DOCUMENT RESUME

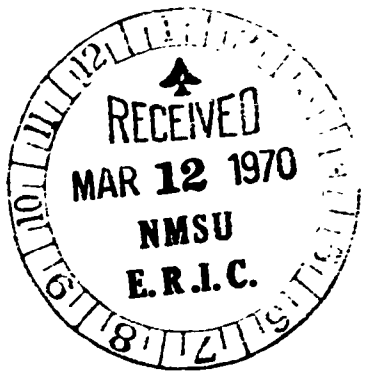
ED 037 275 RC 004 160

AUTHOR Woods, Richard G.; Harkins, Arthur M.
TITLE A Review of Recent Research on Minneapolis Indians: 1968-1969.
INSTITUTION Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Training Center for Community Programs.
PUB DATE Dec 69
NOTE 36p.

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.90
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement, *Adjustment Problems, Agencies, *American Indians, *Attitudes, Civil Rights, Community Relations, Conflict, Employment, Health, Housing, Population Trends, Public Facilities, Recreational Facilities, Research Needs, *Surveys, *Urban Population, Welfare
IDENTIFIERS *Minneapolis

ABSTRACT

Research conducted during 1968 and 1969 concerning the Minneapolis Indian population is examined in an attempt to describe their characteristics; their relationship to major urban institutions; their employment, health, and housing; and justice, public welfare, and public institutions as related to the Indian. Inequities in the relationship between the community and its Indian residents are examined. Three major problems are focused on in the report: (1) obtaining specific knowledge about urban Indians, (2) application of such knowledge, and (3) inadequate understanding and mistrust of agencies by the Indian. Suggestions are made to remedy these problems. (BD)



A REVIEW OF RECENT RESEARCH ON MINNEAPOLIS INDIANS: 1968 - 1969

by

Richard G. Woods

and

Arthur M. Harkins

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

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

December, 1969

Table of Contents

Characteristics of the Minneapolis Indian Population

The accuracy of Census reports on the number of Indians in Minneapolis has been questioned by some observers.[1] Problems of identification, short-term urban-rural migration, and accessibility of the population for survey purposes are difficulties which may lead to under-enumeration. The trend, however, is unmistakable. In 1940 the U. S. Census indicated that 145 Indians lived in Minneapolis; in 1950 it reported 426; and in 1960 it said there were 2,077 or 0.4% of the population. Current estimates of the total Minneapolis Indian population range from 8,000[2] to 10,000.[3] If we accept the rather liberal estimate of Minneapolis population (489,000), an Indian population of 10,000 would constitute 2% of the total population.

How can we describe the contemporary urban Indian in Minneapolis?

Two 1967 surveys are helpful. One is a house-to-house survey of one hundred inner-city Indian residents of Minneapolis, including thirty-one men and sixty-nine women.[4] These random interviews in neighborhoods where Indians were known to live were conducted by a class of social work undergraduates at the University of Minnesota. More women than men were respondents because of the daytime setting of virtually all interviews. It is important to remember that this sample is drawn from a relatively stable population of city residents, as the following table indicates:

LENGTH OF TIME LIVED IN TWIN CITIES SINCE LAST ARRIVAL

Duration	Percentages (N = 100)
No Answer	2.0
Less than 30 days	1.0
1 - 3 months	1.0
4 - 6 months	3.0
7 - 11 months	1.0
1 - 2 years	13.0
3 - 5 years	23.0
6 - 9 years	14.0
10 years and more	42.0
	100.0

Source: League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, Indians in Minneapolis, (Minneapolis: April, 1968), p. 6.

Another study of Minneapolis Indian characteristics was performed by analyzing records of job seekers from the American Indian Employment Center during the summer of 1967.[5] The Center, Indian-controlled and Indian-operated, was funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs until June 30, 1968 when it closed. Records for 743 unemployed applicants were available, and 74.2% of these Indian persons were male while 25.8% were female. This sample is from a population of much more recent arrivals in the Twin Cities, according to the following table:

LENGTH OF TIME LIVED IN TWIN CITIES SINCE LAST ARRIVAL

Duration	Percentages (N = 743)
No Answer/Unknown	4.2
Less than 30 days	30.8
1 - 3 months	8.9
4 - 6 months	6.2
7 - 11 months	5.2
1 - 2 years	10.1
3 - 5 years	9.3
6 - 9 years	6.6
10 years and more	18.7
	100.0

Source: Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Indian Employment in Minneapolis, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, April, 1968), Appendix.

First, let us describe the "resident" sample of one hundred persons. More than two-thirds (68%) were of Chippewa (Ojibwa) origin, while 5% classified themselves as Sioux (Dakota). Smaller proportions were Winnebago (3%), Menominee (2%), or "other" (11%). Almost one-third (31%) said they were from three-fourths to full-blooded Indians, while 25% reported one-half to three-fourths Indian blood. One-fifth (21%) said their blood quantum was from one-fourth to one-half, and 9% said they had less than one-fourth Indian blood. Those who did not answer or who did not know constituted 14%. About half (53%) considered themselves to be heads of households, while 42% did not. Most (62%) were married, 14% were single, 9% were separated, 7% were divorced and 7% were widowed. It was a largely middle-aged sample. Only 15% were between 16 and 22 years of age, while 56% were from 23 to 40. About one-fourth (24%) were between the ages of 41 and 64, and only 4% were

65 or older. A large majority (83%) reported having children, while only 13% said they were childless. Large families were the rule. Almost half (49%) reported four or more children, and fully 13% said they had eight or more children. One child was reported by 13%, 11% had two children, and another 13% said they had three children. More than half of the sample (55%) reported having children in primary school, while 38% said they had children attending secondary school.

When asked for their reservation of birth, 27% cited White Earth Reservation. Red Lake accounted for 16% and reservations in Wisconsin and the Dakotas were responsible for 11%. Leech Lake Reservation produced 6%; Fond du Lac Reservation, 2%; Mille Lacs Reservation, 1%; and Nett Lake Reservation, 1%. Other reservations were specified by 36%. A similar pattern emerged when these Indian residents were asked to name the reservation they had lived on for the longest recent time. One-fourth (25%) specified White Earth Reservation, and 13% cited Red Lake Reservation. Leech Lake Reservation accounted for 6%, reservations in Wisconsin and the Dakotas were named by 8%, and 2% mentioned Nett Lake Reservation. Mille Lacs Reservation and Fond du Lac Reservation each accounted for 1% of the respondents, and 44% named other reservations. Thus, about half of the sample had ties to Minnesota reservations; about one in ten were related to reservations in Wisconsin and the Dakotas; and about four in ten came from reservations outside the Minnesota-Wisconsin-Dakotas block.

Most of the sample (47%) said they had moved to the Twin Cities in order to get a job or to get a better-paying job. About one-tenth (11%) said they were attracted by relatives, 3% felt the pull of friends, and another 3% came to the Twin Cities because both friends and relatives were there. An adventurous spirit had prompted 6%, who made the move just to see what city life was like. Other reasons were cited by 11%. Therefore, it appears that the attractions of employment and kinship or friendship are of primary importance in triggering a move to Minneapolis.

About half (47%) of the sample reported making one or more trips back to a reservation during the past year. About one-third (34%) said they

had made no return trips, and 19% declined to respond. Most of the respondents (46%) did not care to specify why they had made these trips back to a reservation, but 19% returned because of relatives, 15% because both friends and relatives were there, and 2% because of friends. Family events on the reservation attracted 7%, and 5% came back because of harvesting wild rice, hunting, or fishing. Other reasons were given by 3%, and another 3% were not sure why they had made trips back to the reservation. Most (64%) said that harvesting wild rice had not been a useful source of income recently, 16% said that it had been, and 20% did not respond to the question.

It would appear from information provided by this sample that the reservation-urban orbit is maintained by the economic and friendship-kinship magnetism of the city and by the friendship-kinship attraction of the reservation perhaps in combination with a difficult-to-describe need for "renewal" or "rejuvenation" sometimes referred to by Minnesota Indians. Most of this sample (57%) had lived at their present addresses for one year or more and most (60%) had a telephone, suggesting a reasonable amount of intra-city residential stability.

No occupation was reported by one-third (33%) of the sample, but it was the women who had no occupation (46.4%) rather than the men (3.2%). Unskilled work was reported by 20%, 16% were semi-skilled workers, and 19% regularly performed skilled work. White-collar work of all types accounted for only 8% of all respondents. Some desire for upward mobility was evidenced by answers to a question about the kind of training desired. Fully 42% desired training leading to white-collar employment, 23% wanted training for blue-collar occupations, and 19% did not care for more training. Despite the predominance of blue-collar employment, only 27% of the sample were union members. When asked for the occupations of their spouses, 39% did not answer or reported no occupation. Blue-collar work was again most common. Spouses with unskilled occupations were reported by 22%, with semi-skilled jobs by 16%, and with skilled occupations by 13%. A few respondents (10%) had spouses with white-collar occupations. These patterns seem to represent a continuation of the occupational experiences of the respondents' fathers. While one-fourth (25%) did not answer the question about their fathers'

occupations, and 10% said their fathers had no occupations, fully 56% reported that their fathers had blue-collar occupations, and only 9% had fathers with white-collar jobs. When asked for their approximate annual income, one-third (32%) did not respond. Incomes under $3000 were reported by 21%, incomes from $3000 to $4999 were reported by 20%, another 16% had incomes from $5000 to $6999 and 11% had incomes of $7000 and more.

Most of the sample (52%) reported less than twelve years of education, while 35% said they had twelve years and 8% reported thirteen years and more, but no degrees. The following table details that educational attainment and compares it to the educational attainment reported by the respondents for their fathers and mothers:

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF 100 INNER-CITY MINNEAPOLIS INDIAN RESIDENTS COMPARED TO THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THEIR PARENTS
(Figures are percentages)

School Years Completed	Residents			Parents	
	Total	Men	Women	Fathers	Mothers
No Answer	5	0.0	7.2	40	27
0 - 5	4	3.2	4.3	14	15
6 - 8	11	16.1	8.7	21	16
9	9	9.7	8.7	5	6
10	16	12.9	17.4	3	5
11	12	3.2	15.9	2	9
12	35	45.2	30.4	9	20
13+	8	9.7	7.2	5	2
College graduate	-	- -	- -	1	-

Source: League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, Indians in Minneapolis, p. 6.

Finally, a word or two about political activity. Almost half (44%) said they had never voted in a public election in the Twin Cities. Within the past year 13% had voted, 8% had voted within the past two or three years, 9% had voted sometime up to five years ago, and a final 9% had voted "sometime" in the more distant or indefinite past. A similar proportion (43%) had never voted in a reservation election. Only 2% had voted in a reservation election within the past year, 6% had voted within the past two or three years.

5% had voted sometime up to five years ago, and 15% had voted "sometime" in the more distant or indefinite past. When asked if real leaders of Twin Cities Indian people existed, many respondents (46%) did not know. One-fourth (25%) thought that such leaders did exist, 11% thought that they did not, and 18% did not answer the question.

The data from the job applicants at the American Indian Employment Center indicate characteristics which are similar in some respects and different in others. Most of the job applicants (82.6%) were Chippewa (Ojibwa), 7% were Sioux (Dakota) and 3.1% were from other tribes. Better than half (55.6%) said they were from one-half to full-blooded Indians, while 30.8% reported one-fourth to one-half Indian blood. Less than one-fourth Indian blood quantum was cited by 5.1%. A majority (56.4%) were single, less than one-third (29.6%) were married, 7.5% were separated, 3% were divorced and 1.1% were widowed. It was a fairly young group. Those who were in the age range 16 to 22 represented 43.2%, while 44.1% were from 23 to 40 years old. Those between 41 and 64 years accounted for 11.2%, and there were none aged 65 or older.

When asked for their reservation of birth, 16.2% named White Earth Reservation. Red Lake Reservation accounted for 20.7% of the applicants, Mille Lacs for 3.1%, Nett Lake for 1.3% and Leech Lake for 0.5%. A very small proportion of the applicants (0.7%) were born on reservations in Wisconsin, and 5.7% listed reservations in North and South Dakota. Other reservations and non-reservation birth-places were specified by 51.8% of the Indian applicants. A somewhat different pattern emerged when the job-seekers were asked for the reservation of their most recent residence. White Earth was named by 22.3%, and very nearly the same proportion (22.1%) specified Red Lake. Mille Lacs accounted for 9.7%, Leech Lake for 15.3%, Fond du Lac for 3.5% and Nett Lake for 2.7%. Very few (0.3%) reported living on Wisconsin reservations, North and South Dakota reservations accounted for 4.3%, and 19.8% did not answer or specified other reservations.

About one-fifth (22.1%) said they had received BIA assistance. Relocation aid was named by 12.5% and other assistance by 7.9%. Since this group was composed entirely of unemployed job-seekers, it might be inferred that employment and income improvement were major motivations in the migration from reservation to city, but it should be pointed out that no such specific question was asked of the respondents. About one-third (32.3%) said they usually participated in the wild rice harvest, while 50.2% said they did not and 17.5% did not answer the question.

Recent arrival in the city and heavy intra-city mobility is suggested by the length of time lived at present address. Only 20.3% had lived at their present address for one year or more, 71.6% had occupied their current residences for less than one year and fully 36.1% were residents of less than thirty days. Access to a telephone was reported by 49.4%, those who did not have such access numbered 27.2%, and 23.4% did not respond to the question.

Work interests reflected a rather low level of aspiration. "Anything" was desired by 27.1%; 29.9% wanted general factory or warehouse work, and 4.8% asked for driving and auto service jobs. Construction trades work was desired by 2% and household, domestic or hospital work was requested by 4%. Clerical and office work was sought by 3.2% and 19.4% requested miscellaneous specific occupations. Less than one-third (31.4%) had received prior on-the-job training, and only 3.4% reported useful military schooling and training. There was considerable interest in further education and training (56.5%), but one-third (33.8%) had no such interest. Only 0.3% reported that they were union members. A large majority of the applicants (75.5%) did not have a car, thus complicating the transportation required by employment. On the other hand, nearly all (91.3%) reported no physical disability which might prevent or restrict their working. Only 15.6% said they had debts, and very few (5.1%) reported currently receiving public assistance. Most (51.7%) did not respond to a query about the cost of rent and utilities. Part of that proportion may have been those who were new to the city and living with friends or relatives until they found employment. Those who paid from

$1 to $49 accounted for 7.8%, 13.9% reported paying from $50 to $74 and 17.8% were spending from $75 to $99. From $100 to $124 was spent by 6.9% and 1.6% spent $125 or more. One referral from the Employment Center was common (56.4%), although 14.3% received two referrals, 5% received three referrals, and 3.3% obtained four or more referrals. A majority (58.7%) were referred to a commercial store or plant. There were referrals to social service agencies (4.7%), vocational training agencies (2.2%), OEO programs (3.6%), Job Corps or Neighborhood Youth Corps (3.0%) and agencies where financial assistance could be obtained (0.8%).

Most of the applicants (75.5%) reported less than twelve years of formal education, 19.4% said they had completed twelve years and 2.6% indicated that they had finished thirteen or more years but had no college degree. The following table details the educational attainment of the job applicants:

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF 743 APPLICANTS AT THE AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
(Figures are percentages)

School Years Completed	Total	Men	Women
No Answer	2.6	2.5	2.6
0 - 5	1.3	1.3	1.6
6 - 8	17.5	19.4	12.0
9	14.5	15.6	11.5
10	22.1	22.7	20.3
11	20.1	16.7	29.7
12	19.4	19.4	19.3
13+	2.6	2.4	3.1
College graduate	- -	- -	- -

Source: Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Indian Employment in Minneapolis, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, April, 1968), Appendix.

Most of the systematically-gathered information regarding Minneapolis Indian populations, such as that we have already reviewed, refers to the overwhelmingly preponderant numbers of urban Indians who live in poverty or at least in the status of low-income recipients. Although there

are some middle-class urban Indians in Minneapolis, there do not appear to be many. Special programs for Indians, particularly those dealing with poverty and education, have arisen in recent years to create new jobs for Indian professionals, and other Indian persons are known to have entered the ranks of private industry and government. A number of these persons reside in suburban Minneapolis, instead of the typically Indian inner-city neighborhoods. No current census of middle-income Minneapolis Indians exists, but there are perhaps 125 Indian persons with incomes of $6500 or more annually who could be labeled Minneapolis Indians. Additional study of the life-styles, values, and problems of these people would undoubtedly be instructive. To cite one example of the special problems of middle-class urban Indians: poverty is so nearly a universal characteristic of Minneapolis Indians that the Indian anti-poverty professional, earning perhaps $13,000 per year, can become virtually excommunicated from the large bulk of urban Indians if he is perceived as having learned to live as most middle-class people do, and thereby he can lose the means to his effectiveness.

Craig has observed that most Minneapolis Indians fall into three distinct age groups with different behavioral patterns and different histories.[6] The first generation consists of Indians who were born and raised on the reservation and who have lived in the city less than five years. Their average age is fifty or more, and they exhibit the dominance of Indian beliefs and cultural traits. These individuals make frequent trips to the reservation, often accompanied by their children. Quite often, they may return to the reservation to stay after three or four years. Most of the people in this group tend to become lonesome for the familiar sights of home, old friends, and familiar experiences. They find that life in the city and its alien culture is a traumatic experience, and exists across an intercultural gulf separating two ways of life too different to join together.

The second generation is comprised of individuals born on the reservation and resident there until middle or late adolescence. Many in this group have served in the armed forces and have been exposed to a wider part of the world. Others may be part of the BIA Relocation Program.

Perhaps three-quarters of this group still retain some degree of reservation contact, such as friendly visits, attending tribal elections, hunting, harvesting wild rice, etc. Although members of this group probably will live most of their lives in the city, they still retain certain Indian values and culture traits, to a large extent. Many of them harbor indifference and resentment towards the urban society about them. They prefer to live in communities or areas that are predominantly Indian in population. They would rather shop in stores that are frequented by other Indians, and they like to engage in social behavior in bars, neighborhood houses, parks and playgrounds, churches, and other places where many Indians also tend to gather. Culturally, this group has one foot in the reservation and one foot in the urban community. This position leads, in many cases, to frustration and defensiveness because of the difficulties of maintaining the separate identities demanded by dual residency. Many such persons feel neither Indian nor white. They are afflicted by poor employment habits, menial types of employment, direct and subtle discrimination, lack of familiarity with the major institutions of the urban society, and a profitless relationship with major urban institutions that have formal responsibilities for serving urban Indians.

Those urban Indians who were born and raised in Minneapolis constitute the <u>third generation</u>. They are the youngest in age of the three groups and have had the least amount of contact with the reservation -- in some cases, no contact at all. This group may be the most confused of all urban Indians. They do not have the Indian or reservation background; they have little or no cultural acquisitions comparable to the two older groups; they are unable to speak or understand the Indian language when spoken by others; they usually must attend public schools in which textbooks and teacher behavior either ignore the Indian heritage or misrepresent it; they come into daily contact with mass media which tend to stereotype Indians negatively, both past and present. These young people experience the greatest cross-cultural pressures and identity crises of all. Some turn away from their own families only to be confused further by rejections from white society. Their understanding of the marginal nature of their identity is incomplete and in some cases nonexistent. Only recently have some of

these young Indians banded together to gain some personal and group identity. Classes in Indian history, language, arts and crafts, and Federal-Indian relations have been formed in some Indian and non-Indian organizations. In some cases these efforts have resulted in the re-establishment of contact with relatives on reservations and in rural Indian communities. While Minnesota Indians have tended in general to exhibit a non-competitive relationship to the larger society, these young urban Indians have shown a distinct break with this tradition. Signs of militancy and aggressiveness have been noted both by Indian and non-Indian observers. Some of these young Indians are strengthened by the expressed feeling of some Indian adults that, while many other Indians do not openly say so, the future of the Minnesota Indian is really bound up in its young people, and the directions in which they choose to go.

Relationship of Minneapolis Indians to Major Urban Institutions

A commonly-voiced concern among professionals who operate the major institutions in Minneapolis is that agency efforts to reach the Indian population are often unsuccessful.[7] Part of the difficulty may stem from the fact that Minnesota Indians living on reservations have a limited number of institutions with which to relate (for example, county welfare, the BIA, the Public Health Service, and the Indian Community Action Program), and the patterns of interaction are often personalized and relatively uncomplicated. A move to Minneapolis introduces the necessity to establish fresh relationships with new, larger, and somewhat impersonal institutions in a setting which often demands aggressive pursuit of services by Indian clients. Current policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs prescribes a "hands off" attitude toward urban Indians, except for those who have been relocated from a reservation under the Employment Assistance Program. Interviews, tests, referrals, forms to be completed, appointments to be kept, and regulations to be followed -- the purposes for which are not always clear -- intrude to arouse old suspicions and hostilities, and many urban Indians respond to the typically non-Indian agency setting with perceptions of being blocked by "red tape" and of being given the "run around". Because of such factors as low income and recent arrival in the city, many Indians seeking agency services need emergency help with such matters as employment, housing, medical

care and welfare, and delays and impediments caused by agency policy and location are often resented.

Agency managements have evidenced strong concern about reaching the Indian population. Conventional ways of relating to minority populations, such as outreach, outstationing personnel in the minority community, and employment of minority persons themselves are rather generally in use, but there is some indication that these measures are not sufficient. A review of some of the problems confronting the major agencies in their relationship to the Minneapolis Indian population would be useful at this point.

Employment

As we have noted, the prospect of employment and improved income operates as a major force attracting reservation Indians to Minneapolis. At the same time, many Indians who arrive in Minneapolis have insufficient education and work experience to find a good job easily. With few clothes and little money, these new arrivals may move in with already overcrowded relatives and, under such handicaps, it is difficult for Indians to maintain a suitable appearance for finding employment. The paraphernalia of the employment transaction -- tests, interviews, application blanks, etc. -- often seem to Indians to be a much too personal prerequisite for work, and the additional prospect of having to work with non-Indians may be so discouraging to Indian applicants that they simply do not return for subsequent appointments or do not appear at the time they are told to report for work. Such agencies as the Work Opportunities Center, Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center, and city and county agencies see relatively few Indians, and few Indians become government employees, perhaps because of difficulties in passing civil service examinations. On the other hand, Indian outreach workers from the Minnesota State Employment Service have had some success in reaching unemployed Indians. Some employment specialists have noted that, for those Indians who accept the standards of white America, employment presents no real problem. On the other hand, those Indians who perceive upward mobility, consumption, and display as alien to "the Indian way" may have little desire to pursue steady employment. Similarly, one agency with an excellent reputation for achieving employability development

with difficult clients, the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center, reports limited experience with Indians which suggests that those having few ties with the Indian community have the most success in getting and keeping a job.[8]

Apparently the most successful employment agency -- ~~in terms of~~ reaching Indians -- was the American Indian Employment and Guidance Center, established in 1962. As will be recalled, that Center was Indian-controlled and Indian-operated and was funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs until the end of fiscal 1968. The experiences of the Center suggest a number of unique aspects of Indian employment which are of interest. To begin with, the clientele of the Center was predominantly a young, single, male, unskilled, high school non-graduate population which was new to the city and not very likely to have established a permanent residence. These persons were perceived as being quite different from the Indians who had adjusted to the urban community. Many preferred casual labor as opposed to steady employment, and it was very uncommon for Center applicants to have developed specific job goals. The typical employment history of the Center's clients was unstable, and a familiar pattern was the practice of leaving employment shortly after having started for such reasons as dissatisfaction with the job, transportation difficulties, discomfort or dissatisfaction with fellow workers or employer, or a return trip to the reservation. Many Center clients expressed difficulty in communicating with the employer and seemed uncertain of what was expected of them. Sensitivity to criticism and ridicule made working in a non-Indian environment difficult for some Center applicants, but limited experience suggested that Indians could achieve satisfactory job adjustment when placed into a predominantly Indian job environment. A particular problem for Center personnel was the establishment of follow-up activity. Intra-city mobility was so great that it was often difficult to find applicants. One 1965 folow-up study at the center found that only 9.5% (30 out of 315) of the applicants could be located at their previous addresses and telephone numbers. While most employers were generally sympathetic and interested, some had had disappointing experiences with attempts to employ Indians and were reluctant to try again.[9]

Health

Health authorities assert that much remains to be done in health education and preventive medicine to meet the needs of Minneapolis Indians. They are convinced that many of the Indians' health problems are related to poor housing, inadequate nutrition and unemployment. The Indian population experiences high rates of infant mortality, tuberculosis and venereal disease. It is generally agreed that more health education regarding communicable diseases is greatly needed. Hennepin County General Hospital limits care (except in emergencies) to those who have established legal residence in the county, but a large number of other health services exist to provide care which is not tied to length of residence. But Indians may not be motivated to use these services. For example, during the summer of 1967, the Minneapolis Health Department printed and distributed 10,000 flyers about a cancer detection clinic through neighborhoods containing many Indian residents, but only fourteen Indian women appeared for the free tests. Some Indians contend that residence requirements, extensive paper work and long delays make it difficult to get needed health care. Medical personnel say that it is hard to help Indians because of the difficulty in getting them to return for medical follow-up treatment. Hennepin County General Hospital -- the principal provider of health care for the poor -- sees a good many Indians despite the residence requirement. Approximately 10% of its patients in 1966 were Indians. The staff has estimated that use of the Hospital by Indians ranges from 7% in out-patient (including 10% each for eye, ear, nose and throat and medicine, 2% each in tumor and dentistry and 15% - 20% in obstetrics) to 3% in admissions and emergency and 2% in the mental health clinic. The Community-University Health Center -- a federally-financed and University of Minnesota staffed facility for children up to age 18 -- operates on the southside where 20% of its case load is Indian. Eventually, the Center will become a part of Model City. Indians living on the north side can turn to the Pilot City Health Center, and a good many other hospitals have out-patient clinics for low-income persons. In general, health care personnel are given no special training in dealing with different ethnic groups.[10]

Housing

Minneapolis city officials view the present Indian housing situation as being the worst housing in the worst neighborhoods in the city. On the other hand, even very poor city housing represents to some Indians an improvement over reservation housing. Many Indians who are dissatisfied with their housing in Minneapolis experience feelings of powerlessness in their relations with the white community, including white landlords. Perhaps for these reasons, most Indians are not inclined to complain about very substandard conditions. Agency representatives who have worked with Indians say that there are many landlords who will not rent to Indians. Landlords retort that Indians overcrowd their housing and do not take care of it. It seems to be true that accommodation of the extended family often leads to overcrowding and conflicts with the landlord. Some assistance with housing matters is available. Those Indians brought to Minneapolis for vocational training or jobs may receive assistance from the BIA in locating housing, and the BIA has an active home purchase plan in Minneapolis for Indians. Housing aid also may be obtained from the Citizens' Community Centers. Apparently, few Indians live in public housing, perhaps because of residence requirements. Indian home management aides have been sought by such agencies as the Welfare Department and the Citizens' Community Centers, although some difficulty in filling these positions has been experienced.[11]

A survey of the housing of about four hundred Indian persons in Minneapolis was conducted by Gregory W. Craig during the period July 26 - October 31, 1968.[12] Craig found that some twenty federal, state and local government and private agencies were concerned with Indian housing in Minneapolis. He also found that generally substandard housing existed in 72% of the cases, that 36% of the cases had broken or inoperative doors, and that 75% of the cases had broken plaster, inoperative light fixtures and broken steps inside and outside. Almost half (47%) had only one usable emergency fire exit in multiple-family dwellings and 82% had no fire extinguishers or other means to combat fire in multiple-family dwellings. Almost two-thirds (63%) of the cases had one or more relatives living in the same family unit in addition to the immediate family. The very minimum amount of furniture for family use was found in 68% of the cases. In 26%

of the cases there were from two to five children sleeping in the same bed. For one-third of the cases (31%) there were problems of refrigeration of food, in some cases requiring the use of window sills to store perishable foods. Craig found that rent varied from $55 to $135 per month, and averaged $82.

Although family income was not surveyed, the sources of income were asked, and besides wages, such income as relief payments, AFDC payments, veterans' pensions, social security payments, miscellaneous federal, state or local assistance, and aid from private sources such as churches and social organizations were of importance to the respondents.[13]

Craig found that, while a small proportion of respondents (12%) reported their present housing was better than what they had left on the reservation, most Indians surveyed (68%) varied from indifference to their present housing to very obvious anger and frustration over having to live in such residences. More than half the persons interviewed expressed various degress of disappointment, anger, bitterness, and anxiety over their present housing situations. Discrimination against Indians was perceived by many of the respondents: often, they felt that other landlords had turned them down because of their Indianness and had thereby deprived them of opportunities to secure better housing.[14]

A 1967 survey of Indian housing in Minneapolis and St. Paul was conducted by the Twin Cities Intertribal Indian Housing Committee to determine the characteristics of Indian housing and the attitudes of Indians toward existing and desired housing. One hundred Indian persons were interviewed in Minneapolis. The tribal affiliations of 24% were not ascertained, but the remainder were Chippewa (56%), Sioux (15%), Winnebago (4%) and Seneca (1%). The median number of family members was five. Almost half (47%) had telephones, 22% did not, and for the remainder (31%) that fact was not ascertained. Almost half (48%) had cars, but 44% did not; most of the respondents used public transportation. Slightly less than half (47%) were unable to judge the age of their present dwelling but, for the remainder, the median dwelling age reported was fifty years. The median rent being paid by the Indian persons surveyed was in the range $70 - $79 per month, and the median annual

income reported was in the range $3000 - $3999. When asked to specify what they disliked about their present dwellings, the Minneapolis sample responded as follows:

HOUSING DISLIKES OF 100 MINNEAPOLIS RESPONDENTS SURVEYED BY THE TWIN CITIES INTERTRIBAL HOUSING COMMITTEE IN 1967

Dislike	Percent
No answer	46
Inadequate heating system or excessive heating bill	9
Too small or prefer larger dwelling	16
Lack of privacy	2
Not enough yard for kids	3
Old-fashioned	1
Poor flooring	1
No basement	2
Building soon to be demolished	4
Lack of laundry facilities	1
Too far from school	1
Too old - want to move to new place	2
Want to move to former place	1
Rent is too high	3
Want to own home	3
Careless landlord	3
Dislike neighbors	1
Too big	1
	100

Source: Gregory W. Craig, Arthur M. Harkins and Richard G. Woods, Indian Housing in Minneapolis and St. Paul, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, July, 1969), Appendix.

Most of those surveyed (55%) preferred a single dwelling, but 23% wanted a duplex and 17% preferred an apartment. Only slightly more than half (57%) responded when asked for the amount of rent per month they would be willing to pay for adequate housing. Of those who did respond, the median rent mentioned was $80. Most (55%) preferred a location south of Minneapolis.[15]

Many Minneapolis Indians will have to await the results of urban renewal to secure better housing. Of course, as one study pointed out, the best long-run solution to housing problems would be to provide better jobs and better education for Indians.[16]

Justice

We have already noted that conflicts between law enforcement agencies and some Minneapolis Indians have tended to be severe. It seems certain that a disproportionately large number of the Indian population -- perhaps 7 1/2% -- gets into trouble with the law in Minneapolis.[17] But most of the crimes committed are misdemeanors such as drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagracy, simple assault and traffic offenses. Such offenses usually result in a workhouse sentence, and the proportion of the Minneapolis Workhouse population that is Indian ranges from about 10% to 33%. Based on a projection of six months of 1967, Indians accounted for one-third of the number of all referrals (repeaters are not taken into account) to the Hennepin County Municipal Court Probation Office.[18]

Several factors appear to contribute to a relatively high rate of conflict with law enforcement agencies. Law enforcement and corrections personnel themselves have observed that Indians often appear to be ignorant of the law and of their rights under the law. What is "legal" seems to be confusing to many Indians: law enforcement on the reservation may differ substantially from law enforcement in a large metropolitan area. It has also been observed that Indians are very likely arrested on drunk charges so frequently because they are drunk in locations more "visible" to police -- that is, Indian citizens tend to drink in neighborhood bars in poverty areas rather than at home or in a fashionable restaurant. The matter of differential law enforcement is thereby significant. The high rate of commitment to the workhouse is partly due, according to some observers, to the lack of communication between probation officers and Indian proba tioners. The rate of failure -- violation of probation to the point of revocation -- is much too high with Indians. In one report, probation was revoked in nearly half of the Indians' cases compared to approximately one-fourth of non-Indian cases.[19] Some law enforcement representatives have observed that there are many "homeless alcoholics" among Indians, and that these persons tend to be sentenced to the workhouse in the belief that they will get adequate care, food and shelter there.

Many Indians cannot afford the services of a lawyer, and for these persons, legal services are available through several agencies, such as the Legal Aid Society and the Public Defender's Office. But few Indians request the services of the Public Defender, and it is reported that it is difficult to get Indian witnesses to appear in court.

About 3% of the juveniles who become involved with the Juvenile Probation Department, Juvenile Center and County Home School are Indian. Truancy and car theft are two of the most common offenses. Juvenile probation workers say that severe underlying problems are Indian family disorganization, lack of family ties and instability. They feel that communication with Indian juveniles is a basic and overwhelming problem.[20]

One study found no Indian employees in any of the justice agencies surveyed.[21] Some corrections and probation workers have expressed a need for more information about Indian culture and reservation living conditions, but most of the patrolmen interviewed in one effort said they did not need special information about Indians since they handled all cases in essentially the same way.[22]

Indian militants have filed several complaints alleging abusive treatment by policemen, and most of these complaints have been dismissed by courts. Some observers feel that these are only a few of the cases of discrimination which occur, and they argue that Indians most often refuse to file complaints because they fear reprisals and because they lack faith in the objectivity of the police department.[23]

Public Welfare

The Hennepin County Welfare Department serves Minneapolis Indians with a variety of public assistance programs, each with specific statutory eligibility requirements. In 1966, 6.4% of the families served under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) were Indian. One-third of state's Indian AFDC families live in Hennepin County.[24] In 1966, 3.3% of Medical Assistance recipients were Indian, and most of these persons were

children known to be "medically deprived". Only 0.4% of Old Age Assistance recipients were Indian, probably a reflection both of the shorter life-span of Indians and the administrative fact that out-state migrants to Minneapolis continue to receive assistance from their home counties and do not establish eligibility in Hennepin County until they have been off public relief for one year. About 0.7% of Aid to the Disabled recipients were Indian, and 2.1% of those receiving Aid to the Blind were Indian people.

The Child Welfare Division of the Hennepin County Welfare Department has the responsibility to care for, or supervise in their own homes, children who are improperly cared for by their own families. Of those children under state guardianship -- that is, legally wards of the state because of being neglected or dependent -- 9.4% were found to be Indian in one study.[25] Of the total number of children not under state guardianship but in boarding homes, 10% were Indian. State AFDC case analysis indicates that there are some differences in the status of the father in Indian cases: in Indian cases about one-fourth of the parents were divorced or legally separated compared with one-third in all cases, and one fourth of the parents were unmarried in Indian cases compared to about one-eighth in all cases. Although there is no verification possible through records, social workers in the unmarried mothers section of the County Welfare Department related that Indian unmarried mothers are more apt to keep their children than other clients.[26]

Social workers indicate that Indian children in foster care in Caucasian homes often never really adjust and usually return to their own families as soon as possible. Caucasian foster parents are not helped or educated about Indians, and there are very few (perhaps one or two) Indian foster families in the county. The County Welfare Department's Emergency Shelter Home sees most Indian children in May and September, probably because of adjustments due to schooling. Children come to the home, which is an emergency facility for abandoned or lost children, to stay from one to thirty days. They are frequently brought by police, although older children frequently come themselves when they run away from home. Child Welfare

Division spokesmen say that Indians do not often actively abuse their children, but are more likely to be reported for passive abuse such as leaving them alone, unfed, unclean, etc. Social workers dealing with welfare clients note especially poor housing of their Indian clients, which they attribute to landlords indifferent to the needs of their tenants and to the poor housekeeping standards and "open-door" policy toward relatives typical of Indian welfare recipients. They point out that poor health conditions often prevail in Indian families receiving public assistance, frequently due to the unwillingness of the head of the family to attach importance to immunizations and dental care. Inability to get jobs, social workers feel, is often due to poor education, poor social training, and employer prejudice.[27]

Those clients who do not qualify for categorical assistance, such as AFDC, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, and Aid to the Totally or Partially Disabled are served by the Minneapolis Department of Public Relief. Thus, Minneapolis relief clients are persons who have no particular long-term disability but who find themselves temporarily in a situation where they are not able to provide for their own subsistence.

Relief granted by this Department is primarily for subsistence -- that is, food, clothing, rent, and transportation to job interviews, medical facilities, etc. Services at General Hospital are available to recipients, and vocational and supportive counseling is available for those who need or request it. Pioneer House, a rehabilitation facility for male alcoholics, provides a 21-day stay for clients. To qualify for assistance in 1968, the person must have resided in the city for one year. This requirement was for "good" time, and did not include time spent in General Hospital, the workhouse, or on the relief rolls. The residency requirement was subject to occasional exceptions, provided certain other qualifications were met.[28]

The number of American Indians as a percentage of the total caseload of the Minneapolis Department of Public Relief has grown rapidly in the last decade. During the years 1959 - 1969, the proportionate

representation of Indians on the relief rolls increased over 300%, from 4% of the total population in 1959 to 13% in 1969. Meanwhile, the comparative Negro percentage increase was slightly over 20%, from 10.7% to 13%. The percentage of white cases declined from 85.3% of the total in 1959 to 74% in 1969. During this period, the white and Negro cases also declined in absolute numbers.[29] Consequently, a disproportionate number of Minneapolis Indians are on the city's relief rolls; the population may be over-represented by a proportion as high as 600%. Comparison of a 1969 group of Minneapolis relief recipients with the group of Minneapolis inner-city, working-class residents and the group of employment center applicants yielded some interesting results. For one thing, the employment center group threatens to become the Minneapolis Indian relief recipient group of the future. Also, it seems that the impact of formal education "success" -- if by "success" we mean the achievement of a high school diploma -- does not seem to make dramatic differences in the characteristics of either the employment center group or the relief recipient group. Analysis of Indian relief recipients' data also suggests that the Minneapolis Indian population is displaying a tendency to move farther southward in the city.[30]

Because the principal source of income for some Minneapolis Indians is public welfare, there is more than the usual amount of activism by Indians concerning welfare issues. When a 113-year-old Indian claim was due to be settled in Minnesota and county welfare authorities were prepared to declare Indians receiving claim money ineleigible for welfare payments, Minneapolis Indians receiving welfare organized and applied pressure to welfare officials.[31] Indians meeting with state legislators to discuss Indian problems protested welfare procedures and the low level of payments, but were told that such matters were basically a federal, not a state, responsibility.[32] An organization titled "City-Wide Indian AFDC Mothers" was formed, and it became a member of the Urban American Indian Federation. An Indian woman, a resident planner for the Model City Program, was appointed by the Mayor to the Minneapolis Board of Public Welfare.[33] At this writing, the Minneapolis Department of Public Relief was considering the formation of an Indian Advisory Committee to the Department as a means of improving

communications with Indian recipients. The Hennepin County Welfare Board passed a resolution encouraging the Welfare Department to hire American Indians as aides, counselors, and caseworkers.[34]

Broader influence over, and participation in, the city and county welfare systems by Minneapolis Indians may be a matter of considerable significance as Minneapolis faces the difficult problems of adjusting its priorities in response to a decreasing tax-base and an increasing proportion of "have-nots".[35]

Parks, Libraries, Social Services and Churches

The extensive park system of Minneapolis does not appear to be of much use to the city's Indian residents. Park acreage is simply not usually located in areas of high concentration of Indians. Few of the fifteen parks with year-round recreational staffs are near Indian populations, and few draw Indians to their programs. Those parks which are located in Indian neighborhoods are usually summer playgrounds staffed only eight weeks of the year, from mid-June to mid-August. A 1968 study found that no Indians were employed by the Park and Recreation Department. Apparently, the Minneapolis Public Library is used very little by Indians.[36]

Social service organizations do not exist in any concentration in many of the city's areas that have the lowest incomes, the most welfare cases, the most family problems and the largest non-white populations. Very few Indians appear to be involved in such organizations as Big Brothers, Big Sisters, the Boys Clubs, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Campfire Girls, YMCA and YWCA.

On the other hand, Traveler's Aid provides services at the bus depot where 20% of the caseload is Indian. Indian inquiries to the Health and Welfare Council's Community Information and Referral Service are most often for legal, financial, health, housing and camp assistance, and least often for day care, counseling and services for unmarried mothers.[37]

One of the most active Indian agencies in Minneapolis over the years has been the United Church Committee on Indian Work, recently renamed the Department of Indian Work of the Minnesota Council of Churches. The agency estimates that it sees between 800 and 1,000 Indian families and individuals each year. It provides counseling, referral to various agencies, and limited emergency supplies and services. The Department's stated purposes are to cooperate with the Indian coming into the urban community so that he will achieve dignity and self-support, to involve local churches with Indians through friendly guidance and counsel, to refer clients to appropriate agencies, to help coordinate all appropriate efforts to work with Indians so as to avoid confusion and duplication, and to maintain contact with reservation officials in order to help Indians who move back and forth. The Department's staff is predominantly Indian.

Church-sponsored youth and neighborhood centers reach some Indians with activities and services. The Salvation Army Family Service Office in downtown Minneapolis provides emergency help with food and rent payments; half its clients are Indian. "Skid row" religious institutions report that about one-fourth of the persons they see are Indian. The missions offer a place to sleep, meals, clothing, jobs, medical care and programs such as the halfway house and Alcoholics Anonymous.[38]

Attitudes of Minneapolis Agency Personnel Toward Urban Indians

Some assessment of the views of Minneapolis agency personnel regarding Indians may be gained from the results of interviews during the spring of 1967 with 223 persons who worked directly with American Indians. The number of interviews in each agency category was as follows:

Agency Type	Number of Interviews
Justice	43
Education	62
Employment	24
Health	24
Public Welfare	29
Miscellaneous	41
	223

Fifty members of the Minneapolis League of Women Voters conducted the interviews, and staff members at the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota analyzed and reported the data.[39] Persons who were interviewed usually were selected at the recommendation of their superiors. Comment about the responses of the education agency personnel will be reserved for a later report.

In general, those interviewed were highly-placed managerial or professional personnel working in the offices of their agencies and at or near the top of their organizations. Only in the Justice agencies was a significant proportion (23.3%) working out in the community. In most cases the persons interviewed were not Indian themselves. The Employment and Health agencies were those having meaningful minorities of Indian professional. 20.8% and 12.5%, respectively. Since Minneapolis Indians apparently do not readily seek out the services of agencies, services to that population may be inadequate unless the services are brought to Indians through such means as Indian outreach personnel.[40]

Employment and Miscellaneous agency respondents indicated a higher involvement with Indian people than did other agency personnel. However, even those with a comparatively low involvement with Indians indicated that up to a quarter of their clients may be Indian. They revealed that Indians come to agencies for essentially two reasons: first, as in the case of the Employment, Health, Public Welfare and Miscellaneous agencies, they need help of the sort that is specifically related to the services of that particular agency; and, second, they are referred to the agency by someone else. Only in the case of the Miscellaneous agencies -- which included housing, settlement houses, public libraries, religious organizations, and VISTA -- was there the perception that Indians came to the agency because they "wanted" to become involved. Agency personnel were of the opinion that poverty, domestic, health, education and employment problems are the chief difficulties of Indian people living in center city Minneapolis. In dealing with these problems, most agency personnel indicated that giving the standard services of the agency or referring the Indian person are the

two basic ways of meeting Indian needs. Public Welfare and Miscellaneous personnel indicated that their agencies were able to give some special help, but, of course, the ability to give special help is reduced by the lack of Indian staff members and the absence of training programs which would orient Indian and especially non-Indian personnel to the special needs of Indians and how to deal with them.[41]

Agency personnel were asked if their Indian clients had special problems different from those of non-Indians they saw. On the whole, their responses can be summarized as follows: agency personnel were typically highly understanding of the cross-cultural problems of Indians in adapting to the city environment. This essentially cognitive understanding was adequately demonstrated by the frequency of such responses as those which -- in one way or another -- dealt with the confusion, ignorance and resulting day-to-day difficulties of a rural population suddenly confronted with the complexities of an urban setting. The majority of agency personnel interviewed did see the special problems of Indians as different from non-Indians, and thereby indicated the effectiveness of sensitivity training, their own educational backgrounds, and other educational and training inputs designed to enhance the sophistication of service personnel regarding culturally different peoples. It would seem that the time is appropriate for the development and implementation of major agency policy and personnel additions which would build upon this sophisticated cross-cultural understanding, and ultimately result in better agency services to Minneapolis Indian people.[42]

The particular adjustment problems facing Indians new to the city were perceived by Minneapolis agency personnel as consisting of three levels of difficulty: first, it was believed that Minneapolis Indians face employment, education or housing difficulties in a paramount way. The second most frequently mentioned difficulty was orientation to the city and its institutions and dealing with feelings of isolation and insecurity. Third, agency personnel felt that Indian persons could not find the resources to help themselves. From one-third to two-thirds of the agency personnel interviewed in each agency category felt they were prepared to help Minneapolis Indians in their problems of adjustment. About one-fifth of the Public Welfare and

Miscellaneous agency personnel answered "yes" to this question but qualified their ability or willingness to help to some degree. Justice, Employment and Health personnel, on the other hand, answered a categoric "no" or "no answer" to the question in an alarming number of cases. These responses indicate a sense of helplessness in most agencies, where a substantial proportion of agency personnel interviewed indicate in some way their lack of preparation to help Indian people with urban adjustment problems. Significantly, up to one-fifth of the personnel interviewed felt that they were hampered by institutional or professional restrictions and/or limitations in their efforts to help urban Indian people.[43]

When asked if they encourage Indians to return to the reservation for services or to live, most agency personnel responded negatively. It appears that a minority of agency personnel in the Welfare, Justice and Miscellaneous agency groupings have advised Indians to return to reservations for services or to live. Agency personnel were asked why they counseled such a return and, from the responses registered, it appears that those who do offer such advice do so with a strong interest in the presumably higher quality of services available to Indians in the reservation setting, and not because of any ideological, political or racial reasons related to the intrinsic qualities of Indian people themselves. Indeed, it seems that some agency personnel actually underscore the service deficiencies of their own or other agencies by advising Indian people to return to the reservation rather than remain in the city where adequate services apparently are not available.[44]

Most agency personnel had worked with Indians for from one to five years. More experience was indicated with Justice personnel, 42% of whom had worked with Indians from five to ten years. But data from a question asking if agency personnel felt as successful in their dealings with Indians as with non-Indians revealed that Justice personnel felt they were not as successful when dealing with Indians, and from one-fifth to one-third of the remaining agency personnel felt the same.[45]

The large majority of agency personnel stated that they had not taken any special training to help them understand Indian people. The general absence of specific Indian-related training in all agencies suggests a great need for training inputs that would help to alleviate the feelings of inadequacy and frustration indicated by many agency personnel.[46]

A vast majority (86% to 95%) of the agency respondents indicated that they felt Indians in Minnesota have serious problems. Large proportions indicated that housing, sanitation, and health problems were particularly severe. From half to two-thirds of the agency personnel interviewed felt that Indians in Minnesota lack job opportunities, and many respondents felt that this situation was due to an unfair labor market. However, responses to the question about employment indicated a lower level of sympathy with Indian problems than in preceeding questions, suggesting that some agency personnel felt that the "blame" for employment problems should be shifted away from the environment and other circumstances and more directly toward Indians. Most of the respondents indicated that they believe Indian people in Minnesota lack the proper education for dealing with an urban environment. Most of the agency personnel said that Indians have a drinking problem, although some respondents indicated that this problem is not greater for Indians than for other categories of poor people. Agency personnel revealed a strong feeling that some kind of general discrimination against Indians in Minnesota exists. While agreeing that there is discimination, some agency personnel indicated that the discrimination is not so intense or that it is not different from that shown toward other minority persons.[47]

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that Minneapolis Indians, because of their generally deprived economic condition and because of pressures to make adjustments to new urban life demands, are greatly in need of the services that can be provided by such metropolitan agencies as those concerned with employment, health, housing nad public welfare. At the same time, many Indian people are neither culturally nor experientially equipped to extract the services needed from these agencies. Ignorance about what services are available or appropriate; lack of

knowledge about how to proceed to get help; transportation and child care problems which prevent visiting agencies; frustration and anxiety over residency requirements, delays and the completion of many forms; reluctance to visit agencies where few, if any, Indian faces are likely to be found; embarrassment over the personal appearance caused by inadequate or inappropriate clothing; lack of understanding of just what is expected of the Indian client by agency personnel; unwillingness to ask questions for fear of being embarrassed -- these are some of the barriers which prevent Minneapolis Indians, particularly those new to the city, from getting the services and help which is available. Relationships with law enforcement personnel and landlords may be particularly tense, with these "authorities" assuming the dimensions of chief spokesmen for an alien, hostile and discriminatory majority society.

For their part, agency personnel appear to be understanding of, and sympathetic to, the special needs of urban Indians. They understand that discrimination makes a difficult life even more difficult for Indians, and they perceive the needs and problems of urban Indians in much the same way that urban Indians do themselves. Often, however, they do not feel that they are as successful when dealing with Indians, that they are adequately prepared to help Indians, and that their agencies are able to give the special help that is needed, sometimes because of institutional or professional restrictions.

Thus, accommodation of this population to urban life seems to call for a dual change -- the change of institutions and the change of some population behavioral characteristics. Such changes are never easy. The momentum of large-scale organization and the reluctance of some personnel in those organizations to adapt operations flexibly in order to solve problems can be expected to hinder institutional change. The admonition against "going over" or "selling out" will operate to deter Indian activists from communicating population needs to agencies and from influencing institutional change in the directions needed. But Indians apparently have some natural allies in the change process -- substantial numbers of institutional personnel. Institutional change may be more

easily accomplished if pressures are applied from within and from without, and Indian people may be more likely to learn the behaviors essential to effective agency utilization if they are able to communicate freely with agency personnel.

Several tasks confront Indians in Minneapolis, sympathetic agency personnel, and others who want to see a more humane way of life for urban Indians. First, there is the problem of obtaining specific knowledge about urban Indians as this knowledge relates to the mission of the particular agency. Solution of this problem will demand that many more Indian people who understand in detail the agency-related problems of urban Indians be brought into information-gathering and training roles. At present, the "training" of agency personnel too frequently is conducted by Indian and non-Indian people who simply do not have a sufficiently broad fund of knowledge about the urban Indian population and who have little or no training in the communication of this information to agency personnel. Above all, such spokesmen need to learn how to communicate accurately and specifically the range of needs and expectations of the urban Indian population in addition to descriptions of Indian life-styles and their origins.[48]

Second, there is the problem of putting this information to use in modifying the mission of the agency to better relate to urban Indians. This includes the problem of agency intransigence to change. Urban Indian needs and problems must be communicated to those agency personnel who, sometimes unwittingly and sometimes deliberately, block change, and Indian representatives together with sympathetic agency personnel can learn to do an effective and persuasive job of such communication. Additional pressure for change upon an individual agency can be generated from personnel in other agencies who want to see a comprehensive improvement in agency services to urban Indians.[49]

Third, there is the problem of inadequate knowledge and trust by Indians themselves of agencies, agency personnel, and agency missions and the resulting inability to influence institutional change in the direction

desired by Indians. As they learn more about agency operations, Indian spokesmen will be better equipped to inform Indian people of the available agency services, the means of securing these services, and of what the agency in general is trying to accomplish. They will be in a position to place a variety of Indian people in contact with appropriate agency representatives so as to better delineate service needs and to improve institutional performance. Whether or not Indian political systems will permit these spokesmen to do these things is another matter. An obvious impediment to appropriate agency change can be uncontributive behavior on the part of Indian politicians and professionals who sometimes seem to prefer the counting of coup by one group against another or by one personality against another to the delivery of substantive changes in agency services and the improved consumption of these services by urban Indians. While such activities go on, consuming time and energy, the essentially uninformed and isolated Indian people continue to receive inadequate agency services against their desires.[50]

Footnotes

[1]League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, Indians in Minneapolis, (Minneapolis: League of Women Voters, April, 1968), p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]1968 - 1969 estimate provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office.

[4]League. . ., pp. 3 - 7.

[5]Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Indian Employment in Minneapolis, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, April, 1968).

[6]Gregory W. Craig, Arthur M. Harkins and Richard G. Woods, Indian Housing in Minneapolis and Saint Paul, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, July, 1969), pp. 6 - 7.

[7]League. . ., passim.

[8]Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, Attitudes of Minneapolis Agency Personnel Toward Urban Indians, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, December, 1968), pp. 2 - 4.

[9]Woods and Harkins, Indian Employment. . ., pp. 4 - 6, 21.

[10]League. . ., pp. 41 - 47.

[11]Ibid., pp. 55 - 62.

[12]Craig et al. Appendix.

[13]Ibid., p. 4.

[14]Ibid., pp. 4 - 5.

[15]Ibid., Appendix.

[16]League. . ., p. 62.

[17]Ibid., p. 49.

[18]Ibid., pp. 49 - 50.

[19]Ibid., pp. 50 - 51.

[20]Ibid., p. 54.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 52.

[24]League. . ., p. 63.

[25]Ibid., p. 64.

[26]Ibid., pp. 63 - 65.

[27]Ibid., pp. 65 - 67.

[28]LaVerne Drilling, Arthur M. Harkins and Richard G. Woods, The Indian Relief Recipient in Minneapolis: An Exploratory Study, (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, August, 1969), pp. 4 - 5.

[29]Ibid., p. 4.

[30]Ibid., pp. 22 - 23.

[31]Sam Newlund, "Indians Fear Monetary Gain May Mean Loss", Minneapolis Tribune, July 31, 1968.

[32]Mike Mill, "Indians Complain to Legislators", Minneapolis Tribune, December 29, 1968.

[33]"Naftalin Names Woman to City Welfare Board", Minneapolis Tribune, February 7, 1969.

[34]"Hiring the Poor for Welfare Work", Minneapolis Tribune, October 7, 1969.

[35]Joe Rigert, "Minneapolis Is Becoming A Haven of Have-Nots", Minneapolis Tribune, March 24, 1969.

[36]League. . ., pp. 71 - 76.

[37]Ibid., pp. 77 - 79.

[38]Ibid., pp. 86 - 87.

[39]Woods and Harkins, Attitudes . . ., 74 pp.

[40]Ibid., pp. 40 - 42.

[41]Ibid., pp. 42 - 47.

[42]Ibid., pp. 49 - 51.

[43]Ibid., pp. 51 - 55.

[44]Ibid., pp. 56 - 57.

[45]Ibid., pp. 58 - 59.

[46]Ibid., pp. 59 - 62.

[47]Ibid., pp. 62 - 70.

[48]Ibid., pp. 71 - 72.

[49]Ibid., p. 73.

[50]Ibid., p. 72; Craig et al., p. 17.