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**REPORT  
ON  
THE URBAN INDIAN IN PORTLAND**

*The Committee:* George W. Dana, Alan G. Deale, William N. Gross, George A. LaValley,  
James R. Sitzman, Bruce L. Smith, John S. Strawn, Gordon V. Walker, David E. Willis,  
Stephen R. Frank, *Chairman.*

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*"To inform its members and the community in public matters and to  
arouse in them a realization of the obligation of citizenship."*

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**REPORT  
ON  
THE URBAN INDIAN IN PORTLAND**

TO: THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS,  
THE CITY CLUB OF PORTLAND:

**I. INTRODUCTION**

**A. Charge to the Committee**

On March 27, 1973, the City Club Project Planning Board recommended to the Board of Governors "The immediate establishment of a City Club research committee to identify the urban Indian in the Portland area."

It was suggested that the Committee:

1. Analyze the cause and effect of the migration from the reservation to the Portland urban area;
2. Investigate the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as respects the Portland urban Indian;
3. Investigate the roles and/or responsibilities of other federal, state and local governments as well as private agencies toward the Portland urban Indian, including the availability of programs for education, housing, employment, counseling and financial assistance; and
4. Analyze the development, purpose and effectiveness of various independent organizations which have been formed by or for Portland urban Indians for the purpose of preserving their social and cultural heritage and protecting their legal rights.

**B. Work of the Committee**

The Committee convened for the first time on September 7, 1973. After the work of the Committee began, the Committee requested and received financial assistance from the City Club Foundation for the employment of David Knowles, a research assistant, whose assistance the Committee found invaluable.

The Committee began its work by collectively interviewing various representatives of the Indian community in Portland, most of whom were connected with organizations existing for the benefit of urban Indians. During this initial stage, the Committee additionally interviewed BIA officials regarding that agency's limited involvement with the urban Indian in Portland. The assistance they gave to the Committee was invaluable and deeply appreciated. In addition, studies from the vast literature on Indians were consulted.

The Committee was impressed early with the complex nature of the task it faced. We began by creating a list of groups and agencies which required attention, assigning initial priority to the Urban Indian Program (UIP), the primary vehicle for providing human services to Indians in Portland. After initial inquiries, the Committee broke into subcommittees, consisting of one to three members each, and identified and assigned to each subcommittee a specific subject of apparent importance to the urban Indian in Portland: heritage, legal status, education, employment, health and housing.

The Committee was greatly assisted in its task by the Urban Indian Council (UIC), its various constitutive agencies, and in particular by Patrick Borunda, until recently Director of Manpower, City of Portland, and previously, Director of the Urban Indian Program.

Though the Committee has focused primarily on social problems, it believes any impression of total disorder or cultural deprivation within the Indian community in Portland to be false. This report should not be read in that light. Nor should any recommendations or criticisms by this Committee be construed as being directed towards Indian people.

The initiative for the most effective programs addressing the needs of Indian people in Portland has issued from the Indian community itself, with funding provided in most cases by governmental agencies. There is not, certainly, universal consensus among Indians living in Portland about the best remedies for the problems they face. There is agreement among Indians, however, that the problems are best met by programs designed and run by Indians.

The evidence the Committee has been able to gather clearly shows that high rates of alcoholism, unemployment and other problems do exist among Portland Indians. It would be wrong, however, to assume that these problems exist to the exclusion of cultural strengths which affirm the value of Indian life.

### **C. The struggle of the American Indian**

No brief chronicle of the complex historical interaction between the indigenous inhabitants of North America, and the Old World immigrants who encountered them, can adequately recount the cruelties Native Americans suffered at the hands of intruding whites. No one today needs reminding that many Indians who have trusted in the fairness and honesty of representatives of the dominant population have not seen that trust rewarded.

Indians were systematically removed from lands they believed no one could own, and were entrusted to other human beings for care and sustenance. Assaulted physically and culturally by conquering aliens with superior arms and greater numbers, Indians died at a rapid rate in the years following European settlement. By the late nineteenth century, as the last of the surviving tribes were forced onto reservations—onto a land base representing only a tiny portion of what had repeatedly been promised to Indian people in perpetuity—the Native American population had been reduced from a pre-Columbian figure of over 1,000,000 to a mere 250,000.<sup>1</sup> Though the abuses Indian peoples endured have been extraordinary, the very fact of their survival is even more notable.

Any study of Indians today must begin with an appreciation that the resurgence of "Indian Country" is an important feature of contemporary life. Traditional Indian beliefs and practices, which many federal laws, policies and actions had sometimes (and occasionally unknowingly) obliterated, have resurfaced. Though altered by the force of circumstance, they contain a core of shared perceptions about the nature of the world and man's place in it which are uniquely Indian.

On the basis of these traditional beliefs Indians insist on preserving the value and quality of Indian life and are struggling to maintain it. Most non-Indians unfortunately associate the destruction of Indian peoples and cultures with the nineteenth century. Yet the struggle of Indian people to maintain their land, their culture, and their treaty rights continues today.

Not all of the details of that struggle are relevant here. However, it is relevant that the migration of large numbers of Indian persons to urban areas in the decades since World War II is directly related to the struggle of Indian people to maintain their identity as Indians. Federal policies which may have contributed to the current problems facing Indians in Portland are a major topic of this report. The role of the BIA extends into every category treated in this study, for its policies have affected Indian people in innumerable ways. The BIA's relationship to urban Indians, and its role in the creation of their problems, will be treated more specifically below.

### **D. Identifying the Urban Indian in Portland**

The problem of identifying the urban Indian in Portland proved extremely difficult. In consequence, reliable estimates regarding the *extent* of particular problems in the Indian community proved to be difficult to obtain.

A 1972 survey of Indians in Multnomah County, conducted for the Urban Indian program by Grant-Morgan Associates, reluctantly concluded, "No one is certain just how many Indians reside in the Portland area."<sup>2</sup> The Bureau of Census reported 2,673 Indians living in Multnomah County in 1970, but there is evidence that this figure is a significant

undercount. The Grant-Morgan study reported that a majority of its respondents "indicated there were 7,000 or less" Indians in the Portland area. This response indicates a widely shared belief among Indians in Portland that the size of the Indian population is substantially greater than the census indicates. The 2,673 figure is a reliable base (that is, it does not include non-Indians), but it may not be a complete count.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the range of estimates of Indian persons living in Portland extends from a low of 2,700 to a high of 7,000. Assessing the problems within the Indian community and examining the resources for dealing with them depends upon an accurate and reliable demographic profile of the target population. If, for example, a valid index of the rate of alcoholism among Indian persons is to serve usefully in planning and allocating services, a reliable population estimate must accompany it. Programs based on the census figure, to extend the example, would not be sufficient to serve a population of 7,000 persons.

Part of the census difficulties can be attributed to the mobile nature of a portion of the Indian population. Transiency among Portland Indians has been insufficiently appreciated and contributes in an extreme way to the jurisdictional quandary frequently confronting Indians in need of services and assistance.

This problem is critical to any meaningful discussion of urban Indians. No one can easily summarize the complex interpenetration of the three social and residential foci of the urban Indian: the city, the reservation, and the culture. The majority of Indian residents in Portland interviewed for the Grant-Morgan study "previously lived on a reservation." Though their residence may now be Portland, they are not without links to their people. Despite these links, the Committee found little evidence of tribally-based associations among urban Indians. This is not to say that they do not exist, only that they do not function in the way other Indian voluntary associations do.

## II. LEGAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN

### A. The American Indian, generally

In 1842, the Attorney General of the United States characterized the legal status of the American Indian as follows:

"... There is nothing in the whole compass of our laws so anomalous—so hard to bring within any precise definition, or any logical and scientific arrangement of principles, as the relation in which the Indians stand towards this government, and those of the States."<sup>4</sup>

Although there have been many changes and developments in the law since then, that statement summarizes, in general, the state of the law today just as truly as it did in 1842.<sup>5</sup>

As a starting point, however, it is important to note two very basic legal principles which have been firmly established since then. First, there is no legal *requirement* that an individual Indian remain on an Indian reservation. He is not, in any *legal* sense, "incarcerated" on a reservation or prevented from freely disengaging himself from reservation life and/or tribal membership.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, all American Indians are (and have been since 1924, at the latest) full United States citizens who, at least in pure legal theory, are able to freely enter into and participate in the anonymous "mainstream" of American society without any legal impediment of disability because of Indian ancestry.<sup>7</sup>

This fact of citizenship may be the only legal matter of any significance for the individual who truly does not have, and does not particularly want, any relationship with or dependence on an Indian tribe or reservation and who really does not attach any particular significance to his Indian ancestry or heritage, i.e., the individual who has been or wants to be, fully assimilated into American society at large.<sup>8</sup> Citizenship, however, is at best only a beginning point and at worst an actual detriment from the standpoint of the individual who wants to positively assert his Indian identity, his cultural heritage, or his rights as an intended beneficiary of innumerable treaty rights, whether as an individual or as a member of a specific Indian tribe and whether on or off of an Indian reservation.<sup>9</sup>

American Indian law and administrative policy is presently and historically permeated

with the underlying assumption that, given a choice between "being an Indian" and being a "civilized, Christian citizen," no one would want to be an Indian.<sup>10</sup>

Motivated at different times by various mixtures of fraudulent land-grabbing schemes,<sup>11</sup> misplaced missionary zeal, genuine humanitarianism and Western European chauvinism,<sup>12</sup> federal law has rather consistently had the effect, if not always the intent, of weakening tribal power and sovereignty over Indian people by laws such as those providing for the allotment of specific parcels of tribal lands to individual Indians. That policy, which prevailed for a period beginning with the General Allotment Act of 1887<sup>13</sup> and ending with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934,<sup>14</sup> reflected the hope of making the individual Indian conform to the social and economic structure of rural American life.<sup>15</sup> The individual provided with private property, so the theory went, would somehow cease to be an Indian. He would forsake his tribal customs, be on an equal footing with white settlers and disappear into American society. The anomalies of the "Indian Problem" would thereby be cured. But the result was the loss of millions of acres of what had previously been communally owned Indian lands through sales to non-Indians by unsophisticated, uneducated and defrauded Indian individuals, who frequently had no choice but to retreat to shrinking, resourceless and poverty stricken reservations—and life under the trusteeship of the federal government and the growing bureaucracy of its Bureau of Indian Affairs.<sup>16</sup>

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the first, and really the last, truly comprehensive federal legislation in the field of Indian affairs, not only put a stop to the individual allotment of Indian lands but also established the legal framework for meaningful tribal self-government and the incorporation of many of the Indian tribes as legal entities capable of conducting tribal business affairs, participating in the management of tribal lands and other assets in a modern fashion, and generally providing a reasonably efficient vehicle for a tribe as such to relate to the federal government. The Reorganization Act also enabled the BIA to purchase land for tribeless Indians and to assist them in organizing themselves into tribal entities. Further, it established programs for the reacquisition and consolidation of land for reservation purposes, set up loan funds for tribal economic development, provided for more Indian participation in the BIA itself and generally encouraged tribal initiative and development.<sup>17</sup>

Many Indians today consider the Reorganization Act to have been the high point in the federal government's attitude and approach toward Indian matters, although there has been a considerable gap between the spirit of that Act and its implementation. From the end of World War II until rather recently, federal policy seems to have reverted to some extent to an assimilation approach, i.e., the "solution to the Indian Problem" is to convince individual Indians that their future lies in not being Indians but just Americans.

In 1949, the BIA instituted its "Relocation Program" which is still in existence but somewhat euphemistically redesignated as the "Employment Assistance Program" or "Adult Vocational Training Program." This was created for the ostensible purpose of training and educating individuals, as well as entire families, for jobs and lives off the reservation in urban settings. Again, the motivations behind this program are mixed and not necessarily consciously directed at "breaking up the Indians." But the effects certainly tend in that direction. The program in practice has often resulted in placing very marginally trained and uneducated individuals in an uncertain urban setting with very little and short-term assistance, economically or culturally, following the move from a reservation.<sup>18</sup> This reflects rather dramatically the long standing assumption or "hope" of federal policy: an Indian ceases to be an Indian when he leaves the reservation.

That approach was quite expressly embodied in the "Termination Policy," which prevailed from 1953 well into the 1960s.<sup>19</sup> Based upon a congressional resolution<sup>20</sup> declaring the intention of Congress to terminate "federal supervision of Indian tribes at the earliest possible time," the Department of the Interior and the congressional committees responsible for Indian affairs pursued a consistent policy of urging, quite forcefully and sometimes successfully (as in the case of Oregon's Klamaths) the dissolution of many of the tribes and distribution of their assets to individual tribal members. This policy



was resisted long and hard by most of the tribes and by nationally organized Indian organizations.<sup>21</sup> Today, it has been largely discredited, but not formally disavowed.<sup>22</sup> In the words of one current Indian author, the "Termination Policy" represented "... the first shot of the great twentieth century Indian war."<sup>23</sup> Although the results of the Termination Policy have been disastrous and tragic in the view of most Indians, it has apparently had the valuable side effect of being one factor in the individual Indian's concern with the importance of group action in pursuance of Indian goals.<sup>24</sup>

An example of the contradictions inherent in the individual Indian's citizenship versus his tribal membership is the "Indian Bill of Rights," enacted by Congress in 1968 for the purpose of guaranteeing individual tribal members certain minimum procedural, due-process safeguards against various aspects of customary tribal government and internal legal proceedings.<sup>25</sup> The congressional concern for protection of U. S. citizens is admirable but necessarily at odds with fully and meaningfully honoring tribal independence.<sup>26</sup>

In fact, true tribal independence of the federal government has obviously never been the case. The Indian tribes are, in the words of the U. S. Supreme Court, "dependent, domestic nations."<sup>27</sup> They are under the "protection" of the federal government which holds their tribal assets in a curious form of trusteeship—curious because there is no court or judicial system, no authority whatsoever, to which an Indian tribe can appeal from an accounting by its trustees.<sup>28</sup> To the extent of his tribal membership, at any rate, the individual Indian is in no better position to complain, for he is a "ward of the federal government" and without recourse against his guardian.<sup>29</sup> As a practical matter it may be said neither the tribal member nor the tribe has any more sovereignty (as against the federal government) than a political lobby.

It has been suggested that the Indians do not need laws granting them U. S. citizenship or otherwise protecting, assisting or benefiting them, but that what they do need is a "cultural leave us alone agreement" (not a "leave-us-alone-law," implying as that does a preeminent Federal sovereignty.<sup>30</sup>)

## **B. The "Urban Indian"**

The so-called "urban Indian" has no peculiar legal status as distinct from an Indian who happens to reside on a reservation. Neither the urban Indian nor his ancestors have undergone any type of legal emancipation from reservation or tribe. He may or may not be enrolled as a member of a specific tribe, and he may or may not have close social and economic ties with a reservation.

What does distinguish the urban Indian from his reservation counterpart is that he has historically qualified for very little special assistance from the federal government, in terms of general welfare monies, housing assistance, job training, education, etc.—benefits which are tied almost entirely to reservation residence.<sup>31</sup> This is in large part due to the long-standing assumption that the individual who has left the reservation has somehow ceased to be an Indian or, "having become civilized," has somehow transcended the need for special assistance. Put another way, since he has his full citizenship, he can fend for himself. Another factor is the BIA's assertion that, simply as a budgetary matter, Congress has appropriated insufficient funds for the needs of the reservation population, let alone for the non-reservation population. Although there is undoubtedly some validity to the BIA's position in this regard, it is also clear that the BIA has always sought to limit its concerns to the reservations. It certainly has never made much of an effort to seek additional funding from Congress for the benefit of non-reservation Indians.<sup>32</sup>

The few federal programs which do exist for "urban Indians" are essentially transitional in nature, e.g., relatively short term job training, employment referral, emergency health care and housing assistance designed primarily to induce movement from reservation to urban residence, rather than to truly provide lasting support once such a move has actually been made.<sup>33</sup>

Not only does it seem clear that there is no federal constitutional impediment to federal special assistance legislation and programs directed at off-reservation Indians,<sup>34</sup> but the federal government has consistently exercised its broad and exclusive authority

to legislate on all aspects of Indian affairs, thus effectively preempting such special state legislation as might otherwise be directed at non-reservation Indians.<sup>35</sup>

Most federal services provided by the BIA to reservation Indians are based on the Snyder Act of 1921,<sup>36</sup> which literally directs the expenditure of funds appropriated thereunder ". . . for the benefit, care and assistance of *Indians throughout the United States* . . ." [emphasis added]. Quite recently, legal action has been commenced to establish the principle that the BIA's policy of restricting this mandate to reservation-related expenditures violates the statute and deprives large numbers of the total Indian population of their right to the federal benefits, such as general welfare funds, available under the Act.<sup>37</sup> So far, this approach has resulted in a very narrow, yet promising, U. S. Supreme Court decision to the effect that off-reservation residency in itself should not be a bar to federal benefits.<sup>38</sup>

As off-reservation Indian groups become more organized, a great deal of development can be expected in this area.

### C. Recent State Legislation

With commendable foresight, and indeed as this Committee was contemplating recommending similar legislation, the 1975 Oregon legislature passed Senate Bill 386 (1975 Or Laws, Ch. 688) which has been signed into law by the governor. The statute establishes a ten-member Commission on Indian Services and provides that the Commission shall:

"(1) Compile information relating to services available to Indians, including but not limited to education and training programs, work programs, housing programs, health programs, mental health programs including alcohol and drug services, and welfare programs from local, state and federal sources and through private agencies.

"(2) Develop and sponsor in cooperation with Indian groups and organizations, programs to inform Indians of services available to them.

"(3) Develop and sponsor programs to make Indian wants and needs known to the public and private agencies the activities of which affect Indians. Encourage and support these public and private agencies to expand and improve their activities affecting the Indians.

"(4) Assess programs of state agencies operating for the benefit of Indians and make recommendations to the appropriate agencies for the improvement of those programs.

"(5) Report annually to the Governor and the Legislative Assembly on all matters of concern to Indians of this state and recommend appropriate action."

One representative from the Portland urban area sits on the Commission. The remainder of the Commission is comprised of representatives of tribes and Indian population centers elsewhere in the state. Additionally, two members of the legislature sit on the Commission.

Although it is too early to analyze the effectiveness of this enactment, the Committee has recognized that there has long been a dramatic need for legislation to aid Indians seeking assistance in dealing with government and in implementing programs for the benefit of Indians. One area of potential concern is the possibility that Indians in the Portland area may be under-represented with only one member sitting on the Commission.

## III. SURVEY AND DESCRIPTION OF AGENCIES AND FACILITIES IN PORTLAND EXISTING FOR THE BENEFIT OF INDIANS

Without some identification of the native American groups and organizations in the Portland area, the unacquainted reader might imagine the metropolitan Indian population to be totally scattered and unorganized. Interestingly, and to their credit, the Portland citizens of Indian descent have organized many communities of purpose and have federated several of them into a metropolitan Indian council. Consequently, the urban

Indian in Portland does have some choice of ethnic association, advocacy and service. In addition, the unity of effort developed through the council has contributed significantly to the creation and growth of a comprehensive Urban Indian program.

The following is a list of groups and organizations, which came to the attention of the Committee, existing for the benefit of the Indian in Portland. They are noted early in this report as a reference aid for the reader:

#### **A. Urban Indian Council (UIC)**

Previously known as the Commission on Urban Indian Affairs, UIC is an independent non-governmental coalition of Indian groups. It was organized in 1969 to give Indian people a voice in the Portland area. Believing that Indians could best deal with the problems of Indians, the Council started its urban Indian program in 1972 with federal poverty funds. The program engaged primarily in referral services, although some direct service was provided. It was largely through the efforts of the Council that local government was persuaded to contribute funds and professional services augmenting the federal poverty monies and making possible the current expanded program.

Representatives of the following indigenous Indian organizations, in addition to three members-at-large, sit on the Council:

1. **Alaska Native Association of Oregon:** Organized to benefit especially the Alaska native, while advancing through cooperative effort the general welfare of urban Indians.
2. **American Indian Movement (AIM):** A national organization with a local chapter of between 40 and 50 members which is characterized by strong Indian pride and a sense of nationalism.
3. **Bow and Arrow Dance Club:** Provides opportunities for participation in Indian cultural activities and has between 50 and 100 members.
4. **Chicano-Indian Study Center of Oregon (CISCO):** A broad-based education and training project located on the site of the former Adair Air Force Base in Corvallis, this organization engages in remedial and vocational education, sponsors a construction company known as Hacialito, and provides a variety of other support services needed to help participants benefit from the program. CISCO has considerable participation by Indians from the Portland area.
5. **Lakota Oyate-Ki Indian Culture Club:** An Indian membership group of 50 to 60 inmates of the Oregon State Penitentiary that fosters educational, training, financial and other social services for the benefit of Indian inmates. It also serves as an advocate body for individuals seeking or awaiting parole and further actively seeks to establish linkages between parolees and their community of residence.
6. **Native American Rehabilitation Association (NARA):** Principal objective is to rehabilitate the Indian alcoholic. It operates two half-way houses in Portland under the auspices of a local board of directors composed of both native Americans and local non-Indian citizens.
7. **United Indian Students of Higher Education:** A source of support for Indian students at P.S.U. and P.C.C., and also, frequently the channel for Indian student participation in activities of the larger Indian community.
8. **Win-Ya, Indian Woman's Club:** Organized to advance opportunities for Indian women.

#### **B. Urban Indian Program (UIP)**

The Urban Indian Program serves as a port of entry for Indians coming into the Portland area. It also helps resident Indians cope more effectively with the urban environment, and in doing so, to maintain their Indian identity.

The program presently provides:

1. Outreach support in finding housing, food, clothing and other basic necessities;
2. Health services such as immunizations, TB screening, home care, well child clinics and health referrals;

3. Counseling;
4. Employment assistance including job development and training;
5. Legal assistance; and
6. Pre-school and day care services for children whose parents are working, in school or in training programs.

The Program endeavors, with the help from the Urban Indian Council, to create a complete Indian Center combining both social services and a variety of Indian cultural activities.

### C. Other groups and organizations

The following is a list of other significant Indian groups and organizations who are non-members of the Urban Indian Council:

1. **Portland American Indian Center (PAIC):** The oldest (1959) and largest single Indian organization in Portland, PAIC has been affiliated with the Urban Indian Council on two occasions, withdrawing each time over disagreements about program emphasis and methods. PAIC does, however, maintain similar overall objectives of serving the special needs of Indians and providing links to Indian tradition and culture. Its activities are conducted by a board of directors and it maintains a center where emergency provisions are available. It frequently sponsors Indian festivals in the Portland area.
2. **American Indian Political Power Movement:** A militant political action group.
3. **Red Berets:** A high school teen club, primarily social and educational in nature.
4. **National Congress of American Indians:** An effective national lobby with ties to the local community.
5. **United Indian Action Center:** One of the earliest and, for a period of time, most influential advocate, service organizations assisting Indians in Portland which is now largely inactive.
6. **United Minority Workers:** A multi-racial organization, including Indians, that works for improvement of employment opportunities, particularly in the construction industry.

## IV. NEEDS OF PORTLAND INDIANS: AN ASSESSMENT

### A. Education

The quality of the urban Indian's education is a major determinant in how well he succeeds in coping with life in the city. The family, the tribe, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the non-Indians with whom he comes in contact, the schools and various agencies in the community, all play their part in shaping his life as a child and as an adult, while he lives on reservation and in the city. The problems he has in achieving in school are similar to those faced by young people from other minority groups which are disadvantaged in the socio-economic sense—blacks, Spanish Americans, Russian Americans, "poor whites," etc.—but the Native American suffers in a way that is said to be unique.

Two esteemed scholars investigating Indian education believe that: "Objectivity is peculiarly hard to achieve . . . because knowledgeable people generally believe that Indians have been mistreated by the dominant American society, and we are under moral obligation to make up as far as possible for past mistakes and mistreatment."<sup>39</sup>

Urban Indians have immediate needs to be taken care of, but long-range improvement in the quality of their living can be achieved only through changes in their education, both on the reservation and in the metropolitan area. As noted earlier, most urban Indians have had prior reservation experience. Therefore, what happens in urban schools is inevitably linked to education on the reservation. Schools and other agencies are making a determined effort to improve their education, but "how to do a better job is a question with no easy answers."<sup>40</sup>

### 1. Education of the Northwest Indian living on a reservation

The education of the young Indian is beset by conflicts from its beginning. In the Northwest he generally attends a public school with non-Indian children in a small town on or bordering the reservation. Differences in learning styles may affect his school performance and feelings about the school experience. According to Professor Joe Sando, University of New Mexico:

"Many Native educators have suggested that the basic problem is that their children are taught to learn in two different ways. In school they learn 'in the ways of the white men.' In their homes, the children learn in the ways of their people—in traditional cultural patterns which have remained durable even after many years of life among Euro-Americans."<sup>41</sup>

He sees two principal areas of difference: First, their learning is "more visual than verbal, i.e., more learning by observation than through language." Second, they learn that children are expected to listen to their elders and not to speak out until one has had enough maturity to be worth listening to, with the result that young Indians tend to develop proficiency in their listening skills and to prefer to remain silent in social situations involving adults and non-Indians.

The young Indian is different from his non-Indian brother and wants to take pride in that difference. He is a member of a particular tribe, in effect another nation; every tribe has its own language and cultural heritage. In some parts of the United States the tribal language is still spoken in the home, but in the great majority of Northwest Indian homes English is spoken. Shaped by the tribe's unique culture during his pre-school years are the concepts that form in his mind, the way he thinks and communicates with other members of his family and neighbors, the principles and values that guide his behavior and feelings. In a recent speech Ms. Floy Pepper, a Creek, said:

"The Indian way of dealing with life is different from that of the white man . . . (They) value the warmth and richness of the human relationships of the extended family and feel that the children are the responsibility of all. . . . They put their emphasis on work as being necessary for the common good for the purposes of good interpersonal relations and the sharing of whatever they have—housing, food, clothing, etc. . . . (the Indian) rejects a value system which puts more emphasis on materialism than on the worth of the individual. . . ."<sup>42</sup>

The poverty in which the majority of Indian families live on the reservation further complicates the young Indian's chances of success in school:

"The vast majority of Indian families, both on the reservation and in the cities, are poor. The parents and other adult members of the family have had limited formal education—many of them no formal education at all. So they are poorly equipped to help their children with what the children are struggling to learn at school. Their homes have little in the way of books, magazines or newspapers, and the things adults in these families talk about seldom relate to what the children are exposed to at school. . . ."<sup>43</sup>

In school these differences are too often ignored by the young Indian's teachers and his non-Indian peers. In their social relationships and in their expectations of what these students from the reservation will do educationally, the young people from off-reservation homes tend to reflect their parents' attitudes toward Indians. Teachers in these schools seldom are trained to individualize their instruction so as to give every youngster an equal opportunity to learn and to take account of the sociocultural processes operating in the classrooms and in the communities. Many complain that young Indians, in general, are not motivated to achieve in school. Anthropologist Anne M. Smith asks ". . . can he be expected to be motivated when to do so means rejection of his parents and their teachings, as well as his religion, race, and history?"<sup>44</sup> Difficulty in overcoming the bias of one's own value system when dealing with young people whose values are different further complicates the teacher-pupil relationship, according to Nathaniel Hickerson:

"The inability of affluent-oriented teachers in American society to understand or cope with the behavior of children from economically deprived families is often of paramount importance in alienating those children from the public schools. It is this clash of value commitments that, more than any other factor, drives our Black, Mexican, Indian and economically deprived Caucasian children out of the school and to the streets. They have been attacked at the point of great vulnerability: their value structure."<sup>45</sup>

Research evidence shows that teachers in schools with a preponderance of Indian students are concerned about their pupils and want to help them retain their "Indianness" insofar as is possible in a non-Indian society. A national study of the teachers in 39 schools or school systems serving Indian youth indicated that:

"... a majority of teachers believe that Indians should acquire skills and attitudes that make for success in modern society, but they should also maintain some of their tribal or 'Indian culture' ... [their] position on assimilation is moderate and cautious, not anglo-oriented, but also not inclined to see the teaching of tribal culture as a major objective for them in school. ..."<sup>46</sup>

When comparisons were made between teachers in BIA schools and in urban schools, it was found that the former evidenced "above average insight into Indian students as individuals or as members of a meaningfully understood group," while the latter were "somewhat uninformed but open-minded and desirous of close understanding." Teachers in rural areas tended "... to favor assimilation more than the urban teachers ... (and to) point where they might adversely affect the learning skills and knowledge that make for success in white society."<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately, few teachers are trained to employ a multi-cultural approach that encourages children from varying backgrounds to recognize cultural differences and learn from each other. Teachers' and non-Indian students' lack of understanding and appreciation for Indian heritage and culture make the Indian feel:

"... like an alien in a strange country. And the school feels it is its responsibility not just to teach skills, but to impress the 'alien' Indian with the values of the dominant culture. Teachers, textbooks, and curriculums, therefore, are programmed to bring about the adoption of such values of American life as competitiveness, acquisition, rugged individualism, and success. But for the Indian whose culture is oriented to completely different values, school becomes the source of much conflict and tension."<sup>48</sup>

The coursework and instructional materials in his school rarely present a picture of Indians in American history of which the young Indian can be proud. Virgil Vogel, in *The Indian in American History*, says that social studies textbooks:

"... blank out Indian participation in historical events of major importance to this country's development ... portray the Indian as a subhuman nomad, standing in the path of civilization ... list the faults of the Indian and condemn him for being inferior in intelligence and adaptability ... deny the many Indian contributions to American culture."<sup>49</sup>

The American Indian Historical Society, an organization of Indian scholars, found that most textbooks contain "derogatory statements and misinformation about the American Indians. In addition to the inaccuracies and patronizing tone, (there is) stereotyping and an absence of material on the Indians' contribution to the development of the continent."<sup>50</sup>

The effect of these biased instructional materials on Indian and non-Indian is suggested by another study of school children and teachers in a Minneapolis suburb:

"White students showed a depressing lack of facts (about Indians), and teachers were poorly informed. Thus the texts not only indicate a neglect of Indian pupils, but they perpetuate misinformation for non-Indians."<sup>51</sup>

Conflicts such as these combine to impede the educational achievement of the Indian youth and to alienate him from schools. Studies by the Northwest Regional Educational

Laboratory, Portland, and the Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, show that the best current figure on Indian dropout rates is more than 1½ times that of the general population.<sup>52</sup> These two agencies did find, however, that between 1960 and 1970 the Indian dropout rate declined 7 percentage points more than did that of the general population. The Northwest Laboratory made individual studies of 287 Indian high school graduates and found that 202, or slightly more than 70 percent, pursued some kind of educational course beyond high school. Of these, 52 percent completed the course they entered, nearly 30 percent entered college . . . and 12 percent graduated and received degrees.

In reporting on a study of 600,000 American school children in 1965, James S. Coleman and others showed conclusively that Indian children (and those from every other minority group) fell progressively farther behind white children the longer they stayed in school. Coleman concludes that "the educational deficits of minority group children stem from the inequities of our *total society* and that the schools have not so far been successful in eliminating them."<sup>53</sup>

Inescapable is the inference that American schools could do much more in helping the Indian achieve a place in society of which he can be proud and in guiding the non-Indian's efforts to understand and appreciate the complexity of that struggle. "Attacking the schools as a primary cause of educational failure oversimplifies the issues, and more important, diverts attention from the basic economic and political problems of ethnic minorities."<sup>54</sup> An aroused public, however, can insist that school authorities take constructive steps toward improving not only the school performance of Indian youth but also the education of all citizens about the unique contribution of Indians to our American heritage.

## 2. Educating the Urban Indian in Portland

Several agencies have educational programs aimed at helping the adults and young people who leave their homes on a reservation in the hope of finding a better life in the city. Noteworthy are these:

(a) **Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Department of Interior.** The Portland Office of the BIA has jurisdiction over Indians who live in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. They oversee the following educational programs:

(1) **Vocational training.** The philosophy of the Bureau is to provide every young Indian with training for the vocation of his choice but, at the same time, to try to interest him in staying on the reservation in order to improve general conditions there. This is a change from an earlier policy which stressed preparation for off-reservation employment because of the dearth of vocational opportunity on reservations. The change came about, reportedly, in response to criticism that the BIA's efforts were contributing to a "brain drain" that couldn't help but weaken the quality of life for those Indians who remained. Officials at the BIA Office in Portland say that a lack of jobs in the individual's field of training inevitably leads to his moving to industrialized communities.

Limited natural resources make the improvement of job opportunities on reservations difficult. Historically, the white man was anything but generous when he selected sites on which "the conquered people" were to be settled. By and large those lands which he considered of little value to him were designated as reservations. Where industries like the lumber mill and the Kahneeta Resort complex at Warm Springs, Oregon have been developed, it has been due largely to the enterprise and farsightedness of a few individuals. A furniture factory on the Yakima Indian Reservation in Washington is another notable example of what can be accomplished when Indians are helped to help themselves.

What some people term "the Indian attitude toward work" also contributes to the slow improvement of vocational opportunity on reservations. Regular attendance and consistent performance on the job appear to conflict with the Indian's time orientation and value system. Leaders of the Warm Springs Consolidated Tribes have been quoted as saying that many jobs there have to be filled by non-Indians "because many Indians do

not choose to work regularly but prefer to work sporadically in order to participate in other activities." Individual Indians have also been heard to say they do not work in the Tribes' enterprises because they "can make more money on the outside." The Yakimas' furniture factory is also said to have employed a significant number of non-Indians.

Adequate counseling would seem to be an essential if the reservation Indian is to make a wise choice of a vocation for which to train. A branch office of the BIA on every reservation provides counselors who help the individual assess his capabilities, decide whether he wants to go on to higher education or train for a vocation, and plan a program to achieve his goal. They help him select the site for his advanced education, find suitable living quarters, counsel with him throughout the training program, and assist in placement on his first job after graduation. Throughout this training he is eligible for scholarships and other financial aid; if married, he can receive additional allowances for dependents.

In addition to the BIA counselors, the school district in which reservation Indians are educated receives federal funds in lieu of property tax money under the provisions of the Johnson-O'Malley Act, but its total resources may not be enough to maintain a sufficient number of well-trained educational and vocational counselors to serve both Indian and non-Indian students. Those young Indians who drop out of school before graduation from high school deprive themselves of what vocational counseling is available at the school; they can, however, avail themselves of the services of the Bureau's counselors.

At the time of its investigation (the late 1960s), the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the U. S. Senate found ". . . a desperate shortage of trained guidance counselors . . . many of the qualified counselors in the Federal schools are not being used effectively . . . rarely (do they) have a background in vocational education."<sup>55</sup> Personnel at the Portland Office of the BIA acknowledge that this condition still exists to some extent, but say that a valiant effort is being made to improve the counseling service through a higher level of training for counselors and better utilization of personnel.<sup>56</sup>

Meaningful instruction in the character of cultures other than his own and of urban life would also seem an essential for the reservation Indian. If he is to make an intelligent decision on choosing life in a city over that on the reservation, he needs help in the classroom in comparing the two in order to withstand the cultural shock when he settles in the city. Even if he should choose not to leave the reservation, or if the urban Indian should decide to return after living in the city for a period of time, the better he appreciates his own heritage and understands its relation to others' culture the richer is his life likely to be.

(2) **Adult Education.** Learning centers on reservations are being developed in cooperation with tribal councils as a means of supplementing the education provided by schools on and near the reservation. All are cooperatively funded by the tribes and the Bureau. Several other tribes have plans under way for centers on their reservations. Instruction is provided in groups, on a one-to-one basis, or to individuals using programmed materials. Classes offered include Indian culture, music, languages, beadwork, Indian history, general educational development, brush-up courses, tutoring and remedial assistance for students, improved reading, preparation for job advancement, preparation for college, Spanish, knitting, needlepoint, study skills, secretarial skills, etc. The centers are used as meeting areas for various groups, a place for students to do homework, use library resources, and carry on other activities. The centers put out newsletters, provide referral services, and assist, on request, in curriculum development. The center directors and tribal education committees have obtained assistance from local community colleges or universities, the state library services, local school districts, and many others in providing these educational services.

(b) **Portland Public School District No. 1.** Efforts are being made to give Indian children the special attention educators recognize they need and deserve. The fact that the children are dispersed widely throughout the city is a complication. Approximately 500 Indian children have been identified as attending schools in District No. 1, but the 1970



Federal Census showed about 900 Indian children of school age residing in the metropolitan area, which would include other school districts besides Portland's. From what they know of Indian ways members of the Parents' Committee feel certain there are more Indian children enrolled who may not want to be identified as such.

For the 1974-75 school year a \$66,000 grant under the Indian Education Act enhanced the district's efforts to provide equality of educational opportunity for Indian children. Prior to receiving these federal funds, authorities were not able to designate them "a significant minority" because of the small numbers in any school or area. Consequently, teachers and administrators could not go beyond the measures taken to individualize instruction for any child, even though they tried to recognize the unique background these children brought to their education and consequent problems in achievement.

(1) The following measures are being taken under the terms of this grant:<sup>57</sup>

a. A Parent Committee has been formed with the assistance of the Urban Indian Council to identify the critical areas of need and to guide implementation of the program. On this advisory board are interested Native American parents, who by law must comprise 50 percent of the Board's membership. In addition, there are representatives from the Council, the Urban Indian Program (UIP) and the Chicano Indian Study Center of Oregon (CISCO).

b. A major data gathering effort is being made to identify the Indian children in Portland, find out where they reside, their socio-economic status, their school achievement and cultural aspirations, etc. Involved in planning and conducting this investigation will be Indian parents and students, teachers, community leaders, and representatives of related agencies. In preparing "individual achievement profiles" for each student attention will be paid to using instruments that take into account the bi-lingual and bi-cultural backgrounds of every child, where such instruments are available.

c. Tutorial services to Indian children are being made available as a means of helping them achieve more success in their regular school settings, using older Native American children as tutors paid out of grant funds and supervised by the principals of the respective schools.

d. A mobile Native American Cultures Learning Center has been developed to function as a curriculum center, movable classroom and lounge where Indian and non-Indian children of all ages can learn about the unique characteristics of the culture of various Native American tribes. A teacher's manual has been written to go along with that program, in the hope that children will be given advance preparation for what they will hear when visiting the van.

(2) Not included in the proposal is any provision for in-service training of the teachers and principals who will be working with these children. Apparently it is assumed that the regular district in-service program can effectively prepare them to take care not only of the peculiar needs of Indian children but also of the non-Indian children who could be learning better to understand and appreciate the Indian as a person and the contribution his people have made to our American heritage. School district authorities and the personnel who planned and will be implementing the project say they have considered the urgency of this need and the complexity of the in-service learning required. The only special effort is a series of one-day programs provided by Don Lelooska Smith, honorary chief of the Kwakiutls, through the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry, and with credit given by Lewis & Clark College in cooperation with the Division of Continuing Education.

Fuchs and Havighurst have urged:

"The quality of teaching for Indian children could be improved . . . if new teachers had systematic in-service training in cultural awareness linguistics, and in the study of Indian history and culture. More than this, there may be some teaching methods which are especially well adapted to Indian children because (they) react somewhat differently to classroom teaching than children of other minority or majority groups."<sup>58</sup>

Washington State educators are listening attentively to recommendations such as this:

"We would ask for support of the Indian Task Force recommendation that teacher training institutions be pressured to turn out either Indian teachers or white teachers who are adequately educated in sociology and anthropology, history from the Indian viewpoint, contemporary Indian government, and Indian rights, a psychology of minorities and specialized teaching methods that will draw out non-white students who are products of an essentially intuitive and non-competitive culture."<sup>59</sup>

Another educator had this to say in the same report:

"\* \* \* Probably that is our greatest need, trying to get this fact across, that there is really not an Indian problem; the real problem is the greater society which cannot recognize some of the needs of the Indian child, and also, I would say of the black child or Chicano . . ."<sup>60</sup>

(c) **The Urban Indian Program.** At this center individuals who seek further education are helped through the following:

(1) Adults who want to finish high school through an alternate route can enroll in a program entitled the "Comprehensive Learning Experience" in which they attend classes two nights a week. The goal is to obtain a General Educational Development certificate, which is the equivalent of a high school diploma. A second objective is "to bring our people together to share a common experience; discovering together the traditions of our people through arts and crafts and the bringing together of talents and experiences to them as individuals and as a people."<sup>61</sup>

(2) Children receive additional education through the "American Indian Supplemental Education Program." A curriculum is being designed for pre-school children that "will provide for language development, cognitive skills, physical fitness, environmental, social, and bi-cultural awareness."<sup>62</sup> Young people from first grade through high school will be given tutoring to help them with any of their subjects at school.

Still another program is being proposed to the federal government, entitled "Living Heritage Project," in which elementary and secondary students who are Native Americans will attend classes at the Portland Arts and Crafts Society where they will be taught the basic skills of Indian arts and crafts.

(d) **Portland State University.** Directed by Professor John Spence, a Gros Ventre/Sioux, the Indian Social Work Education Project has as its purpose the recruitment and training of American Indians and Alaskan natives in the field of social work with other Indian people. In 1975-76, there are 45 students involved: 11 in the graduate Master of Social Work program, 19 in the undergraduate Certificate in Social Services program, and 15 in the community college Social Services program in various academic areas. The curriculum includes courses and a Field Practicum with Indian organizations in the Portland area and on nearby reservations. Ten Indian students have so far graduated with Masters Degrees in Social Work.

The United Indian Students in Higher Education, directed by Lowell Curley, a Quinalt/Blackfoot, advises and assists Indian students on the Portland State University campus.

(e) **Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.** Representatives of Oregon Indian tribes and the Oregon State Department of Education are participating in the development of reading materials which not only relate to Indian children's real life experiences but also "bolster pride in their ethnic heritage and confidence in their ability to achieve in school." Drawing upon their experience in developing the Alaskan Reading and Language Development System, specialists at the Laboratory have designed a similar system of learning experiences, teaching methods and instructional materials which are uniquely fitted to the needs of Pacific Northwest Indians.<sup>63</sup> Under contract with the BIA, they have also conducted investigations of such problems as the Indian drop outs from high school and post high school training and employment experiences of those who graduate.<sup>64</sup>

## B. Health and Medical Care

### 1. Sources of Health Care

The Grant-Morgan study estimated that about 75 percent of the Indian population in Portland has had prior reservation experience. The Indian leaving the reservation loses the direct federal aid to which he has been accustomed.

In 1954, Congress transferred the responsibility for the administration of health care to Indians from the BIA (in the Department of the Interior) to the Public Health Service (in the Department of Health, Education & Welfare). It was felt that the Public Health Service could better secure appropriations and personnel necessary to raise the level of services. In the basic legislation establishing the Indian Health Service (which is within the Public Health Service), and in subsequent appropriation acts, Congress has indicated that it intends reservation Indians to be the principal clientele served.<sup>65</sup> The establishment of the Indian Health Service, coupled with the BIA's already limited involvement with the Urban Indian, adds little in the field of health and medical care. Exceptions to this generalization, or where the federal government does have some involvement, would include the following:

(a) The BIA is responsible for medical care, as well as certain other social services, during an introductory period for Indians coming into the city under the Employment Assistance Program.<sup>66</sup>

(b) Other Indians (in other words, those not involved in the Employment Assistance Program) leaving the reservation are eligible for one year of medical assistance through the Indian Health Service.<sup>67</sup> In practice, however, this assistance has been reported to be of limited help both due to difficulty in establishing a link with the reservation<sup>68</sup> and in establishing priorities in the expenditure of limited funds.<sup>69</sup>

(c) Indian students temporarily residing in the city, while attending school, are given medical assistance by the Indian Health Service.<sup>70</sup>

(d) The Indian Health Service gives informal assistance by directing Indians to local private and public sources for medical care.<sup>71</sup>

(e) Since July of 1974, the Indian Health Service has furnished financial support for the health component of the Urban Indian Program in Portland.<sup>72</sup>

The Public Health Officer for Multnomah County believes that the majority of Portland Indians receive medical care by either direct purchase or through some insurance plan.<sup>73</sup> Figures given in the Grant-Morgan study indicate that 53 percent of those interviewed reported that they and their families had medical insurance; 45 percent reported that they did not. Of those Indians who reported that they had medical insurance, the greatest number (34.2 percent) were subscribers to the Kaiser plan.

Generally, and subject to the same exceptions noted above, the eligibility of an Indian for health care through charitable sources or through public programs is the same as that for any other citizen.

Your Committee's attempts to ascertain, through agency records, Indian usage of medical services were unsuccessful. For the most part, agencies approached kept no records of clientele by race;<sup>74/75</sup> and to the extent that any such records were kept, the data was not readily retrievable.<sup>76</sup>

There was a general consensus, among those interviewed by the Committee, that Indians under-utilized medical services available to them. Although the Committee was unable to document that impression through hard statistical evidence, it had no reason to challenge it. Prominent among the reasons suggested to explain such under-utilization were:

(a) Lack of information about how to get medical services;

(b) Cultural hesitation to plod through "white man's red tape" in order to get the services;<sup>77</sup> and

(c) Cultural inclination to accept one's medical condition as it is.<sup>78</sup>

Although it has been expressed that a reservation Indian might hesitate to take advantage of available medical services because they are neither sacred nor part of his cultural background,<sup>79</sup> the Committee did not find this to be a deterrent in Portland.<sup>80</sup>

Assisting Portland Indians in procuring existing medical services for which they are eligible was the initial purpose of the Health Services Component of the Urban Indian program. This Component was initiated in 1974 and was funded jointly by the City of Portland, the Metropolitan Steering Committee and the Concentrated Employment Program.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, the Health Department of Multnomah County rendered the following assistance:

- (a) Instructional sessions for health personnel employed by the Health Services Component during the first three months of 1974;
- (b) Supplying pediatric and public health nurses for monthly well-child clinics;
- (c) Assigning a public health nurse on call for the purpose of rendering general assistance; and
- (d) Furnishing tuberculin testing equipment as well as biologicals and syringes for immunizations.<sup>82</sup>

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1974 and ending June 30, 1975, funding support for the Health Services Component came from a \$60,000 grant from the Indian Health Service.<sup>83</sup> This reflected the continuation of a much needed shift in Indian Health Service policy, beginning in 1972, towards allocating some funds for the benefit of off-reservation Indians.<sup>84</sup>

The Progress Report on the Urban Indian Program and recent request for funding addressed to the City of Portland and Indian Health Service indicate a trend on the part of the Health Services Component to provide more medical services on the site rather than directing patients elsewhere.<sup>85</sup>

## 2. Special Health Problems

Alcoholism, tuberculosis, infant mortality and accidents are reported to be the leading health problems among reservation Indians.<sup>86</sup> Noting again that 75 percent of Portland Indians have probably had prior reservation experience, it logically follows that they would have essentially the same medical problems. However, again, the Committee was unable to document this impression through solid statistical evidence.

Although death records cannot disclose the extent of nonfatal illness, or the accompanying misery and incapacity, vital statistics relating to the causes of death in Multnomah, Washington and Clackamas Counties between 1971 and 1973 were reviewed for the Committee by Charles Hinkle, Research Analyst for the State Department of Vital Statistics. Mr. Hinkle revealed that only alcohol-related deaths and accidental deaths show a significantly higher rate among Indians than for the general population. Death due to tuberculosis and infant mortality do not show a significantly higher rate.

Notwithstanding the fact that tuberculosis did not stand out in the death statistics, the Committee found evidence that it definitely is a health problem for the Indian in Portland. Rough figures supplied by the Health Department of Multnomah County indicated that approximately 5 percent of those receiving treatment for tuberculosis through its communicable disease section are Indians. And even by the highest estimates, Indians constitute less than 1 percent of the patients treated.

The Grant-Morgan study reveals that Indians themselves feel that alcoholism, poor teeth and poor vision, in that order, constitute the three principal health problems for Indians living in the Portland Metropolitan area.

## 3. Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse

The Committee felt that alcoholism was the most obvious and common medical problem among urban Indians in the Portland Metropolitan area. Although documen-

tation of this open and notorious problem would seem to be unnecessary, the Committee's conclusion was more than confirmed by the following evidence:

(a) Statistics (supplied by Mr. Hinkle as noted above) indicating the increased rate of alcohol-related deaths among Indians;

(b) The Grant-Morgan study indicating that more Indians consider alcoholism to be a more serious health problem than any other condition; and

(c) Experiences of the Health Services Component of the Urban Indian Program indicating that nearly every adult served "had a drinking problem."<sup>87</sup>

An extensive study in Denver notes some rather revealing statistics relating to alcohol-related arrests:<sup>88</sup>

**Comparative Rates of Arrests of Various Ethnic Groups in Denver—1960**  
**RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION**

	<i>Total</i> <i>Arrests</i>	<i>Alcohol- Related</i> <i>Arrests</i>	<i>Official</i> <i>Percentage</i> <i>Alcohol- Related</i>
Total population (including all groups) . . . . .	5,300	2,700	51
White (combining Anglo and Spanish) . . . . .	4,800	2,500	53
Anglo . . . . .	3,500	2,000	57
Spanish . . . . .	15,000	7,000	46
Negro . . . . .	12,000	3,600	30
Indian . . . . .	60,000	51,000	86
Chinese-Japanese-Filipino . . . . .	1,100	470	41

It is evident that Indian arrest rates, especially alcohol-related arrests, are many times greater than those for the white population or for other minority groups.

Although no similar study has been made in Portland, the Denver study was felt to be fairly analogous and certainly persuasive. In any event, 1972 arrest records for Portland indicated that 18 percent of those arrested for drunkenness, and 10 percent of those arrested for "other alcohol offenses," were Indians.

Although tempting, it would be wrong to assign a single cause or offer a single cure for the problem of alcohol abuse among Indians. Among the causes suggested to explain alcohol abuse among Indians are the following:

- (a) A genetic intolerance for liquor among Indians as compared with other races;<sup>89</sup>
- (b) A cultural predisposition to hide problems in drunken oblivion rather than seeking "more constructive alternatives"; and<sup>90</sup>
- (c) Loss of cultural identity.<sup>91</sup>

The Grant-Morgan study appears to accept the last suggestion—loss of cultural identity—as axiomatic. It states that "the most distressing and most far reaching symptom of Urban Indians' cultural identity loss appears to be alcoholism." The report continues:

"The Indians interviewed designated alcoholism as their most readily identifiable, critical and extensive problem. \* \* \* We asked participants to mark one of the following as, in their opinion, being the best way to help someone who has a drinking problem:

Having a good steady job . . . . .	13.9%
Being with friends who care and don't drink . . . . .	40.4%
Getting a better education . . . . .	4.6%
More self-respect . . . . .	36.4%

Response to the above questions seems to indicate that the level of one's self-esteem, and the influence of one's peer group environment play a major role in the prevention of alcoholism and/or the recovery of an alcoholic. "Thinking about why a person may have a drinking problem, are there any reasons you can think of?" Respondents most

often cited problems at home or work, or not being able to find a job, or not having any money as reasons for alcoholism. They stress the idea that one who becomes an alcoholic often does so to escape the pressures of a miserable existence, is unhappy, and/or doesn't care anymore. \* \* \*

Although the Grant-Morgan findings and conclusions would indicate that there is a significant relationship between loss of cultural identity and alcoholism, Theodore D. Graves, who conducted the Denver study referred to above, disagrees. He found "no empirical evidence that there is something unique about the way Indians use alcoholic beverages or that other people in similar circumstances would not behave in a similar fashion."<sup>92</sup> He concludes that excessive Indian drunkenness can be explained in terms of the same structural and psychological variables that are also relevant to non-Indian drinkers, "such as the type of parental role models, premigration training for successful urban employment, and marital status," and he further concludes that high drinking rates for Indians as compared with other urban groups "can be understood in light of the fact that their preparation for successful, unstressful urban living is far poorer."<sup>93</sup> In other words, Graves concludes that if the economic hardships could be solved, the other factors (presumably including cultural identity) would assume minor importance.

Graves' study does nevertheless agree with the Grant-Morgan conclusions in that peer group pressure correlates positively with the incidents of drunkenness among Indians:

"... Once a pattern of group drunkenness appears normative, however, it also serves as a standard of behavior for some participants who may not have the same psychological needs that generated the pattern in the first place. Thus the existence of the pattern itself, as mediated by the social pressures exerted by core participants, becomes a sufficient cause for the drinking behavior of others who come in contact with it."<sup>94</sup>

A traditional program for the treatment of alcoholism usually involves substantial emphasis upon guilt as an impetus towards rehabilitation. Although such an impetus might be appropriate elsewhere for the treatment of alcoholism, the Committee felt that it would not be appropriate where Indians are concerned. Recognizing the social pressure upon an Indian to "seek out his own," the Committee felt that a far better approach would be to accept this postulate as a normal one and direct rehabilitation programs towards developing a cultural pride in the Indian individual emphasizing traditional Indian values and self-awareness. Thus the Committee felt, even though cultural loss (according to Graves) may not be a significant cause of alcoholism, cultural pride is a proper part of the curative process.

In 1970, such a self-help program, organized and operated by Indians for Indians, was created in Portland: The Native American Rehabilitation Association (NARA). The core of NARA's program is the maintenance of a halfway house with a plan of three week residence during which there is person to person, group and family counseling.

The typical first three weeks in the NARA program emphasize introduction to the urban way of life. During the fourth and final week, attempts are made for the arrangement of housing, jobs and/or schooling.

NARA's counseling staff consists of five non-professional Indians, all of whom are past alcoholics. Students in the social work program of Portland State University and residents in the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Oregon Medical School also participate in the program. The halfway house accommodates 20 people, but 14 is considered to be a more comfortable number. Recruitment into the program occurs through a counselor roaming the skid row area and daily visiting the "Detox" Center, referral through the courts, and more recently, through television publicity.

Funding for the NARA program began with voluntary contributions by board members and participants. Beginning in 1972, a three-year demonstration and research grant was obtained from the National Institute of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse. Funding for each of the first two years was \$81,250, and a supplemental grant for 1974 was \$102,000. Renewal of these grants, with increases, has been applied for.

NARA is now in the final stages of extending its program to include the use of en-

campments. A special land use permit was obtained from the United States Forest Service to hold the first of these, in the Mt. Hood National Forest, during October of 1974. The encampment is viewed primarily as a time of renewal through return to tradition and the opportunity for participants to express their own spirituality.

A further expansion of NARA's services is being contemplated, depending upon the availability of funds, which involves the establishment of a three-quarters-way house to offer additional support to those in need of establishing an alcohol-free life in the city.

NARA is one of 151 Indian alcohol programs, both on and off reservations, supported by the NIAAA. This represents a 50 percent increase as one year ago NIAAA supported 101 such programs. The NIAAA's enthusiasm for supporting the programs apparently stems from its finding that it can expect twice the productivity—both in effort and success—in the programs operated by Indians as compared with others. A study of the Indian programs, particularly in their use of non-professional personnel, is being undertaken by the NIAAA in hope of setting up analogous programs for the benefit of other groups.<sup>95</sup>

### C. Employment

The 1970 Census shows the unemployment rate for urban Indians in the United States to be 9.6 percent for the civilian labor force 16 years of age and older. The following table<sup>96</sup> compares this rate of unemployment with the Portland area and some selected west coast cities:

**Urban Indian Unemployment Rates (%)**  
**UNITED STATES AND SELECTED CITIES**

	United States		Portland		Tacoma		Seattle		San Jose	
	Total	Ind.	Total	Ind.	Total	Ind.	Total	Ind.	Total	Ind.
Male	4.0%	9.4%	6.3%	17.7%	8.4%	20.6%	7.9%	18.0%	—	8.1%
Female	5.2	9.9	5.8	15.4	8.4	19.5	8.6	16.0	—	13.9
TOTAL	4.4	9.6	6.1	16.8	8.4	20.2	8.1	17.3	5.8	10.2

The unemployment rates for urban Indians in the Pacific Northwest are significantly higher than for any other west coast area and the average for the United States. In addition, they are more than triple the unemployment rate for the total labor force.

Governmental, business and social leaders in the Portland area agree that lack of employment is a serious problem for the Indian. The area of disagreement arises as to the degree of the problem. Most of the aforementioned individuals interviewed felt that the 1970 Census is understated as to the number of Indians in Portland and a corresponding understatement of the number unemployed. The (1) transient nature of Indians, (2) lack of awareness of census procedures and (3) hesitancy to be identified as Indian are the reasons mainly quoted for this discrepancy.

The Grant-Morgan study, based on a scientific sample, indicated the unemployment rate for urban Indians in the Portland area to be 27.6 percent. In addition, the study indicated that 43 percent of the families had annual incomes of less than \$3,000. The researchers for this study stated, "Population estimates of the number (Indians) in Multnomah County, due to the sampling process used by the U. S. Census in 1970 may grossly under estimate the Indian population."

In any case, lack of employment for the Indian is a serious problem and contributes to other social ills. A study of Indian conditions in California clearly correlated lack of employment with poor housing, poor nourishment and inadequate medical care.<sup>97</sup> The Grant-Morgan study indicates that the Portland Indian, when asked which needs should be met first, second, third and so on, listed more jobs as a very high priority.

One of the major means of job placement for Indians in Portland has been via the BIA Adult Vocational Training Program. This program, which replaced the Relocation Program started in 1948, was enacted into law on August 3, 1956. Its main intent was to assist *reservation* Indians in migrating to urban areas, train them in vocational trades, and assist them in obtaining employment.

A study evaluating the merits of the Adult Vocational Training Program makes a favorable comparison of its 71 percent completion rate to other federal programs and to the increased income of the trainees.<sup>98</sup> This study goes on to say:

"However, it should be stressed that the reservation Indian who moves to the city loses his U. S. Public Health Service medical and dental care, his relatively inexpensive housing and transportation, the food, clothing, or other essentials that may have been produced on the reservation, frequently the protection of his family or kin group in time of need, and in many cases, a change in life style. The benefits of this program must be weighed against these facts by every Indian who chooses to enter the AVT (Adult Vocational Training) program."

This study also points out that questions unanswered regarding the merits of the AVT program are:

- (1) How long does the trainee remain on the job once he or she has obtained one?
- (2) Once the BIA stops providing follow-up services, how well does the former participant fare in the city?
- (3) Does the participant remain in the city or does he or she become a part of the immigration to and from the reservation?

Another view of this same program states, "The reasons for urban immigration are multiple but all students of the phenomenon agree that economic necessity is the most influential reason in the decision to leave the reservation, because a . . . much nicer picture of relocation, job placement, income, and benefits of urban living is painted than most Navajos have experienced once they relocated in the city."<sup>99</sup>

There are differences of opinion regarding the effectiveness of the BIA's Vocational Training Program. But both sides would agree that this program has not helped the employment prospects for unemployed Indians currently residing in Portland. On the contrary, the relocation of *reservation* Indians into an urban setting where high Indian unemployment already exists can only create additional problems.

Emphasis must be placed on finding employment for those Indians currently residing in the Portland area. To this end the State of Oregon Unemployment Division, the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), the City of Portland, Multnomah County's Operation Mainstream and the Urban Indian Program have provided some vocational training and job placement. The over-all effectiveness of these programs has been limited.

Employers who were interviewed have had limited referral of Indians for employment. In two instances, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had previously referred reservation Indians for employment. Quoting one personnel manager, "The referral of Indians for job placement is extremely lacking."

Affirmative Action goals and timetables are based on the labor market as defined by the 1970 Census. The business managers interviewed stated their equal employment programs are based upon this data but, as one individual stated, "I do not have very much faith in the 1970 Census, but there is no other data upon which to base our goals."

Entry level jobs, where training is provided, is a problem in some career occupations. This is especially evident in governmental positions where civil service and physical requirements make placement of Indians very difficult. In some cases, job requirements are not job related and when they are related, they are too stringent.

The majority of the employers interviewed indicated they would be willing to participate in job placement seminars or other activities that would help urban Indians prepare themselves for employment. In addition it was felt that individual employees would be willing to donate their time to help in the area of vocational training. Training facilities, during non-business hours, could also be made available.

One of the sources of referral of Indians for employment is the Urban Indian Program. This Program was established in April of 1972 on a very limited budget. In November of 1973 the City of Portland and Multnomah County substantially increased their financial commitment to this Program and, in March of 1974, an Employment Develop-



ment Manager was hired. During a 5-week period in March and April, 1974, 171 people were screened, 89 attended job interviews and 26 were employed by various businesses in the Portland area. Limited information was available regarding the job applicants and no follow-up program had been established to (1) aid in job retention of those who had been hired and to (2) provide data regarding the overall success of the program. These shortcomings have been virtually eliminated with the passage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 and the subsequent allocation of employment funds to the Urban Indian Program. These monies have allowed additional staff to be hired and programs to be implemented that will allow job counseling after initial employment and data analysis regarding the program's effectiveness.

#### **D. Housing**

##### **1. The Committee's Findings**

Much of the information contained in this section was obtained through personal interviews with people who are involved with various urban Indian programs. Unfortunately, the statistical data is either not complete or unavailable, as discovered by the Committee's research intern, when ten city and county agencies were surveyed to determine how many American Indian clients and program participants they had.

In specifically attempting to discover how many Indian families are living in subsidized housing, five area directors of the Housing Authority of Portland were telephoned. The unsubstantiated information that was received indicated that approximately thirty Indian families were residing in the 3,678 available family units.

The only significant, undeniable statistic is that there is insufficient low income housing available and that the problem of locating adequate housing not only affects the Indian, but all low-income families.

The Grant-Morgan study indicates that Indians feel that the lack of housing is one of the six critical problems for Indians in Portland. It is significant to note that 72 percent of those interviewed felt that the need for adequate housing was critical. While only 24 percent are buying their own home, 51 percent would prefer having ownership of their place of residence. Approximately 54 percent of the sample are renting, which is 13 percent higher than the Multnomah County average. The remainder is in public housing.

To further amplify the lack of ownership among Indians, the *Preliminary Report and Proposed Strategy* (for additional funding of the Urban Indian Program) indicates that the rate of home ownership among Indians is only half that of the city's black population and barely more than a third of the white population.<sup>100</sup>

Low income of Indian families has been stated as a reason for their lack of ownership. The Grant-Morgan study substantiates this. Of those interviewed, 43 percent reported having combined family income for 1971 of less than \$3,000. Added to this are an additional 13 percent that had income of less than \$5,000. The report also notes that of the sample population interviewed, 20 percent declined to answer the income estimation question.

In the study, the Indians were also asked what they felt to be the "biggest problem" facing them, what needs were most important and should be met first, and what provided services were not adequate. As "the biggest problem," *housing* rated second only to alcoholism; it ranked first as a most important need; and it also finished first in the inadequate category.

When the Indian seeks housing assistance, he can secure aid from the Urban Indian Program (UIP), Portland American Indian Center (PAIC), Portland Metropolitan Steering Committee (PMSC), American Indian Movement (AIM), and various governmental agencies. If he has an alcoholism problem, the Native American Rehabilitation Association (NARA) can help him. These organizations work together in locating suitable housing for the Indian (except PAIC, which operates independently). The remaining Indian "agencies" use a referral system between them.

The goals of the UIP, and other Indian programs, are identical with PAIC. Their differences lie in philosophy. Edward P. Butcher, formerly president of PAIC, feels

strongly that the Indian should be able to assist himself as much as possible and to improve his situation without the majority of his financial support coming from any outside source. PAIC would prefer to work from the inside out and not depend upon government grants as its principal means of support.

In interviews with people involved with securing housing for Indians, one recurring feeling was evident: The general consensus among Indians, with one exception,<sup>101</sup> is that discrimination does exist. Your Committee could not document any specific instances. There was universal agreement, however, among those whom the Committee interviewed that there is a definite shortage of low income housing.

## 2. Specific Programs in Portland

Upon arriving in the Portland metropolitan area the client (and his family, if he has one) is placed in a motel for a maximum of five days by the Urban Indian Program while attempts are made to find alternative housing and employment. No follow-up procedures are used but this will soon change if additional funding is granted to establish a data processing system. The UIP coordinates its activities with PMSC, AIM, and NARA (if there is also a drinking problem).

The PAIC program, on the other hand, attempts to follow up and determine if progress is being made by the client. Because its staff is voluntary, this program requires a great deal of dedication by those involved. Donations by its members and the sale of Indian wares fund the project. One of the goals of PAIC is to build a new center. Included in the plans for this facility will be a dormitory for Indians who are in need of housing.

## E. Legal Assistance

The practical exposure of the off-reservation urban Indian, both locally and elsewhere, to the legal system is, first of all, fraught with the same problems as characterize any undereducated, economically deprived group—not to mention racial minority problems—lack of insight into how the system functions, fear of authority, lack of funds for competent private counsel, unavailability or ineffectiveness of public legal assistance, difficulty in communicating with courts, lawyers, social workers, and the like.

All of these classic problems seem to be compounded in the case of the urban Indian, whose social and cultural background is likely to be completely out of tune with that which he encounters in an urban setting. Further, his problem may stem from reservation or tribal relationships regarding, for instance, interests in tribal property, with respect to which there may simply be no effective legal counsel available.

Communication problems are compounded by the legal system's seeming insistence upon confrontation, precision, speed and often harshness—in stark contrast to the more deliberate, subtle, conciliatory process he has quite probably experienced in the tribal-reservation process of resolving conflicts between individuals or between the individual and the tribe.

The local BIA office is willing to provide informal legal advice to the urban Indian and often is able to do so quite effectively. Until very recently, however, there simply had not been available to the urban Indian specifically any particular source of legal advice.

In June, 1975, the Urban Indian Program hired an attorney to direct its Legal Services unit. Three attorneys, contracted to UIP through VISTA, two law students hired through federal work-study grants, and three law students working for credit from the Lewis & Clark School of Law staff the Service. Legal Services is engaged primarily in civil litigation, but other cases include traffic offenses and DUI charges. Future plans include legal services in the fields of criminal and consumer law.

Most clients represented by UIP's Legal Services are Indians and non-Indian relatives of Indians who are generally poor and indigent. According to Vincent Deguc, one of the three UIP attorneys paid through VISTA, the new service is very well-received by Indians. New clients come in almost daily and the backlog of cases is approaching 150. He added that the Indian community, generally, is unaware of the legal system and,

consequently, tends to allow legal problems to compound. The Legal Services staff views an active legal information campaign as part of the service they must provide.

The Committee felt that the UIP's program fulfills a definite need for a skilled specialist with legal training to assist Indians with their multitude of problems which are unique to Indians.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

1. There are more Indians in the Portland urban area than have been reflected in recent census data. They are a sizeable minority which has not received sufficient attention from governmental agencies at all levels.

2. Federal statutes and regulations do not effectively aid Indians who wish to move from reservations to urban areas. There has been inadequate counseling and assistance rendered to Indians who wish to make this transition. The resulting inability to adjust to a different lifestyle and unawareness of governmental assistance available to all urban citizens has contributed to inadequate education, health care, job opportunities and housing.

3. Indians are discarding their traditional role as a silent minority and are demanding and earning a rightful place within the community through orderly process. There is a growing emergence of self determination in tribal councils and an expanding utilization of social services. Yet the urban environment still has a strong tendency to overwhelm the Indian. This tendency would be lessened through the establishment of a cultural center. A center would provide the pivotal experience by which the Indian would recapture his identity and culturally enhance the entire community.

4. Educators have not taken sufficient note of Indians' growing appreciation of their cultural heritage. Specific educational programs have not been developed to enhance this feeling among Indians or to promote understanding of this heritage among the general populace.

5. General medical services are available to urban Indians through the same channels as for other citizens, yet Indians need assistance in being directed to the proper sources. Alcoholism, however, is a special problem best handled by Indians themselves, assisted by government funding. There are currently insufficient facilities available to cope with this problem and these facilities need to be expanded.

6. The greatest single barrier to Indians attempting to live in an urban setting is a lack of job opportunities. Contributing to this is discrimination, unrealistic civil service requirements, inadequate job training, inappropriate job placement and follow-up and, further, a conflict between Indian culture and the demands of a modern industrial society. The BIA's Adult Vocational Training Program has not effectively dealt with this problem.

7. There is insufficient low income housing available to Indians, as well as to other minorities, in the Portland metropolitan area.

8. Indians are generally uninformed about both (a) the existence and extent of many rights and benefits available to them by virtue of their basic citizenship, and (b) the many special rights and benefits which are, or may be, available to them by virtue of complex federal treaties, statutes and regulations applicable *only* to Indians. Thus, the Indian needs particularly specialized legal assistance, a need which is beginning to be filled by such efforts as the legal assistance activities of the Urban Indian Program.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. A more detailed survey of urban Indians, their employment, housing, health, education and migration patterns, should be included in the next decennial census.
2. Federal statutes and regulations dealing with Indians should be streamlined to aid more effectively the Indian who wishes to move to an urban area, and to define more clearly his legal status.
3. Funding requests by the Urban Indian Program in its effort to establish an Indian cultural center should be supported at the local and federal levels.
4. Metropolitan school districts which have not yet done so should apply for federal dollars under the Indian Education Act and form advisory committees to supervise additional programs in Indian education.
5. The advisory committees provided for by the Indian Education Act should ask organizations such as the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Portland State University or other appropriate institutions to explore forming a consortium of the agencies involved in Indian education that would develop programs to: improve education of Indians and non-Indians about Indian history and culture; prepare improved in-service programs in cultural pluralism for teachers; identify additional problems in education of urban Indians; and seek additional dollars for special programs.
6. County health officers should cooperate with the Urban Indian Program to insure that Indians receive general medical services through the same channels as other citizens.
7. In contrast to general medical services, the treatment of alcoholism should continue to be provided through programs run by Indians, such as NARA, and government funding of these projects should be continued and expanded.
8. A local business-labor alliance committee should be established by the Mayor that would develop programs where individual, labor and corporate resources could be applied to the areas of vocational training, employer-employee sensitivity, and employment problems among urban Indians.
9. The Urban Indian Program should receive continued funding so that it can maintain its employment counseling both before and after hiring.
10. The BIA should provide longer job placement follow-up for those individuals who have successfully completed the Adult Vocational Training Program.
11. The BIA should reevaluate its on-reservation training and counseling programs in order to ensure that these are reflective of current and projected urban labor market demands.
12. Civil service selection procedures at all levels should be brought into a more realistic relationship with actual job requirements so that Indians, as well as other minorities, would have maximum access to the government job market.
13. Legislation should be enacted that will provide more low income housing than is currently available to Indians, as well as other minorities.
14. The Urban Indian Program should receive continued funding so that it can maintain its legal assistance activities.

Respectfully submitted,

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## APPENDIX A

### FOOTNOTES/SOURCES

1. There is some dispute about the size of the Indian population at any given time. The figures quoted are adapted from a chart prepared in Burnette, *The Road to Wounded Knee* 291-2 (1974). This book is among the best overviews of Indian history and the tangled relationship of Indian peoples to the policies devised by the Federal Government to deal with them.

2. Grant-Morgan Associates, *The Urban Indian in Multnomah County, Oregon—A Community Survey* (1972). This report commissioned by the Urban Indian Program, is one of the most valuable sources of information on Indians in Portland and was extensively relied upon by the Urban Indian Program in preparing the structure of its approach to the problems of Indians living in Portland.

3. See also interview with Glenna Page in *The Oregonian*, March 22, 1974.

4. *Attorney General Legare*, 4 Op AG 75, 76 (1842), as quoted in US Dept Int *Federal Indian Law* (GPO 1958), reprinted by Oceana Publications, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. (1966), hereinafter referred to as "Federal Indian Law."

5. From the outset, the federal government has asserted "plenary," or "exclusive," jurisdiction over all matters relating to Indian Affairs. This stems primarily from the provisions of Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the Constitution that Congress shall have the powers "To regulate Commerce with . . . the Indian Tribes;". See also Federal Indian Law, Ch 11. As of 1842, federal power was still exercised primarily through treaties with various tribes, and not until the 1870s did Congress shift from treaties to a legislative means of dealing with Indian matters, thus abandoning what had become the "legal fiction" of Indian tribal "sovereignty." See Federal Indian Law at 210-212.

6. *United States ex rel Standing Bear v Crook*, 25 Fed Cases No. 14891 (1897).

7. All tribal Indians were granted U.S. Citizenship by the Act of June 2, 1924, Ch 233, 43 Stat 253 (codified, as amended, at 8 USC §1401(a)(2)). By that time, an estimated two-thirds of the entire American Indian population had already been granted citizenship status by virtue of treaties and special legislation as far back as the early 1800s. See Federal Indian Law at 517-520.

8. Implicit in federal Indian policy from the outset was the feeling that citizenship and tribal status were inconsistent. The first federal statute granting citizenship to an entire tribe (the Brothertons, in 1839), also dissolved the tribe as such. See, Officer, "The American Indian and Federal Policy" in Waddell and Watson, *The American Indian in Urban Society*, pp 23-24 (1971).

9. Obviously the concept of citizenship involves affirmative obligations and duties, such as subjection to taxation in some circumstances, military service obligations, etc.—not to mention the implicit message that sovereign, separate Indian status and U.S. citizenship are incompatible. See DeLoria, *Custer Died For Your Sins* (1969).

10. See DeLoria, *supra*, Ch 5.

11. See DeLoria, *supra*, Ch 2 at 35-54.

12. See Officer, *supra* at 27-40.

13. Act of February 8, 1887, 25 Stat 388, popularly known as the Dawes Severalty Act. It was not mere coincidence that the legal framework for permitting individual Indians to own and sell what had previously been communally owned tribal lands corresponded chronologically with the various Homestead Acts and the opening up of the American west to White settlement and development. See Officer, *supra* at 32-35; Federal Indian Law at 115-117.

14. See Note 17 *infra*.

15. See DeLoria, *supra* at 52-54.

16. The concept of Indian citizenship has always been subject to concepts of federal "guardianship" over Indians and "Trusteeship" of Indian property rights and affairs. Federal Indian Law at 524-525 and 557-566. The predecessor of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established by the Act of June 30, 1834, 4 Stat 435, as a companion Act to the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834, 4 Stat 729. The BIA was initially established in the War Department and has gradually grown into an immense bureaucracy exercising great power over the lives and property of Indians. See Federal Indian Law at 215-268.

17. 48 Stat 984, 985, popularly known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. This legislation was largely the result of a lengthy, congressionally-sponsored study undertaken during the 1920s and resulting in the "Meriam Report," published in 1928, which was a generally much-lauded work containing many recommendations incorporated in the Reorganization Act. See Federal Indian Law at 127-133; Officer, *supra* at 43-44; DeLoria, *supra* at 54-55.

18. See Officer, *supra* at 45-47; Federal Indian Law 256-263.

19. See Officer, *supra* at 47-54; DeLoria, *supra*, Ch 3.

20. House Concurrent Resolution 108 (1953), stating the policy of Congress . . . as rapidly

as possible to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship."

21. DeLoria, *supra*, Ch 2.
22. In 1958, the Secretary of The Interior stated that the policy of his administration would "... not be to seek the withdrawal of federal services from Indian tribes without their understanding and acceptance." [Officer, *supra*, p 48]
23. DeLoria, *supra* at 68.
24. DeLoria, *supra* at 68-82.
25. Act of April 11, 1968, 82 Stat 77 (codified at 25 USCA §§1302-1303), enacted as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and copied almost verbatim from the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights. For a description of the nature and extent of the tribal government, see generally Federal Indian Law, Ch VI.
26. The congressional hearings preceding passage of the Indian Bill of Rights reveal considerable awareness of the potential impact of such a law upon tribal independence, and an attempt to minimize that impact. See Note, *The Indian Bill of Rights and The Constitutional Status of Tribal Governments*, 82 Harv L Rev 1343, 1355-1360 and generally for an analysis of this legislation in the context of the long-standing, but rather vague, judicial doctrine that all Indian tribes are legally immune from the federal constitution (as well as from State constitutions).
27. *Cherokee Nation v Georgia*, 5 Pet 1, 17 (1831). See also *United States v Kagama*, 118 US 375, 383-384 (1886) and generally, Federal Indian Law, 468-476.
28. Federal Indian Law, 21-93.
29. *Cherokee Nation v Georgia*, *supra*, at 17, 18, 20. See also Federal Indian Law, 557-566.
30. DeLoria, *supra* at 33-34.
31. Federal Indian Law, 746-843, 268-307.
32. Officer, *supra* at 54-58.
33. *Ibid*.
34. Internal Memoranda, June 1 and June 27, 1973, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, considering implications of *Ruiz v Morton*, discussed at Notes 37 and 38 below.
35. Federal Indian Law, 501-514, regarding State Power over Indian Affairs.
36. 42 Stat 208 (1921) codified in 24 USC §13 (emphasis supplied).
37. *Ruiz v Morton*, 462 F2d 818 (9th Cir 1973).
38. *Morton v Ruiz*, 415 US 199, 94 Sup Ct 1055 (1974).
39. Fuchs and Havighurst, *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education*, 298 (1972).
40. *Id.* at 300
41. Sando, "Educating the Native American: Conflict in Values," in Bransford, Baca and Lane, *Cultural Diversity and the Exceptional Child*, 62 (1973).
42. Ms. Floy Pepper (Coordinator of Program for Emotionally Handicapped, Multnomah Co. Intermediate Education District). "The Dilemma of Education for Indians," a speech delivered at the Topical Conference on Cultural Diversity sponsored by the Council of Exceptional Children, Las Vegas, Nevada, August 6-10, 1973.
43. National Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal Church, *This Land Is Our Land: The American Indian in American Society*, 29 (1970).
44. Smith, "The Status of the American Indian," in *The New Mexico Review*, 11 (Sept 1969), as cited by the U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *infra* at 27-28.
45. Hickerson, *Education for Alienation* (1966) as cited by Sando, *supra* at 62.
46. Krause, Ziegler and Havighurst, "Teachers for American Indian Youth," in 3 *The National Study of American Indian Education*, 10 (Dec 1970).
47. *Id.* at 17.
48. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge," 27 (1969).
49. As cited by Ms. Floy Pepper, *supra*, note 77.
50. American Indian Historical Society, *Textbooks and the American Indian* (1970) as cited by Fuchs, "Curriculum for American Indian Youth," 3 *The National Study of American Indian Education*, *supra* at 10.
51. *Ibid*.
52. Coombs, "The Indian Student is *Not* Low Man on the Totem Pole" (an unpublished

pamphlet written in response to the Senate subcommittee report and circulated by BIA throughout the system).

53. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, as cited by Coombs, *supra* at 6.
54. Fuchs and Havighurst, *supra* at 300.
55. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *supra* at 81.
56. Interview with Roy Stern of the Portland BIA office.
57. Portland Indian Education Project, a proposal submitted to the U.S. Office of Education for funding under the Indian Education Act, P.L. 92-128.
58. Fuchs and Havighurst, *supra* at 309-10.
59. *Report on Indian Education, State of Washington*, 33 (1974).
60. *Id* at 34.
61. "Comprehensive Learning Experience," a Progress Report submitted by Ken Lyon, Urban Indian Program Staff to the Urban Indian Council, July 15, 1974.
62. "American Indian Supplemental Education Program," a proposal submitted to the U.S. Office of Education for funding under the Indian Education Act, P.L. 92-128.
63. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, "Intercultural Reading and Language Development Program: Summary."
64. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, "The American Indian High School Dropout: the Magnitude of the Problem," and "The American Indian Graduate: After High School, What?"
65. See Officer, *supra* at 48-63.
66. Interview with Stan Stitt, M.D., Indian Health Service.
67. See Officer, *supra* at 48-63.
68. Interview with James Shore, M.D., Department of Psychiatry, University of Oregon School of Medicine.
69. Interview with Patrick Borunda, former Director of the Urban Indian Program.
70. Stitt, *supra*.
71. *Ibid*.
72. Grant request by Urban Indian Program directed to Indian Health Service.
73. Interview with Hugh Tilson, M.D., Public Health Officer with Multnomah County.
74. *Ibid*.
75. Interview with Joan Hamlin, Public Welfare Division, State of Oregon.
76. Interview with Wallace Roseboro, Public Welfare Division, State of Oregon.
77. Grant request by Urban Indian Program directed to City of Portland, 1973.
78. Interview with Steve Johnson, Vice-Chairman of the Urban Indian Council.
79. NBC News Presents: Special Edition, June 23, 1974.
80. Johnson, *supra*.
81. City of Portland Human Resources Bureau, *Progress Report—Urban Indian Program* (1974).
82. Interview with Alexis McCraw, R.N., Supervisor of Health Component, Urban Indian Program.
83. Grant request, *supra*, note 72.
84. Stitt, *supra*.
85. Progress Report, *supra*, note 81; grant request, *supra*, note 72; grant request, *supra*, note 77.
86. See Jorgenson, "Indians and The Metropolis" in Waddell and Watson, *The American Indian in Urban Society*, 67-113 (1971), and Graves, *infra* 275-311.
87. Progress Report, *supra*, note 81.
88. Graves, "Drinking and Drunkenness Among Urban Indians" in Waddell and Watson, *The American Indian in Urban Society*, 282 (1971).
89. The Committee was unable to find any scientific documentation of this seemingly outdated notion.
90. Graves, *supra* at 305.
91. Progress Report, *supra*, note 81.
92. Graves, *supra* at 305-306.
93. *Ibid*.
94. *Id* at 302.

95. Interview with Sidney Stone, Acting Director of NARA and member of the National Minority Advisory Committee to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

96. Based on Table 4, p 27, and Table 13, p 160, 1970 United States Census Summary of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas with 2,500 or more Indian population.

97. Jorgensen, *supra* at 76.

98. Clinton and Stauss, "An Evaluation of a Federal Program for Improving the Employability of Emigrants from Indian Reservations" 11 (1971).

99. Snyder, "The Social Environment of the Urban Indian," in Waddell and Watson, *The American Indian in Urban Society*, 220-221 (1971).

100. Borunda, Preliminary Report and Proposed Strategy (for additional funding of the Urban Indian Program) 9 (1973).

101. Edward P. Butcher, of Portland American Indian Center, stated that he has never found discrimination to be a problem in finding adequate housing for Indians.

## APPENDIX B PERSONS INTERVIEWED

The following persons were interviewed by the full Committee or by individual Committee members:

*Blair Babcock*, Pacific Power & Light Co.

*Richard M. Balsinger*, Asst. Area Director, BIA

*Patrick Borunda*, former Director of Manpower, City of Portland; former Executive Director, Urban Indian Program (UIP).

*Edward P. Butcher*, Past President, Portland American Indian Center

*Ted Case*, President, Portland American Indian Center (PAIC)

*Rufus Charger*, Counselor, Native American Rehabilitative Association (NARA)

*Charles A. Clemans*, Director, Intergovernmental Relations, Portland Public Schools

*Lowell Curley*, Chairman, Urban Indian Council

*Rena Cusma*, Assistant to Multnomah County Commissioner Donald E. Clark

*Angie Davis*, Pacific Northwest Bell

*Vincent Deguc*, Staff Attorney, Urban Indian Program

*Joan Hamlin*, Public Welfare Division

*Charles Hinkle*, Research Analyst, State Department of Vital Statistics

*Charles Johnson*, Executive Director, Urban Indian Program

*Steve Johnson*, Department of Labor, Civil Rights Division, State of Oregon

*Joseph Lane*, Employment Development, UIP

*Andy Lawson*, EEO-Minority Employment Manager, BPA

*Melvin Longie*, NARA

*Ruth Lyon*, UIP

*David Macfarlane, M.D.*, Crippled Children's Division

*Alyce Marcus*, Affirmative Action Officer, City of Portland

*Marian Martin*, State Registrar

*Alexis McCraw, R.N.*, Supervisor, Health Component, UIP

*Phillip Moore*, Portland Metropolitan Steering Committee

*William Nickleberry*, Portland General Electric

*Dennis Ogan*, Area Employment Assistance Officer, BIA

*Glenna Page*, State Director, American Indian Movement (AIM); acting chairperson, National Council of Off-Reservation Indians

*Floy Pepper*, Coordinator of Programs for Emotionally Handicapped, Multnomah County Intermediate Education District

*Stan Poitras*, counselor and teacher, Chemawa School

*Roberta Quapama*, Secretary, PAIC

*Robert Rath*, Coordinator, Intercultural Programs, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory

*Martha Robbins, R.N.*, Westside Walk-In Clinic, Multnomah County Health Department

*Wallace Roseboro*, Supervisor, Medical Review Team Unit of Medical Assistance Section, Public Welfare Division, Salem



*Marie Schmidt*, Education Technician, BIA

*Stephen Schneider*, Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon

*Mildred Schwab*, Commissioner, City of Portland

*James Shore, M.D.*, Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, U. of O. Health Sciences Center

*John Spence*, Assistant Professor of Social Work and Sociology, Portland State University

*Roy Stern*, Area Director of Education, BIA

*Stan Stitt, M.D.*, Indian Health Service

*Sidney Stone*, member, HEW appointed National Minority Advisory Committee; Acting Director, NARA

*John Talley*, Co-Chairman, Portland chapter, AIM

*Hugh Tilson, M.D.*, Public Health Officer, Multnomah County

*Sharon Vercimak*, Pacific Northwest Bell

*Norm Wiese*, Northwest Natural Gas Co.