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<https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.1907>

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HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN LIFE AND
THEIR EFFECTS ON THE URBAN INDIAN

by
RAMONA CLIFF

A practicum submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

Portland State University
1976

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

The undersigned approves the practicum of
Ramona A. Cliff presented August 11, 1976.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore one aspect of American Indian life: the personal situations and political implications of the American Indian residing in an urban setting. Numerous studies have been conducted with minority populations residing in urban areas in an effort to direct attention to the social phenomena that affect these minority groups. Newman's American Pleurism offers several definitions of the term "minority group" that sociologists have employed in the past. One such definition most relevant to this study was first formulated by Louis Wirth:

We may define a minority group as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.¹

Indians are a "society" living within the dominant society of this country, whether the location is on a reservation or within an urban area. Levine, in The American Indian Today, states:

They are a fair-sized minority group . . . who are living in the general culture but have a strong sense of ties to Indian ancestry.²

Levine's points are: number one, the Indians are not vanishing; number two, Indians are not alike; number three, Indians for the

most part do not like to be associated with the Civil Rights Movements; number four, not all Indians live on reservations and not all are in the same economic boat; and number five, Indian people do not form a political bloc in the way other minority groups do.³

Historically, the American Continent was inhabited by aboriginal peoples who lived in a primeval state that was ideal to their sustenance and the perpetuation of their race. Anthropologists support the findings of man's antiquity in the Americas: as an example, Farb, in Man's Rise to Civilization,⁴ presents the hypothesis of aboriginal evolution in the Americas. Farb presents evidence that aboriginal American people represent one of the world's most isolated populations. He supports his presented hypothesis with evidence of genetic traits such as blood type, headshape, and fingerprints, that these clues to an aboriginal race are influenced neither by environment or diet. With the exception of the Eskimo and the Aleut Indians, the blood groups of aboriginal Americans are remarkably uniform, so much so that the aboriginal Americans have been placed, at least by one anthropologist, in a separate race, distinct even from the Asian Mongoloids. The American Indian is unique because his particular cluster of several blood types and other physical traits are not found in the same combinations in other races around the world.

Vine Deloria states, in God Is Red, that there is reluctance of scholars to consider the possibility of pre-Columbian

visits to the Western Hemisphere and further, that there is evidence that this continent was visited by numerous expeditions prior to the arrival of Columbus.⁵

Elementary school taught us that American History began with the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492. Upon exploration and colonization of the New World by the immigrants from the Old World, mostly European, the aboriginal American, now called the American Indian, and even more recently, the Native American, was pushed ever westward upon each encroachment and settlement of his aboriginal territories. Out of this antiquity and history was born the American Indian "reservation."

Through centuries of historically racial conflict and controversy, besieged by exploitation, colonization, and treaties with the new immigrants, the aboriginal people became to be known as the Indians who live on "reservations."

Throughout the history of the settlement of America, upon each westward surge of the European immigrant, "treaties" were signed with the natives who dominated the territories, as each territory was settled. With the signing of treaties many of the native tribes were offered exchanges of land holdings and other services deemed necessary to their livelihood: food, clothing, health care, and the opportunity to assimilate into the mainstream of American life--"the great American melting pot."

In a traditional way of life before settlement by the European immigrants, the aboriginal people were joined together by tribal units, characterized by genetic, cultural, and

biological bonds. These tribal units maintained themselves within specific areas on the American Continent. These entities are known as tribal territories. Within each tribal territory the tribal units lived mostly a nomadic life-style that was governed by the forces of nature, relative to the sustenance of the tribal units' livelihood.

From this historical overview we can see that the American Indian possesses a diverse and complex nature: the concepts of "high mobility" and "permanent setting" applied to the American Indians' earlier lifeways both one and at the same time. As the Indians were settled on "reservations" the concepts of "permanent settling" were in force, both by the demands of the treaties and the complexities of the laws of early America. In general many Indians resisted reservation settlement throughout the American historical eras. The treaties and the laws of the land prevented the Indians from functioning in the lifeway of mobility that they were accustomed to, and discontent of reservation life became an imminent factor that was to inevitably affect and alter the American Indians' life.

At this point in the history of the Indians, government legislative action further complicated matters by enjoining them to migrate to cities and towns in order that they become more acculturated with the dominant society. In so doing, Indian lifeways were altered from the traditional habit of life in a tribal unit, which is an extended family unit, to the

nuclear family unit prevalent in the urban centers of the country. Here again the concept of "high mobility" fractures the attempts of the Indian family's venture into a new way of life, for as a culturally characteristic trait the Indian is continually drawn back to the tribal lifeway of the extended family unit. Thus, the Indian may migrate to and from the reservation often, and for many different reasons: like cultural and social events that can be family feasts, festivals, celebrations, pow-wows, rodeos, and religious rites that are indigenous to Indian life, and other reasons like family funerals. Additionally, many Indians are drawn to their reservations for political and economic reasons, such as tribal elections and other kinds of tribal affairs.

The study is definitive in structure, since the author felt the need to explore the historical aspects of the Indians' migration to urban areas. The study presents a detailed review of the Indians' history, relative to their relationship to the dominant society.

The study will first present a historical review of American Indian life, and second, it will present the findings of an empirical study that was done with one group of urban Indians, to explore their characteristics and human service needs.

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

¹William M. Newman, American Pleurism, A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory, (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 15.

²Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie, The American Indian Today (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 10-15.

³Ibid.

⁴Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization As Shown By the Indians of North America From Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State (Dutton, New York: 1968), p. 277.

⁵Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (New York: Del Publishing Co., 1973), p. 126.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Need For the Study

The concept of this study came about as the result of a number of interrelated factors, relative to the American Indian who resides in an urban setting. The author felt the need to broaden the scope of knowledge pertaining to Indians who reside in urban centers. Sorkin, in American Indians and Federal Aid, states:

Probably less socio-economic information exists about the Indian than about any other minority group in the United States.¹

The scope of the Sorkin statement can only be appreciated by looking at the span of years covered by the published literature pertaining to the American Indian. There is a vast amount of literature written about them, mostly from the historical perspective of the academic world. Deloria, noted Indian spokesman of today, in God is Red, presents a chapter titled, "Indians of America." He comments on some of the literature written about American Indians, including noted works of fiction. He states:

In an effort to respond to the increasing market for books about Indians and by Indians, a number of

publishers eagerly sought out manuscripts on Indians by both Indian and non-Indian authors . . . Until this development, Indian literature stereotyped the Indian condition, thus hampering rather than helping the examination of the state of contemporary Indian affairs. The field of literature on American Indians is totally unlike any comparable field of American study. It breaks down into a number of easily categorized viewpoints which when taken together reveal much more about the conception of America held by the reading public than about American Indians, past and present. A review of the types of literature available on American Indians indicates that insofar as the Indian activists believed (and still believe) that they could tap the wellspring of hidden white sympathy, the task was almost hopeless and futile.²

Deloria's argument is that other fields of literature successfully enable people to empathize with conditions and cultural variances but that literature about Indians fails to evoke sympathy for them.

The Unique Role of Indians in American Society: Character of the American Indian

The character of the American Indian is generally drawn in a derogatory manner. In the evolution of civilization in the "New World", the American Indian has been placed in a unique role within the dominant American society. Indians have been seen as an invisible counterpart of the dominant American society since the time European explorers first set foot on the American continent. Since the time of written and recorded history in America, the aboriginal inhabitants have been portrayed by these historians and recorders as fierce and uncivilized peoples.³ Farb, in Man's Rise to Civilization, gives a chronological study of prehistoric Indian cultures and presents relevant information on cultural deviations.⁴ Farb's study is recognized by academicians and Indians alike as one of the most relevant pieces of literature

about Indians.⁵

The history of relations between the European immigrants and the aboriginal inhabitants, the Indian, has been called disgraceful by scholars who have studied American history and Indians.

During the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, early American territorial conquest of aboriginal lands was negotiated by wars between England, France, and Spain. At that time France and Spain possessed territorial claim to parts of the American continent. England was successful in claiming the American territories through war and land purchases. A major land purchase was the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Indian historians today have legitimate questions concerning the legality of the land purchase. Thomas Jefferson, as United States President, proposed a constitutional amendment to legitimize the purchase and answer the practical and philosophical problems it posed. Jefferson's proposed amendment dealt largely with the relationship between the United States and Indian nations.⁶ Jefferson recognized that France's title to the West (The Louisiana Territory) did not apply to Indian lands, and that purchase by the United States could not imply federal ownership of Indian land. Jefferson's major point was recognition of Indian sovereignty and land title in the West.⁷

Indian Treaties. In the conquest of the "New World" by European colonists, the aboriginal peoples were not treated as sovereign nations, but were viewed as obstacles in the path of settlement and industrialization of the New World. The govern-

ment of the early United States negotiated with Indians for territorial rights by legislative agreements, treaties, and at times, legislative acts and amendments. In 1869, treaty-making policy was questioned when Indian Commissioner Ely S. Parker made this recommendation to the federal government.

. . . A treaty involves the idea of a compact between two or more sovereign powers, each possessing sufficient authority and force to compel a compliance with the obligations incurred. The Indian tribes of the United States are not sovereign nations, capable of making treaties, as none of them have an organized government of such inherent strength as would secure a faithful obedience of its people in the observance of compacts of this character. They are to be held to be wards of this government, and the only title the law concedes to them to the lands they occupy or claim is a mere possessory one. But, because treaties have been made with them, generally for the extinguishment of their supposed absolute title to land inhabited by them, or over which they roam, they have become falsely impressed with the notion of national independence. It is time that this idea should be dispelled, and the government cease the cruel farce of thus dealing with its helpless and ignorant wards. Many good men, looking at this matter only from a Christian point of view, will perhaps say that the poor Indian has been greatly wronged and ill-treated; that this whole country was once his, of which he has been despoiled, and that he has been driven from place to place until he has hardly left to him a spot where to lay his head. This indeed may be philanthropic and humane, but the stern letter of the law admits of no such conclusion, and great injury has been done by the government in deluding this people into the belief of their being independent sovereignties, while they were at the same time recognized only as its dependents and wards. As civilization advances and their possession of lands are required for settlement, such legislation should be granted to them as a wise, liberal, and just government ought to extend to subjects holding their dependent relation.⁸

Commissioner Parker's recommendation is an example of the paradoxical position the federal government assumed in their policy-making relationship with the Indians.

Much of the Indian lands were taken from them with unscrupulous legality by treaties ratified by Congress and signed by the government. These were called treaties, but were considered by many Indians little more than real-estate deals. From 1778 to 1868, in ninety years, there were 370 of these treaties signed by the federal nation with the Indian nations. There were so many treaties, not because there were so many Indian wars, but because there were so many Indian lands, that the tribes were forced or enticed to sign away.⁹

In 1858, Indian Commissioner Charles E. Mix estimated the number of Indians to be 350,000. He further estimated that about 393 treaties between the United States Government and the Indians had been signed since the adoption of the Constitution, and that approximately 581,163,188 acres had been acquired through cession at a cost of \$49,816,344.¹⁰

Indian Claims Commission. It is incredible that after nearly two hundred years of treaty relations with the federal nation, the Indian treaty issues required another major piece of federal legislation to absolve these treaty issues. Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act to hear and determine the many unsettled Indian tribal claims against the United States which arose before 1946. The president signed the bill into law on August 13, 1946.¹¹ The act superseded a law passed in 1863 when various tribes were at war with the United States, which forbade Indians to sue in the Court of Claims. Until the passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act, the Indians

could bring no claim against the government without a special act of Congress. The significance of the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission derives from the fact that the government recognized claims and gave jurisdiction to the Commission in areas not comprehended under existing law or previous practice. A number of early Indian treaties with the United States Government remain in legal litigation in the federal courts today. Three hundred and seventy claims were originally filed in the Indian Claims Commission. By 1968, twenty-two years after the Indian Claims Commission had been authorized, less than half of the dockets had been settled.¹²

Indians as a Problem in the Territorial Struggle over Land.

Seen as obstacles in the path of settlement and industrialization, the Indians became the "problem" in the struggle for territorial claims to the land. The solution for early settlers was the cry for battle. The aboriginal peoples were depicted as resistors to civilization and thus were dealt with accordingly.

The practice of European conquest and civilization of peoples guided the relationship of the early American settlers and the aboriginal natives. Early American history is dotted with Indian wars, the climactic acts of territorial conquest.

Decline in Indian Population. Indian population was decimated by wars. Bahr, Chadwick, and Day, in Native Americans Today, estimate the Indian population within the current boundaries of the United States in 1492 range from 700,000 to 1

million. By 1871, when the Indians became official wards of the nation, their numbers had been reduced by the most radical forms of discrimination, war, and genocide, to less than half a million. Further population decline occurred under the early reservation system. The Indian population reached a low point of approximately 240,000 persons during the first few years after 1900.¹³

The following official census figures for Indians in the United States reflect population trends since 1890.¹⁴

1890	248,253
1920	244,437
1940	333,369
1950	357,499
1960	523,591
1970	763,594 ¹⁵

The lowest point of Indian population followed the era of Indian wars in America.

Early U. S. Indian Policy. The establishment of relations of the United States with the Indians generally have been through administrative agencies and it is therefore important to examine the structure, guiding policy, and manner of functioning of these agencies at various times. As a general rule, the English Crown and the colonies regulated relations between their own subjects and the Indians.¹⁶

Prior to the adoption of the United States Constitution, colonial ambassadors were appointed with the duties that consisted of observing events, negotiating treaties, and generally keeping peace between Indians and the settlers.¹⁷ On July 12, 1775, the Continental Congress exercised definite governmental power for all the colonies, and declared its jurisdiction over

Indian tribes.¹⁸ On August 7, 1789, early in the first Congress, the War Department was established, and the Secretary of the Department was entrusted with all matters relative to Indian affairs.¹⁹ Relations between the United States Government and the Indians remained in the jurisdiction of the War Department until 1824, when Secretary of War Calhoun created the Bureau of Indian Affairs by order of March 11, 1824.²⁰

Indian Reservations. The reservation system was established following the creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1824, and throughout the course of the early years was aimed primarily towards the removal of the Indians from their aboriginal territories and to the segregation of the Indian from the settlers.

It was not until 1849 that the Bureau of Indian Affairs passed from military to civilian control.²¹

The question of status of the Indian and the technique by which he might be civilized had not been answered satisfactorily in 1851 when Indian Commissioner Luke Lea wrote:

On the general subject of the civilization of the Indians, many and diversified opinions have been put forth; but unfortunately, like the race to which they relate, they are too wild to be of much utility. The great question, How shall the Indians be civilized? yet remains without a satisfactory answer. The magnitude of the subject, and the manifold difficulties inseparably connected with it, seem to have bewildered the minds of those who have attempted to give it the most thorough investigation . . . I therefore leave the subject for the present, remarking only, that any plan for the civilization of our Indians will, in my judgment, be fatally defective, if it does not provide, in the most efficient manner, first, for their

concentration; secondly, for their domestication; and thirdly, for their ultimate incorporation into the great body of our citizen population.²²

Government Policy for Indian Reservations. The government of American Indians living on reservations is the product of literally thousands of treaties, federal laws, and judicial decisions, and a myriad of rules and regulations issued by the government over the past 150 years. Presently the Bureau of Indian Affairs is organized to serve the 462,000 reservation Indians.²³ Indian trust land designated as reservations is tax-free and the federal government is charged with the responsibility of providing educational, health, and social services for the welfare of the reservation Indians. The federal government reserves the right to veto all tribal laws, codes, ordinances, and financial arrangements by empowering the Secretary of the Interior to regulate the administration of federal programs for Indians, a mandate which the federal officials exercise with great diligence.

Termination Policy. The constant fluctuating changes of American society's attitudes towards the Indian has generated a whole new set of problems for the Indian of today that affects the lives of not only the reservation Indian, but his tribesmen who reside in urban areas. Disregarding the long history of dependency that was forced upon reservation Indians and the depletion of tribal resources following World War II, Congress, with the support of officials administering Indian programs in the executive agencies, released the government from responsibility for Indians by terminating federal responsibility.²⁴

In 1953, Congress passed a resolution (House Concurrent Resolution 108), calling for termination of federal supervision of reservations in five states and seven additional locations.²⁵

In all, ten thousand Indians from the states of Western Oregon, Wisconsin, and Utah were terminated by this resolution before the Indian tribes could put a halt to the termination policy through appeals and suits in the courts. Termination activity by the federal government was halted, but only after several millions of acres of Indian land was lost and the Indians themselves released from federal responsibility.

President Nixon halted termination policy in 1970, by announcing administration policy repudiating the termination policy adopted by Congress in 1953.²⁶

Indian Migration to Urban Areas. The environment on the reservation has constraints too strong for many of the residents, and migration away from the reservations began with the advent of World War II.²⁷ The Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates that in the decade preceding 1972, 200,000 Indian people moved to urban areas.

Relocation Program. Over half of these migrants came on their own, the remainder were assisted in some way by the Bureau of Indian Affairs programs such as the Relocation Program initiated by the government in 1947, to assist Hopi and Navajo Indians to seek employment opportunities in the urban centers of Los Angeles, Denver, Phoenix, and Salt Lake City. A national program of relocation assistance was undertaken in 1952 and

expanded in 1957. Final expansion of the relocation program came about in 1962 to include job placement on or near reservations, as well as metropolitan areas and to acquire training to increase employability. The major goals of the Employment Assistance Program are:

1. Develop employment opportunities for Indian people with some degree of skill who are employable but unable to find jobs.
2. Make available institutional training for all Indian boarding school and public school graduates who do not plan to or cannot go on to higher education.
3. Provide on-the-job training for the unskilled to meet the labor demands of the increased industrial development occurring on or near Indian reservations.
4. Provide vocational counseling and guidance to the unemployed or the underemployed reservation Indians.
5. Participate in community development programs on the reservation and provide work orientation and motivation.²⁸

There is debate among Indian leaders and government officials as to the success or failure of the relocation programs. The main purposes of the relocation program is to reduce the level of surplus labor on the reservation, in addition to improving the standard of living of the participants. The principle reasons for failures that occur is because the programs are operated on such a small scale that major impact cannot be made.²⁹

Federal Relationships of Urban Indians. Government policy on the Indian residing in an urban area is virtually non-existent. The Bureau of Indian Affairs' responsibility does not extend to

Indians who have left the reservation.³⁰ The City Club of Portland, in a bulletin published in 1975, concluded that the Indian has no peculiar legal status as distinct from an Indian who resides on a reservation; and furthermore, that the urban Indian has qualified for very little special service from the federal government in terms of general welfare monies, housing assistance, job training, and education, since these benefits are tied almost entirely to reservation residence; and finally, that the new federal programs that do exist for urban Indians are transitional in nature, primarily designed to meet the needs of short-term job training, employment referral, emergency health care and emergency housing assistance.

Lukaczer, in The Indian Historian, writes that not all American Indians are federally-recognized.³¹ His figures show that 500,000 of the more than 800,000 Indians who are counted as Indians, Eskimo, and Aleuts, are federally-recognized Indians. The remaining more than 300,000 are non-federally-recognized. These are individuals who identify themselves as being "Indians" to census enumerators, or who are regarded as Indians in their communities. They live on reservations, in rural non-reservation areas, and in towns and cities throughout the United States. These individuals represent significant sizes in some states and generally receive no services as Indians. Many of these individuals are in reality enrolled members of a federally-recognized tribe, but because they do not reside on their respective reservations, they are designated as "ineligible" for

any federally-allocated Indian services. They are, in a sense, being jeopardized for joining the mainstream of American life.

In an editorial published by an Indian newspaper, WASSAJA, commentary was made on a new issue facing the urban Indian.³² A recent development in Indian policy that has been in legislation for the past several years, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act, was signed into law on January 4, 1975. As enacted, the bill (S 1017) is described as follows:

Public Law 93-683 contains a congressional policy declaration. First, a Federal obligation to be responsive to the principle of self-determination through Indian involvement, participation, and direction of educational and service programs. Second, a Federal commitment, based on the unique Federal-Indian relationship to foster and encourage Indian self-determination through Indian participation in those programs and services which affect them. Third, a major national goal to provide educational services and opportunities which will enable Indians to compete and excel in the life areas of their choice.

The implications of the bill as it relates to the urban Indian is being closely examined by these groups. The bill represents a sense of deep disappointment for this particular group of Indians. The reason for the anxiety of the urban Indian population is that the Act makes it obligatory for the urban Indian projects to obtain sanction from an Indian tribe in order to be eligible for funding from such agencies as Indian Health Service. Other projects will be similarly affected. Funding sources such as CETA (Comprehensive Employment Act), Title IV (Indian Education Act), and EDA (Economic Development Administration) are not so affected, so far.

As interpreted by the urban Indian population, the bill pushes them even farther away from any fair opportunity to

compete for funds from the federal government that are allocated for Indian services, and at the same time the interpretations of the bill cause the urban Indian population to be put in the position of mistrust by the reservation population.

Service Needs of Urban Indians

Research of literature on the urban Indian presents a disappointing amount of theoretical works,³³ relative to what this author believes may be some of the primary motivating factors that cause Indians to migrate from the reservations to the urban centers. Some of these factors are:

- economic deprivation
- poor health care
- educational discrimination
- ethnic discrimination
- cultural discrimination

The bulk of empirical studies on the urban Indian are presented as masters theses and doctoral dissertations.³⁴ The empirical studies on the urban Indian that have been presented examine the fields of human dynamics, such as

- assimilation
- acculturation
- adjustment
- adaptation

Steele, in American Indians and Urban Life, states that

only since about 1960 have urban Indians began to attract the attention of the social scientist.³⁵

It is the opinion of the author that the bulk of the studies was presented by non-Indian writers, and research of available literature on the urban Indian revealed that to be the case.

Deloria, in Native Americans Today, states:

United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare gave out \$10 million last year (1968) to non-Indians to study Indians. Not one single dollar went to an Indian scholar or researcher to present the point of view of Indian people. And the studies done by non-Indians added nothing to what was already known about Indians.³⁶

Comments by Deloria in God is Red presents a contrast of the incongruity of some of the published works on Indians in general. His point is that non-Indian writers could not conceivably possess any information that would be relevant to the formation of Indian policy.³⁷

Available literature on Indians focuses on the early history of the relations between Indians and the dominant society; the development of Indian policy throughout the years; and the circumstances of the present-day Indian who resides on the reservation and in urban areas. Very little empirical study is available on the human service needs of Indians as they enter urban centers.

Major attention has been given to the economic status of the urban Indian and to a lesser degree, to the health status of these Indians in the urban areas, primarily the study of alcoholism and its effects on the urban Indian. Bahr writes,

in Native Americans today:

One consequence of this research gap is an ignorance that impedes the planning and execution of programs aimed at ameliorating many of the negative consequences of urban migration.³⁸

Bahr also writes:

Textbooks tend to reflect the dominant interests of professional academicians. Hence, they have ignored the urban Indian.³⁹

and finally, Bahr states:

Moreover, the urban Indian is not particularly good journalistic copy. Lacking headdress and beads, he seems 'just like anybody else' and attracts no special attention. Besides, the unspoken argument goes, he lacks a future. The urban Indian is on his way to assimilation, is a 'vanishing Native American,' and to study him in the city is to catch him 'in process' between identities and in fact neither traditional native American nor assimilated modern man, so what have you? Conceptually hard to define, lacking human interest (now, if only he would riot or liberate some federal property . . .), not clustered for ready observability, and not posing a particular problem for anyone (his problems tend to be his own, since to a great extent he hasn't known how to 'lean on' city bureaucracies to make his problem theirs, as stated by Ablon in Phylon, 26, (Winter 1965), p. 370),⁴⁰ the Native American in the city has been a stranger, his influence diminished by his invisibility to the public, and his plight (whatever it is) accorded a low priority by city, state, and federal agencies.⁴¹

Bahr's comments generally are relevant. He also provides a good example of out-dated and unavailable literature on what's happening with Indians in the mid-70's.

Bahr's emphasis in parenthesis "(now if only he would riot or liberate some federal property . . .)" is a good example of out-dated information. The reservation Indian of today and his urban brothers, advocates of "Red Power" have adopted the increasing militancy of repressed minorities in seeking greater

freedom and self-determination for themselves. Manifestations of this newly-aroused sentiment include Indian occupation of former federal institutions, such as Alcatraz Island, California, the seizure of Ellis Island, New York, and the march on Fort Lewis, Washington.⁴²

To keep up with what is happening in the Indian world, the researcher needs to seek material from contemporary published works, mostly in the form of Indian newspapers, like WASSAJA,⁴³ a national newspaper of Indian America, and AWKWASASNE NOTES,⁴⁴ official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Awkwasasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and the Indian Historian.⁴⁵

Data on Human Service Needs of Urban Indians. Available data on the human service needs of urban Indians is mostly in the form of unpublished studies on Indians residing in urban centers, like Los Angeles,⁴⁶ San Francisco,⁴⁷ and Portland.⁴⁸ The studies deal primarily with assessment of needs for health care. A community survey report on the human service needs of Indians residing in Portland, Oregon, was done by Grant-Morgan Association of Portland, Oregon in 1972.⁴⁹ The study was developed in preparation for application to the federal government for funds to expand existing facilities in Portland, to serve the human service needs of Indians residing there. Findings of the study reveal these specific problem areas regarding Indians in the community, ranked in order of need:

Housing

Health care

Food and nutrition

Education

Employment

Alcoholism/Drugs

Cultural Identity

Other: such areas as halfway houses
for convicts, child day-care
centers, transportation, and
child-care, prejudice of law-
enforcement, young people in
jail, and employment training.⁵⁰

The City Club of Portland Bulletin on October 27, 1975, stated:

The 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.⁵¹

Summary. The lack of relevant data on the human service needs of the urban Indian seems to support Deloria's and Bahr's conclusions that there is a noticeable lack of pertinent information available on this particular group of people, and attempts to assess the needs of this urban population can only be determined by estimating needs in terms of limited data that is available. To reiterate, the needs are there, but no one has said so in any specific terms.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

¹Alan L. Sorkin, American Indians and Federal Aid (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institute, 1971), p. 19.

²Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1973), pp. 39-56.

³Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day, Native Americans Today: Sociological Perspectives (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 48.

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⁶Ernest C. Downs, "How the East Was Lost," American Indian Journal (Washington, D. C.: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1975), pp. 6-10.

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CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTIONS OF LOCAL SYSTEMS

In relation to looking at the service needs of Indians in Portland, investigation revealed the existence of several social service agencies in the area. An overview is presented here to relate the functions of these agencies.

Urban Indian Program

The Urban Indian Program (UIP) began operations on May 1, 1972, under contract between the Portland Metropolitan Steering Committee and the United Indian Council, Inc. Ordinance number 137547 was passed by the City Council November 28, 1973, authorizing an agreement with Urban Indian Council to provide services to Native Americans.

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

The objectives of the program are:

1. To increase the accessibility of existing resources to the City's Indian population through an Urban Indian Program.
2. To develop health services supplementing those presently available which do not allow for special needs in the Indian population.

3. To maximize the impact of resources available to the program.
4. To utilize community input in the planning of services delivery.
5. To provide a cultural and human services focal point for Portland's Indian community in an urban Indian center.¹

The program presently provides these services:

1. Outreach support in finding housing, food, clothing, and other basic necessities;
2. Health services such as immunizations, tuberculosis screening, home care, well-child clinics, and health referrals;
3. Counseling;
4. Employment assistance, including job development and training;
5. Legal Assistance;
6. Pre-school day care services for children whose parents are working, in school or in training programs.

The program endeavors to create a complete Indian Center, combining both social services and a variety of Indian cultural activities.²

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA, United States Department of the Interior, maintains a regional center in Portland,

known as the Portland Area Office. The Portland Area Office has jurisdiction over Indians who live on reservations in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. Generally, the BIA is entrusted with the responsibility of administering all matters pertaining to Indian Affairs. The Bureau provides many of the services that non-Indians receive from state and local government. Each of its functions, such as social services, education, and industrial development, is the responsibility of an assistant commissioner. Most federal services provided under the BIA to reservation Indians are based on the Snyder Act of 1921, which directs the expenditure of funds appropriated thereunder, ". . . for the benefit, care, and assistance of Indians throughout the United States . . ."3

The primary responsibility of the Portland Area office is the administration of Indian Programs in its area of jurisdiction: the Indian reservations in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. The BIA's responsibility does not extend to Indians who have left reservations.⁴ Thus, the Portland Area office has little to offer to the Indians who reside in Portland. Their services are extended mostly to the participants in adult vocational training and employment assistance programs.

Indian Health Services

The Indian Health Services (IHS), United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Services, maintains regional offices in Portland. Through health facilities,

the Portland Area office provides direct health services to Indian groups who reside on or near reservations in the states of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. The area is divided into twelve Service Units within the area of its jurisdiction. The goals of the Indian Health Program are:

1. Assists Indian tribes in developing their capacity to man and manage their health programs through activities, including health and management training, technical assistance, and human resource development;
2. Facilitates and assists Indian tribes in coordinating health planning, in obtaining and utilizing health resources available through federal, state, and local programs, in operation of comprehensive health programs, and in health program evaluations;
3. Provides comprehensive health care services, including hospital and ambulatory medical care, preventive and rehabilitative services, and development of community sanitary facilities;
4. Serves as the principle federal advocate for Indians in the health field to assure comprehensive health services for American Indians and Alaskan natives.⁵

The Portland office offers little in the way of direct services to the Indians who reside there. Their services are limited to the Indians who are participants in the BIA adult

vocational training and employment assistance programs. Additionally, the Portland office assists some Indians who are in the area for medical care and to some Indians who attend educational institutions in the area. Medical services are generally not offered to the more permanent Indian residents of the area.

Native American Rehabilitation Association

The Native American Rehabilitation Association (NARA) is the sponsoring agency for the treatment of alcoholism among Indians in the Portland area. The association maintains Service Centers for the treatment of alcoholism.

The overall objective of the program is to work with Indian alcoholics and their families to help establish and maintain sobriety through these activities: reduce abuse drinking; improve job performance and stability; improve nutrition and general health; improve personal, family, and community relationships; and develop interest in basic vocational and academic areas. Program services of NARA are available to Indians of the area with identifiable alcoholism problems.

Other Groups

Portland American Indian Center (PAIC) is the oldest (1959) and largest single Indian organization in Portland. 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.⁶

United Minority Workers is a multi-racial organization, including Indians, that serves as an advocacy organization for employment opportunities, particularly in the construction industry.⁷

SUMMARY

As can be seen from this overview, the service needs of many Indians in the Portland area are primarily being served through the Urban Indian Program. There seems to be evidence that Indians do not fully utilize services the other private, city, state and federal agencies provide.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

¹Progress Report, Urban Indian Program, prepared by the City of Portland Human Resources Bureau, Program Operation Division, Evaluation Unit, Portland, Oregon, May 20, 1974, preface, pp. iv-v.

²City Club of Portland Bulletin, Published by the City Club of Portland, Oregon, Vol. 56, No. 22, October 26, 1975. pp. 52-53.

³Ibid., p. 51.

⁴Josephy, op. cit., p. 224.

⁵Indian Health, a pamphlet prepared by the U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare.

⁶City Club of Portland Bulletin, op. cit., p. 53.

⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY: DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

This study was developed to explore the profile of Indians who reside in Portland, where they came from, why they came to Portland, and what their needs were when they came to Portland. Additionally, the study explored the quality of services provided by the existing facility in Portland, the Urban Indian Program, which is designated as the social service agency and the cultural center for Indians who reside there. The interview schedule was developed and pre-tested.

Simple random sampling was used in the selection of sampling units. These sampling units were selected from the following agencies and organizations: Urban Indian Program, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Services, and Alaska Native Association of Oregon.

Sampling was achieved by selecting units at specific intervals until a total number of seventy was selected. Records were accepted as a part of the sample if: the birth date was after April 5, 1956 (age 18), the residence was established in the city limits of Portland, and the service application date was recorded by April 5, 1974.

An interview schedule was developed and pre-tested.

A letter of introduction was mailed to each of the seventy subjects selected in the sampling. The introductory

letter explained what the study was about and how the subject's name had been selected. The letter also introduced the interviewer.

The interview schedule was administered to thirty subjects by personal interview, mostly in their homes. Time consumed for the interview ranged from one hour to four hours. The entire survey covered a period of approximately four weeks.

Thirty interviews were completed and forty were unable to be completed for the following reasons: eleven of the letters of introduction were returned from the United States Postal Service dead letter office in San Francisco, California; nineteen of the subjects moved out of Portland and left no forwarding address; ten were unable to be reached either by telephone or in person.

Limitations in gathering the data resulted from the difficulty in attempts to locate over half of the subjects. Numerous return trips were made to a subject's listed address, only to find that the subject no longer resided there and had not filed a change of address.

The study also was limited by the fact that the principal investigator worked alone and conducted all of the interviews, in addition to identifying sampling units and developing the interview schedule.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

The findings of the study are presented in two parts. The first part reveals the characteristics of the tribal profile of the group interviewed, where these subjects came from, and why they came to Portland; and the second part reveals the respondents' opinion of the quality of services provided by the Urban Indian Program.

Characteristics of the Tribal Profile

Of the thirty subjects interviewed, tribal identity was represented by twenty-eight different Indian tribal groups; either in degrees of full-blood, or by combinations of mixed tribal groups, or by combinations of Indian/white, or by combinations of Indian/negro, and lastly, by combinations of Indian/Chicano. Ten of the subjects were full-blood Indian; six were one-half Indian; and the remaining sixteen of the thirty subjects interviewed were less than one-half degree Indian blood. Since tribal enrollment with an Indian group may be a determinant factor in the question of being Indian, response was evoked concerning the subject's enrollment status. Of the thirty interviewed, twenty-eight are enrolled as members of a federally-recognized tribal group. The two who indicated no enrollment status responded by explaining why they are not enrolled. The two reasons given were: one informal adoption; one lost or unknown family record and not possessing knowledge

or resources to investigate the matter. Fourteen of the thirty subjects were under the age of twenty-six years, and the remaining sixteen ranged in age from twenty-six to fifty-five years. Of the nineteen females and eleven males interviewed: twelve were married, eight were single, three were separated, and three indicated common-law living arrangements. One of the thirty subjects indicated their household consisted of ten or more members, two indicated nine or more members, three indicated seven or more members, nine indicated five or more members, twelve indicated three or more members, and three indicated single households. Of the thirty subjects interviewed, eleven indicated some college, four possess college degrees, seven are high school graduates, six completed junior high school, and two completed elementary school. Seventeen of the thirty subjects are employed, with two of these indicating itinerant employment and fifteen are unemployed. Twenty-five indicated means of income other than earned income. Some of the other means of income reported were: social security retirement and disability pension; public assistance; Bureau of Indian Affairs Assistance, mostly in the form of financial assistance during vocational training and job placement; and tribal income from sources such as reservation property leases, reservation resource income (per capital payments) and land claims settlement from the federal government. Income ranged from fourteen with yearly income of less than three thousand dollars to two who reported income

over fifteen thousand dollars. Years of employment range from two who have been employed steadily for more than fifteen years, and at the opposite range four have been employed for four months.

These characteristics present a profile that is diverse, keeping in mind that close to half are under the age of twenty-six and nearly half of the thirty subjects have income of less than three thousand dollars a year.

Of the Indians interviewed, it appears that many are younger Indians, and are in the lower income category. Restating that other sources of income indicated showed income from Bureau of Indian Affairs job placement and vocational training, this younger age bracket may indicate an Indian population that may be transient in nature.

Where The Subjects Came From and Why They Came to Portland

The determination of where the subjects came from before they came to Portland indicated twenty were born and reared on a reservation and the remaining ten were born and reared in urban areas, towns near a reservation, and in the case of Alaska Nations, in Indian Villages and urban areas of Alaska.

The subjects indicated they left the reservations for reasons such as: education and employment (which received the highest degree of response), relocation by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to urban areas (usually for job placement and vocational training), pressure from friends; pressure from town and reservation police; dissatisfaction with the Bureau of Indian Affairs; equal opportunity; marriage; college; and

to meet new friends.

The subjects indicated their needs when they entered Portland to be: money and jobs as the biggest need; next were health care, transportation, food, friends, legal help, child day-care services, and lastly, clothing.

The Quality of Service

In probing for response to the quality of services provided through the Urban Indian Program, the interview schedule was divided into sections on the components of the agency. They are as follows: outreach services; health center; counseling services; employment center; legal services; and the child pre-school and day-care center.

Outreach services help find housing, food, clothing, and other necessities of life in the Metropolitan Area. This component serves as an advocate for those who need help. Twelve of the thirty subjects indicated use of these services, and also listed using the outreach component for other services such as: advising in relation to reservation ties like family, business and legal assistance. Six of the users indicated "full satisfaction" with the services provided, five indicated "satisfaction" with the services, and one indicated a "neutral" response, as no feeling about the service one way or another. One indicated "not very satisfied" with the services provided.

Quality of the staff delivery system indicated seven of the users were treated "very good" by the staff, four indicated they were treated "good," and one indicated "average" treatment

was received. The users in general are pleased that there is an outreach service available to Indians in Portland and also that the program is being administered primarily by Indian staff.

The health center provides health and dental clinics, limited home care, well-child clinics, transportation, and referral to existing health care facilities. Fifteen of the thirty subjects interviewed indicated use of health services.

Six of the users indicated "full satisfaction" with services provided, five indicated "satisfaction" with the services, two gave "neutral" response, as no feeling about the service one way or another, and two indicated they were "not satisfied" with the service. The quality of the staff delivery system indicated eleven of the users were treated "very good" by the staff, two indicated they were treated "good" and one indicated "average" treatment was received. The users stated they were pleased with the health center and that free medical care is available there when needed. Again, respondents' satisfaction was shown that the health center is staffed with Indian people.

The counseling component helps Indians to live as Indians in the city, provides alcohol and drug abuse counseling, provides access to all Indian alcoholism programs and Indian retreat camp. Nine of the thirty subjects interviewed indicated use of the counseling component. Four of the users indicated "full satisfaction" with services provided, four indicated "satisfaction" with the services, and one indicated

a "neutral" response as no feeling, one way or another.

Five of the users reported that they were treated "very good" by the staff, one was treated "good," one indicated "average" treatment was received, and one indicated "not good" service was received. Again, general satisfaction with the service was indicated by the users. The respondents who indicated average and below average treatment received from the staff commented that the counseling staff needed more training in interviewing techniques and treatment methods.

The employment center assists Indians in finding and becoming qualified for the jobs they want through job and vocational training. Ten of the thirty subjects interviewed were users. Two indicated "full satisfaction" with the services provided, three indicated "satisfaction", one indicated a "neutral" response, and two indicated "not satisfied" with the services, and two indicated "very dissatisfied" with the services provided. Two of the respondents reported they were treated "very good" by the staff, one reported "good" treatment, five indicated they received "average" treatment by the staff, one indicated "not satisfied" with services provided, and one indicated "dissatisfaction" with services provided. The respondents who indicated dissatisfaction with the services states their reasons as: staff not following through with job applications and job placement; and also staff not providing adequate counseling when job placement did not occur. Here again, the respondents suggested more staff training in interview techniques and in employment counseling.

The legal assistance component provides access to legal help for those with either civil or criminal legal problems. Six of the thirty subjects interviewed were users of the legal assistance components for reasons such as: civil problems, jail, civil rights, divorce and reservation legal issues. Three of the users indicated "full satisfaction" with services provided, one indicated "satisfaction" with the services, one indicated an "average" response, as no feeling one way or another, and one was "not satisfied" with the services. Two of the respondents reported they were treated "very good" by the staff, three reported they were treated "good," and one reported "poor" treatment. The respondent who indicated "average" and "below average" treatment gave the following reason for the response: staff not following through on legal assistance referral and counseling service. The respondents' suggestions were that the staff needed to be more aware of the laws with special emphasis on the civil rights of Indians and the status of Indians in relation to state and federal laws.

Child pre-school and day-care center, E-Kosh-Kosh: provides care for children whose parents are working, attending school, or are in training programs. Eight of the thirty subjects interviewed were users of the day-care center. Seven indicated they were "fully satisfied" with the services provided, and one indicated they were "satisfied" with the services. Six reported they were treated "very good" by the staff, one reported they were treated "good" by the staff, and

one indicated an "average" treatment by the staff. A high degree of satisfaction was reported by the users mainly for the reason of the structure of the program relative to the child's learning experiences in Indian culture. The users also indicated satisfaction with the staff and the good care the children receive at the facility.

CONCLUSION

The data collected in the local area supports many of the points made in the historical review.

Indians in Portland generally present diverse Indian tribal affiliations. The group of thirty Indians who were interviewed for this study represent twenty-eight different Indian tribes, either by degrees of fullblood or combinations of mixed tribal groups or combinations with other races. The diversity of the tribal characteristics shows that Indians in Portland represent nearly all areas of the United States and Alaska.

The point to be made about tribal characteristics of the Indian in Portland is that they represent a wide range of tribal groups and that this characteristic of complex Indian identity is consistent with the concepts of mobility, in that many Indians of Portland came here from reservations.

Some of the major reasons Indians left their reservations and came to Portland were because of the low economic conditions and the poor health standards there. The barriers to satisfactory living conditions on the reservation were shown by the group interviewed to be: poor federal control, the paternalistic attitude of the federal government towards the treatment of reservation Indians, and that generally not much is being done on the reservation to improve job opportunities there.

Furthermore, the major reason Indians come to Portland

is to achieve satisfactory employment status and to improve their standard of health. To achieve these goals many Indians utilize the services of the local Indian Center, the Urban Indian Program, which is designed and managed by Indians, to assist them when they enter the area and to provide continuous support services after they have located here.

It should be stressed that the reservation Indian who moves to the city loses his U. S. Public Health Services medical and dental, his relatively inexpensive housing and transportation, food, clothing, and other essentials that may have been produced on the reservation. They also lose the protection of their family and kin group in time of need.

Conclusions on the quality of services provided by UIP generally is satisfactory. The exceptions were some degree of dissatisfaction with employment services because of poor staff management in job counseling.

Generally the overall response to the quality of services at UIP was that Indians are pleased that the agency is here and that it is being administered primarily by Indian staff.

Some of the arguments presented in the study are that control over Indian life has been dominated by the federal government, mostly by non-Indian influence, and very little power has been offered the Indian in the control over his own life.

This empirical study is small and more study can be done on the urban Indian in order to present more relevant and contemporary information on the situation of this group of Indians.

This researcher received satisfactory response from the group studied and the respondents indicated pleasure in seeing an Indian doing the study. They also indicated more studies should be conducted by Indians, with the group of those who reside in urban areas, so that the Indian point of view can be represented more often.

The uniqueness of the American Indian has been evidenced through studies done by anthropologists and sociologists alike. As can be seen from the historical review presented in this study, the situation of the Indian's life shows that there is a set of diverse problems involving interrelationships of Indians and the dominant society in which they live, in a broad ecological and institutional context. Indians have tried to deal with their own problems by attempting to influence some control over their own lives, but many features of their present situations are beyond their control.

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