion of research by Wares on page 26). Jobs involving the resources of a particular tribe or public service with it should generally, however, be filled by its members.

Happily today, many resource extraction and reservation industrial park contracts specify hiring preference specifically for members of the relevant tribe and these requirements are actually often followed. For instance, mines operating on the Navajo reservation are reported to have about 80% tribe-members among their employees, including about 50% of the managers and professionals (the latter being mainly engineers). Moreover, contrary to the wide-spread criticism of "Affirmative Action" programs as leading to hiring of more poorly qualified individuals who are less productive, mines with the high proportions of Navajo employees described above have levels of productivity equal to or better than those at non-reservation mines with more "mainstream" workforces (Wally Bowman, personal communication, September 29, 1993).

Issues for tribal business. The types of problems detailed above with native employment in government and private sector have led growing numbers of the members of the greater Indian community over the years to advocate development of native-owned enterprises as a solution to economic and other problems. Federal policy makers, programs, and laws have traditionally not concurred but have recently become somewhat more encouraging. The efforts of tribal and other groups to promote native enterprises have met with increasing success in recent years. Fost (1991) reports that the numbers of native-owned companies increased by 64% between 1982 and 1987, a rate that far exceeded the growth of businesses in the U.S. as a whole.

Three fundamental issues that have been repeatedly targeted as necessary for development of successful tribal enterprises are improvement of tribal-members skills, greater availability of start-up capital, and improvements in infrastructures (e.g., Hildred & Beauvais, 1988; Jorgenson, 1967; Little Soldier in Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 1973; statements by Parker, Early, Martin, and De La Cruz, 1982; Pottinger, 1991). Issues of skills have been addressed already. Community poverty and inability to use collectively-owned tribal lands as collateral for loans has resulted in a chronic shortage of funds for economic schemes. A change in federal law in the 1980's did allow tribal governments to issue tax-free economic development bonds. These need to be used with great care, however. Many non-tribal governments have found that such bonds can yield long-term financial obligation without necessarily bringing economic improvement.

Poor physical facilities (e.g., waste treatment; power; roads and other transport), especially in more rural areas, make it hard both to attract private businesses to native communities and for native companies to function effectively and competitively. Mechanisms for providing additional moneys for both of these purposes would be beneficial, though tribal governments and communities need to recognize that infrastructure and development can bring both good and bad outcomes. Infrastructure improvements, especially in the form of roads and communication links, allow for more penetration of tribal areas by outsiders, in person and through the media. Economic development typically requires at least initial support of some non-indian workers and managers and draws outsiders seeking expanding opportunities. Both effects can produce cultural, physical, and social disruptions. For instance, the Navajo reservation has seen a steady increase in crimes, community and cultural disruption and destruction, and pollution as it has become more accessible and its resource and recreational opportunities have become more widely known and exploited (Hentoff, 1987; Sweet, 1991). Not only tribal councils as entities with relatively wide constituencies, but individuals and

social units who would be specifically and directly affected by development need to be aware of these potential pitfalls, and consider strategies for limiting and countering them in making decisions about development options.

Technical support services for tribal enterprises have also been frequently mentioned as important to making them feasible and more likely to succeed. Adequate technical support from the federal government for tribal enterprises has often been lacking for philosophical (i.e., a preference for individualistic and main-stream organization focused economic initiatives), self-serving (i.e., a vested interest in dependency and limited economic opportunities so as to continue the apparent need for existing federal policies, programs, and control), political (i.e., perceptions by powerful lobbies that federal support for native enterprises might result in subsidized competition for them), and financial reasons. Thus, several native and non-native not-for-profit groups (e.g., the American Indian Development Association; Americans for Indian Opportunity; First Nations Development Institute; the National Indian Training and Research Center; the Seventh Generation Fund for Indian Development; the United Tribes Development Association) and private individuals and corporations (e.g., Honeywell) have stepped into the breach. Technical support ranges from feasibility assessment to capital recruitment to planning and design expertise to mechanical, management, and legal assistance.

Notable examples of failed tribal enterprises, such as a Lakota hydroponic farming initiative in the 1980's, have typically been poorly planned, ill conceived in their fit with tribal culture, skills, and available markets, overly ambitious, and undercapitalized. Lack of support for and training in financial, material, and people management have also been major problems for tribal enterprises (Fay, 1976). Successful efforts tend to fit well with existing skills and historical social patterns and cultural trends, start small and with a clear market in mind, and have a good financial, managerial, and technical support basis (see, for instance, Adamson, 1989). One outstanding example is the White Earth Garment Company on the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. This tribally-owned business was started with capital and technical assistance from the Honeywell corporation. Its mainly-female workforce capitalizes on long-standing cultural support for and existing skills with fabric-making and clothing creation. Technical and managerial training to tribal members has allowed them, instead of outsiders, to fill most higher-level positions. Profits beyond labor and other costs are employed to create further economic opportunities.

Gaming operations have become another source of jobs and of capital for many tribes. The potential of this approach can be seen in the use of gaming revenues by the Connecticut Pequot used in early fall of 1993 to fund a massive pow-wow (admission to which was charged for non-participants) of native dancers, singers, artisans and artists from around the country at which \$250,000 worth of prize money was offered for dance and musical competitions. Other groups such as the Morongo in California, the Southern Ute in Colorado have used gambling to create immediate jobs and capital to invest in other businesses. Data indicates that reservation gaming facilities may provide substantial economic benefit to both tribal members and to nonnative individuals in nearby communities (Johnson, 1993; Morrison, 1994). Tribes must be careful, however, to recognize that gambling brings individuals and groups with different and perhaps damaging values to reservation communities, and often creates mainly relatively low paying jobs with limited opportunity for advancement. Also, increasing levels of competition from states, localities, and private gambling facilities may threaten the long-term viability of many tribal gaming enterprises, while the physical facilities that they create and utilize may be difficult to adapt to many other uses should gambling businesses fail. Gambling seems at best a short-term and launch-pad contribution to economic development.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INTERVENTION AND RESEARCH

Recommendations for Enhancing Educational Success

Several recommendations can be offered that might help improve Indian Education. First, it should be recognized that tribes differ in needs and current educational outcomes and

flexibility in approaches and as much tribal control as feasible should be supported by federal, state, and local governments. Local schools have increased in number and boarding schools for Indian children declined in recent years. This trend should continue and be supported with the necessary resources. More native teachers and administrators should be employed to insure sensitivity, community responsiveness, and provide role models. Non-native school workers should be trained about, and monitored periodically for, subtle types of bias and self-fulfilling prophecies. More resources should also be made available to address cognitive and physically-based learning disorders.

Culturally sensitive and culturally/socially linked materials and practices should be employed. Texts that stereotype or that contain implicit "manifest destiny" messages or that give history only from the perspective of EuroAmerican society should be avoided. Tribal languages should be at least partially used where it is typically spoken in the home, and taught where it is not. The examples and values that are connected to the content and processes of education should also be in accord with tribal values. For instance, individualistic and competitive practices in schools may need to be downgraded for many groups, and subjects like mathematics and science need to be linked to materials and issues familiar and important in Indian students' day to day lives. Cooperative education approaches (see, e.g., Circles of Learning by Johnson and Johnson) may be of great value if incorporated into Indian schools.

More native-centered schools should be begun and more examination of and experimentation with how to weave tribal languages, values, history, and material culture into education should be done. More experiential content might be beneficial. As we noted in the section on Informal Hiring Networks, cooperative education and internship programs have shown some past success. Further development of workplace/education links should be useful. In fact, reversion to the traditional approach to child-rearing in many tribes in which education was not separate from work or family life or spirituality might be attempted in pilots. Full integration of tribal or community enterprises, schools, spiritual and social settings and activities would be a complicated and radical approach, but one that might benefit economic development, education, and cultural, individual and social health. At least some level of integration is needed in that the issues and problems facing native communities are linked. Increased educational success is unlikely without reductions in poverty and substance abuse, and increases in community involvement and control. Piecemeal approaches have not worked to this point and only capitalizing on and converging the strengths and resources of individuals institutions, families, and cultures is likely to work to address the complexities of the future.

In higher education, better retention needs precede increased recruitment. Reducing high school dropout will increase numbers of the college eligible. Similarly, reducing college drop out will be the main road to increasing numbers of graduates. In addition, reservation community colleges should be strengthened through increased financial support and improved governmental, industry and main-stream college and university support of the training they provide.

Recommendations for Promoting Advancement of Native American Males and Females in Mainstream Organizations

Hiring and promotion biases should be controlled through training, monitoring, organizational policies and norms, and rewards and punishments. Policies and procedures should be structured to limit effects of informal hiring networks and bias in evaluating candidates, and should not include or allow implicit or explicitly culturally biased requirements or expectations except where these are absolutely necessary to job performance or organizational effectiveness. Euro-centric holidays, customs, ceremonies, behavioral norms or other factors should not be the standard applied and expected of all. Practices and policies should be examined for biases by representatives of all groups and flexibility allowed wherever possible. Cultural sensitivity and intergroup relations training should be provided to all

organization members. Greater availability, both within organizations and in educational and job-skill programs, of training in management, financial, and people skills has also been mentioned frequently as something that is needed if native individuals are to succeed as managers or business owners.

Recruitment through tribal and other native groups can be valuable. Support of scholarships, conferences, or special educational activities for native youth can create awareness of opportunities with a company and a positive reputation for it. More efforts to attract service companies to locate on reservations should be made. Service companies locating on reservations may be able to tap a partially "captive" (literally as well as figuratively) market and workforce. Tribes gain economic and service inputs, and can gain experience that allows them to develop tribally-owned businesses of the same sort.

More and more mainstream organizations have considered locating facilities on or near reservations in recent years and, if done properly, they can benefit both companies and tribes. Companies can gain access to an underemployed workforce, positive public relations and possible tax incentives and tribal or federal sharing of start-up costs. Tribes need to be cautious, though, of exploitive long-term land-lease arrangements, excessive investment of tribal resources without proportional control, potential pollution and community disruption, and limited guarantees of business continuity and hiring of tribal members.

Recommendations for Promoting Tribal Enterprises

Give the people control and invest the resources to make it meaningful. Provide training, functional and managerial, technical advice, and material, legal and moral support when requested but let Indian communities, tribes and organizations make their own economic choices and plans. The tribes then need to select investments with care; structure enterprises to creatively blend their own emerging opportunities, resources (human and material) and values with external realities rather than relying on rote solutions; and pursue integrated community development that includes but is not limited to economic development. Substance abuse, child abuse, malnutrition, school drop-out, and other outcomes of individual and social disorder must be controlled and reversed for economic initiatives to succeed in the long run.

There are positive signs that the new wave of technologies plus ancient cultural ways may yield astonishing results. Tradition, education, and innovation can and should go hand in hand. Tradition can help provide the individual and social strength and resiliency to facilitate education and innovation; education and innovation can help provide the physical and strategic wherewithal to maintain tradition. Tribal enterprises can and should grow from the possibilities inherent in native individuals, communities, and cultures. Family, clan, tribal, and pan-tribal organizations are systems from which economic development can spring and to which it can contribute. If the financial and technical seeds can be found and if families and communities provide the right guidance, support and sparks, the sizable and energetic youthful component of the Indian population could do great things in coming years.

Recommendations for Research

It has been argued several times over the years that a very basic requirement is that there be more systematic and more accurate descriptive information collected and kept on educational, economic, and employment factors and outcomes among Native Americans. Nothing we have seen in the course of preparing this report convinces us that this is less of a problem now. Perhaps the best approach would be for the Federal government to allocate funding to one or more native organization (e.g., the Council for Tribal Employment Rights; the American Indian Development Association) to gather, organize, synthesize and distribute such information. More control over the collection and interpretation of both descriptive and research data by Indians is generally needed.

More studies specifically examining individual, socio-cultural, and institutional factors that limit occupational involvement and advancement of Native Americans are needed. Especially in the area of organizational outcomes, but also somewhat in education, there are too few studies

that directly involve Native Americans and too much need to try to generalize from other minority groups and from Euro-American women. Moreover, there are by far too few studies that compare processes and outcomes for female and male natives in educational or work settings. After having repeatedly emphasized inter-tribal differences, we need hardly mention at this point that comparative studies across tribes and of the interaction of tribal membership with gender are also important.

Regarding education, direct and more carefully crafted studies of the effectiveness of different strategies for educating native children, such as the variants of cooperative education and integrative and experiential approaches, are needed. Indo-centric and bi-lingual approaches also need to be examined more systematically and carefully. Better information about the forces that trigger the high dropout rates among native students, and classroom, social-structural, and individual approaches to countering them are desirable. So, too, is more information about just how well or poorly the skills and abilities of reservation and urban male and female Indians fit with the opportunities available to them; and about which types of skills and experience would best aid the development of tribal enterprises.

Frequently seen problems in the methods of studies that are done include failure to control for obvious possible alternative explanations such as socio-economic level, failure to include all relevant comparison groups, and attempts to overgeneralize results from a very limited native samples to the vast diversity of the native peoples. Too many studies attempt to capture complex cultural, historical, psychological, or social processes indirectly with simple comparisons of groups of people who fall into broad social categories. Better efforts should be made to directly assess cognitive, cultural, identity, intergroup, or structural factors in studies in place of global ethnic, gender, or tribal labels as surrogates. Finally, as is typically said about any major social issue, more longitudinal studies would be useful for shedding light on a number of outcomes and processes. This is no less true in this case for being a near cliché.

CONCLUSIONS: WHERE WE'VE BEEN AND WHERE WE'RE GOING

The experiences of Indians over the last few hundred years have often been forerunners of patterns among the other societies of North America and the world. New weapons and strategies developed in the "Indian wars" were applied in internecine struggles within and international wars among Euro-American societies. Disorienting social and technological change came long ago to many tribes but has been widely repeated in many other groups since. Social, familial, and cultural disruption, physical displacement, abuse of lands and wild creatures, and high levels of distant control struck native communities long ago. High levels of divorce, violence, environmental degradation, scattering of relatives, and centralization of economic and political power in the larger society in recent decades shows that these effects have redounded to it. Poverty, substance abuse, and unemployment have been banes of urban and reservation native groups. Now, in 1993, over 30% of the total U.S. population qualifies for economic assistance in the form of welfare or foodstamps, substance abuse is equally an issue in the suburbs as on the reservation, and at least the fear of economic decline, if not necessarily the current reality, is at an all time high. The forces loosed on native peoples did not stop with them; ironically but perhaps not surprisingly, the "conquering of the wilderness" seemed to correspond with increasing wildness in human society. Many of the tribes, most of the animals they knew, and the spirit of the land did survive, however. They held on where possible, retreated where necessary, endured, struggled and shared, found adaptations, and survived. Certainly many difficulties remain, but things and time have changed and there are signs of a new native vigor. Other groups may be able to learn from the experiences and ways of the tribes. It may be that after all of the tears, troubles and triumphs, America will find that it needs native peoples more than they need it. We shall see.

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Bibliography by Topic Area**Topic Area Abbreviations:****BS&D=Bias, Stereotyping, and Discrimination;****CIS=Culture, Identity, and Society;****ED&NR=Economic Development and Natural Resources;****ED=Education;****E&U=Employment and Unemployment;****H&CC=History and Current Conditions;****NW=Native Women;****SIH=Social and Individual Health;****UE=Urban Experiences;****WP&A=Work Patterns and Attitudes****Bias, Stereotyping, and Discrimination (BS&D)**

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