ED 111 589

RC 008 807.

AUTHOR TITLE

Johnson, Helen W.

American Indians in Transition. Agricultural Economic

Report No. 283. 🕠

INSTITUTION

Economic Research Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.

Economic Development Div.

REPORT NO PUB DATE note

AER-283 Apr. 75 42p,

EDRS PRICE DESCRIPTORS MF-\$0..76 HC-\$1.95 Plus Postage

Academic Achievement; *American Indians; Cultural

Factors; Economic Development; Economic

Disadvantagement; Educational Programs: Employment

Trends: Health; Housing: *Individual Power:
Population Trends: *Rural Population: *Sociocultural

Patterns: .*Urban, Population

IDENTIFIERS

Alaska Natives

ABSTRACT

The American Indian population is in a period of transition. It is young, growing, and becoming more urban. There were some improvements in income, housing, education, and health in the 1960-70 decade, but Indians remain the most disadvantaged of the minority ethnic groups in the United States. By most of the above measures, Indians, especially rural Indians, are not as well off as the U.S. population as a whole. But the Indian people are moving toward self-determination, or self-government, in programs to enhance their lives. Both excessive paternalism and termination of the trust relationships have become discredited as national policy regarding Indians. As the President's Message of 1970 states, "Federal termination errs in one direction, Federal paternalism errs in the other." It is also widely accepted that the integrity of the Indian culture should be preserved, not only as a contribution to cultural pluralism which enriches society as a whole, but also as a reflection of the desires of the Indian people themselves. The Indian gulture is in a transition period, but the roots of Indian customs and values are deep and will not yield quickly or easily to align customs and . values. The process of moving toward self-determination is underway, and some measure of change is in the Indian picture today. (Author/NQ)

************************ Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality * of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available * via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not st responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions st* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.



recounter 73

U S OEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EOUCATION & WELFARE HATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EOUCASION

THIS OCCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO-OUCEO EXACTI Y AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGIN-ATING IT POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRE-SENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EOUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

E D111589

AMERICAN INDIANS IN TRANSITION, by Helen W. Johnson. Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Agricultural Economic Report No. 283.

ABSTRACT

The American Indian population is in a period of transition. It is young, growing, and becoming more urban. There were some improvements in income, housing, education, and health in the 1960-70 decade, but Indians remain the most disadvantaged of the minority ethnic groups in the United States. By most of the above measures, Indians, especially rural Indians, are not as well off as the U.S. population as a whole. But the Indian people are moving toward self-determination, or self-government, in programs to enhance their lives.

Key words: Indians, rural population, cultural change, self-determination, urban, Alaska Natives.

Washington, D.C. 20250

CONTENTS

		Page
***	IGHLIGHTS	11
n.	GUITOUTS	• •
IJ	NDIANS IN THE 1970's	1
	Population is Becoming More Urban	.1
	Wantin Trans do Crill Canarally low.	•
_	Indian Poverty is Widespread	7.
•	Educational Picture is Brighter	7
	Health Status of Indians is Improving	11
	Unemployment Rates are High in Indian Labor Force	13
	Rural Indians Shift to Nonfarm Occupations	14
	Employment by Industry Groups Also Changes	
	Rural Housing Ownership is High, but Housing Quality is Low	
	Despite Improvement, Problems Remain	
•	CULTURE IN TRANSITION	19
A	CULTURE IN TRANSITION	
	Alaska Natives A Case in Point	20
	Alaska Natives A Case in Point	20
Q1	ELE-DETERMINATION POLICY STIMULATES CHANGE	22
,	teritoria de la companya de la comp	_
	Participation Increases in Health and Education Programs	22
	Indian Economic Development Moves Ahead	24
	Self-Determination Activities Undertaken by Urban Indians	25
_	·	
c.	ONGLUSION	26
,۳۰۱	3.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.10.	
Δ١	PPENDIX TABLES	27
,		. ^
R	EFERENCES	35/

ERIC \

HIGHLIGHTS

The American Indian population is in a period of change — economically, socially, and culturally.

The Indian population is young, growing, and becoming more urban. Median age for Indians is 20.4 years, contrasted with 28.1 years for the United States as a whole. The number of Indians grew from about a half million in 1960 to more than 160,000 in 1970. The percentage of Indians living in rural areas declined from approximately 70 percent in 1960 to 55 percent in 1970. Many Indians, especially the young, have sought employment opportunity in urban areas during the decade. And this has brought about a change in lifestyle, occupation, and certain attitudes and customs.

As the rural proportion of the Indian population has decreased, there has been a shift to nonfarm occupations. Among rural Indians, only 13 percent were white-collar workers in 1960, but 23 percent of them were so employed by 1970. Some increase in blue-collar and service work also occurred. At the same time, the percentage of employed rural Indians who were farmworkers declined sharply, from 30 percent in 1960 to only 11 percent 10 years later.

Although American Indians are deeply disadvantaged compared with other Americans the decade of the 1960's brought improvement in some aspects of their lives. Looking at the rural Indian population, for example, the median family income went up from \$2,232 in 1959 to \$4,653 in 1969. This was still only about half of the median for the total rural population in both years. However, the proportion of rural Indians with less than \$3,000 income was cut nearly in half during the decade 1959-69, from 62 percent to 33 percent, and the percentage having \$10,000 or more family income rose from about 3 percent in 1959 to nearly 15 percent in 1969.

Trends in Indian education, health, and housing have also shown some improvement over the last decade. For example, more Indian young people are going on to college than ever before. Indian infant and maternal mortality rates have been greatly reduced, and there is now much wider acceptance of essential health services. Housing, though still poor in many rural Indian communities, has improved in recent years through renovation and new construction.

Indians are engaged in a number of activities, under the U.S. policy of "self-determination without termination," which are intended to give them greater participation in planning and carrying out programs affecting their lives and culture, without termination of the unique trust relationship between Indians and the Federal government. One example is afforded by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, in which Alaska Natives have had a voice in the disposition of their land for themselves and their posterity. Other examples of self-government, or self-determination, are in the fields of education, health, economic development, and urban programs. Many of these efforts call for new ways of doing and thinking, whether in rural or urban areas. Some further changes in the traditional Indian culture undoubtedly lie ahead.



ii

AMERICAN INDIANS IN TRANSITION

, b

Helen W. Johnson*

INDIANS IN THE 1970's

Indian Population is Becoming More Urban

In 1970, Indian Americans remained predominantly rural — the only minority ethnic group so classified. But they are becoming more urban. 1/ In 1960, 70 percent of Indians lived in rural areas; by 1970, the figure was only 55.4 percent (fig. 1). In contrast, people of Spanish language background were only 12 percent rural in 1970; the Negro population was 18 percent rural. More than 26 percent of the total U.S. population was classified as rural. These and most other data in this report come from the 1970 Census. 2/

The Indian population increased from about 500,000 in 1960 to more than 760,000 by 1970 3/ (table 1). There are some Indians in every State and the District of Columbia, but only 10 States have more then 20,000 (fig. 2). Oklahoma has the largest number of Indians -- 96,808; Arizona is a close second with 94,310, and California is third with 88,263 (applicable A-1). In the East, only two-States have more than 20,000 Indians -- North Carolina with 44,195, and New York with 25,560.

As in the U.S. rural population as a whole, the Indian rural population has become overwhelmingly nonfarm. In 1970, 89 percent of rural Indians had a nonfarm residence, compared with 80 percent in the total U.S. rural population. This represents a marked change since 1960, when only 79 percent of rural Indians were classified as nonfarm.

^{*} Sociologist, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

^{1/} The urhan, population consists of all persons living in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside urbanized areas; the population not classified as urban constitutes the rural population:

^{2/} The 1970 census data used in this report are the only statistics available on American Indians on a national basis, and are intended mainly to give a benchmark picture of some aspects of the rural Indian situation compared with the total U.S. rural population in 1970.

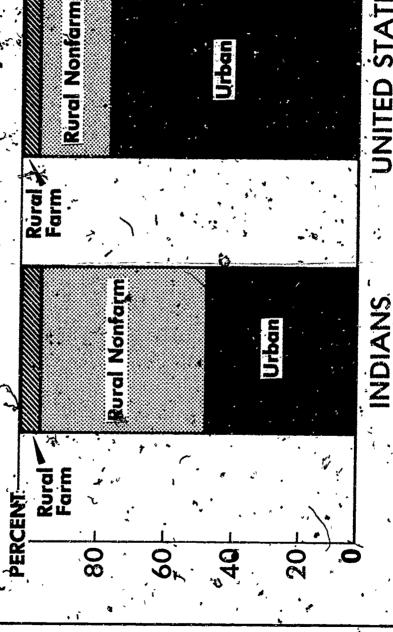
^{3/} This figure does not include about 35,000 Eskimos and Aleuts in Alaska who, with Indians, are collectively called Alaska Natives.

ERIC

FIGURE 1

بد

RURAL AND URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS U.S. POPULATION, 1970 AND TOTAL



JNITED STATES -

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

NEG. ERS 783-74(9)

Table 1-Distribution of Indian population, by urban and rural residence, 1970 1/

• •	, , , ,		<u> </u>			
Area	Total :	Urban 🖔	Řural nonfarm	Rural farm	Rural total	Percent rural
)		N	umbers -	``. 		•
		, , =		•		٠. 🛵
United States	2/ 763,594	340,367	375,822	47, 405	423,227	. \$55.4
Regions:					, ,	* , ,
Con.			, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	* 010°	10 010	100 2 1
Northeast :	45,720.	32,808	12,564		12,912	28.2
North Central ,:	144,254	72,596	64,449	7,209	71,658	49.7
South (. 194,406	89,064	189,424	15,918	105,342	54.2
West :	379,214	145,899	209,385	23,930	233,315	61.5
2		4	* .	,	•	` •
Divisions:				, ,	} .	9
•			0.010	¥ ,	0.000	200
New England 🔭 📜 ᠄	10,362	7,459	2,840	· 63	2,903	28.0
Middle Atlantic **:	35,358	25,349			10,009	- 28.3
East No. Central :	· 54,578	34,937	·18,683		19,641	36.0
West No. Central :	. 89,676	37,659	45,766	6,251	52,017	
South Atlantic A	65,367	20,289	35,379	9,699	45,078	69.0
East So. Central	8;708	3,817	:4,431	460	4,891	56.2
West So. Central :	\ 120,331	64 ,95 8	49,614	- 5,75 9-		46.0
Mountain :	229,669'	49,889	158,672	21,108	179,780	78.3
Pacific	149,545	96,010	50,713.	2,822	453,535	35.8
•	. •		•	1	3 ,	

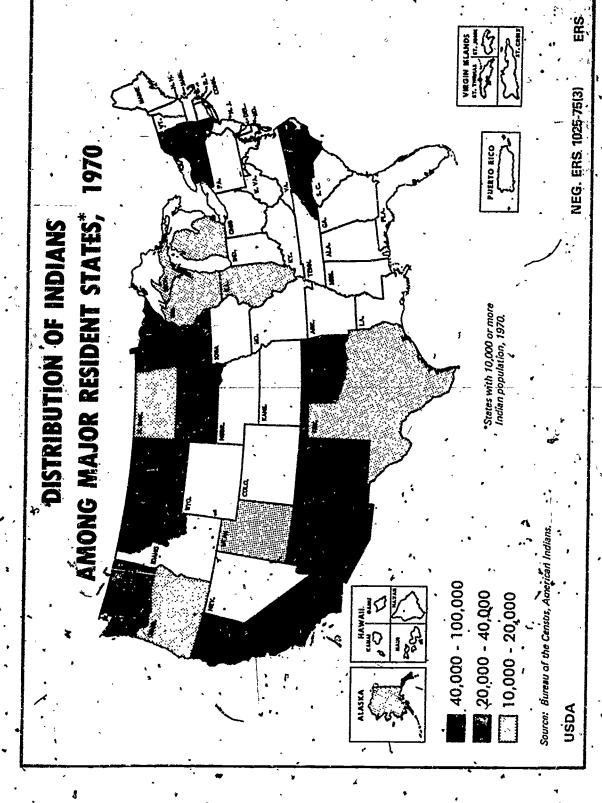
^{1/} Data are based on a 20-percent sample adjusted to represent the total population.

Source: (9), table 1. (Underscored numbers in parentheses refer to items in reference list, p. 35.)

The Indian urban population totaled about 340,000 in 1970; up from 166,000 in 1960 for an increase of 105 percent. Just over 40 percent of these urban Indians lived in the West, 25 percent in the South, 20 percent in the North Central Region, and the remaining 10 percent in the Northeast. California had the largest number of urban Indians, 67,000; Oklahoma was next with 48,000. The Los Angeles urbanized area had the largest concentration of urban Indians with some 28,000 in 1970. Other cities with at least 10,000 Indians are New York, San Francisco-Oakland, and Oklahoma Ckty.

The relatively rapid growth of the urban Indian population, as compared with rural growth, indicates substantial urbanward migration during the 1960 s. A few large cities have attracted the greatest flow of migrants. The Los Angeles urbanized area has drawn Indians from many different places, but the tribes

^{· 2/} Excludes Aleuts and Eskimos in Alaska.



ERIC

0009

most heavily represented there are the Navajo, other southwestern tribes, and the Cherokees. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, the migrants are mostly from the Chippews and Sioux tribes; in Baltimore they are Lumbee Indians; and in New York the Mohawks. According to Calvin Beale, The various cities have Indian populations of different cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds, with differing degrees of homogeneity." (2).

Outmigration from nonmetropolitin areas has been the most substantial in the Upper Midwest, where it is estimated that more than 50 percent of the Indians reaching age 20 have left. This is in contrast to a net outmigration of young people of only about 16 percent in Washington and Oregon. Thus, the migration pattern varies considerably among different parts of the country and from tribe to tribe.

Despite an indicated population increase of 38 percent in the past decade, Indians are by far the smallest of the three major ethnic groups. In 1960 and 1970, they were less than I percent of the total U.S. population. In 1970, people of Spanish language background, numbering slightly over 9 million, constituted 4.5 percent of the U.S. population; Negroes, at 22.5 million, were 11 percent of the total, the same as in 1960.

The median age of the Indian population is 20.4 years, slightly above the 1960 median of 19.2 years. Median age of the Spanish-language people was 20.7 in 1970 and that of the Negro population, was 22.4 years. All are far below the U.S. median of 28.1 years. In 1960 and 1970, some 60 percent of the rural Indians were under 25 years of age (app. table A-2). This compares with only 46 percent in the total U.S. fural population.

Indian fertility is markedly higher than that of the whole U.S. population, and is especially high among rural and reservation Indians. The birth rates of Indian women are, in fact, twice the rate needed to replace the Indian population in every generation. The number of children ever born among those women who have essentially completed their childbearing years (35 to 44 years old) is 4.6 in the Indian population. For the U.S. population, the figure is 3.1.

Fertility is much higher in the rural Indian population than in the U.S. total rural population. There are 5.2 children per woman for rural nonfarm and 5.4 for rural farm Indian women, compared with 3.4 and 3.6, respectively, for all rural women. On some reservations, the figures are even higher: For example, Blackfeet, Montana, 6.5; Red Lake, Minnesota, 6.8; and Yakima, Washington, 7.2.

Among urban Indians fertility per woman is 3.8 children; for the U.S. urban population, it is 3. In the three Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) 4/ with the largest number of Indians in 1970, the figures are about the normal urban level: Los Angeles-Long/Beach, California, 3.4; Tulsa, Oklahoma, 3.2; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 3.4. The highest figure shown in the 1970 Census for an SMSA (among selected SMSA's with 2,500 or more Indian population) was 5.1 for Fort Smith, Arkansas-Oklahoma, which is still below

⁴⁾ An SMSA is defined by the Census Bureau as a county or group of contiguous counties (except in New England) containing at least one central city or twin cities with at least 50,000 hopulation.



the level of rural Indians. The characteristically high fertility among the Indian people, especially those in rural areas, is a significant factor in their low standards of living.

Given the youthfulness of the Indian population, and its traditionally high birth rates, it is not surprising that the average family size is larger than it is in the U.S. population as a whole. Whereas only about 6 percent of U.S. families have seven or more members, the Indian population's proportion is three times that figure. Comparable figures are 25.8 percent for rural Indian families and 7.5 percent in the total rural population (app. table A-3). About one-fourth of Indian families contain two persons; more than one third of U.S. families are that size. The overall average size of Indian families is 4.5 people, compared with 3.6 for the United States. In the rural Indian population, the difference is even greater—5, compared with 3.7 for the U.S. rural population as a whole.

Family Income is Still Generally Low

About 15 percent of all rural families had less than \$3,000 income in 1969; the percentage was 33 percent among rural Indian families (table 2). Even

Table 2-Family income: Rural Indians and totals population, 1959 and 1969

	_	
Íncome	Rural Indians	Total rural
1969:	Number Percent	Number Percent
Under \$3,000 \$3,000 - \$6,999 \$7,000 - \$9,999 \$10,000 - \$14,999 \$15,000 and over	25,950 33.3 : 28,428 36.5 : 12,078 15.5 : 8,388 10.8 : 3,065	2,014,047 3,724,798 3,023,386 22.0 3,133,447 22.8 1,820,045 13.3
Yotal Median income	77,909 100.0 \$4,653	13,715,723 100.0 \$8,071
1959:		
Under \$3,000 \$3,000 - \$6,999 \$7,000 - \$9,999	40,110 62.3 18,948 29.4 3,659 5.7	4,422,589 33.5 5,825,115 44.2 1,824,037 13.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999 \$15;000 and over	1,290 · 2.0 354 0.6	797,152 6.0 / 319,458 2.4
Total . Median income	64,361 100.0	13,188,351 100.0 \$4,382
		

Source: (9), PC(2)1F and PC(1)C1, and (11), PC(2)1C and PC(1)1C.

this low level of income was a dramatic improvement over 1959, when the percentages were 34 and 62 percent respectively. However, only about 4 percent of rural Indian families had incomes of \$15,000 or more in 1969; the proportion was 13 percent for the total U.S. rural population.

Median family income among all Indians was \$5,832 in 1970, compared with \$9,590 for the U.S. population as a whole. For urban Indian families the median was \$7,323; for those in rural areas, it was only \$4,653. While the disparity in median income between urban and rural Indians is \$2,670, between rural Indian families and all rural families it is even greater—\$3,418.

About 20 percent of the Indian families (23 percent for rural) receive public assistance or public welfare income, compared with only about 5 percent among all U.S. and total rural families. The mean income from this source is \$1,352 per family for all Indian families (app. table A-4). It is slightly higher for urban and lower for rural Indian families. Considering Indian family size and the large number of dependent children, public assistance income on a per capita basis is very small for many families. For example, if an average size Indian farm family of five members received \$1,109 per year, it would have only about \$220 per person.

Indian Povertý, is Widespread

A combination of historic, economic, social, and cultural factors has contributed to the depth and persistence of Indian poverty. Limited job, opportunities, generally low income, relatively poor education, and unskilled occupations offer little opportunity for rising above the poverty level. Moreover, discrimination often closes the doors to upward social and economic mobility.

About 33 percent of Indian families have incomes below the poverty level, compared with 11 percent for the total U.S. population. About 20 percent of urban Indian families had incomes below the poverty level in 1969; the proportion was more than twice that high among rural Indian families (table 3).

Eighty percent of the Indian families in poverty have related children under 18 years of age, compared with slightly over 60 percent in the total U.S. poverty population. Approximately the same proportions hold for the rural Indian and rural U.S. poverty populations.

Just over 30 percent of all U.S. and all Indian families in poverty are headed by a female. In the rural Indian poverty families, 25 percent are headed by a female, compared with about 20 percent in the total rural population. Poverty in the Indian population appears to be more directly related to the large proportion of families with dependent children than to the presence of a female family head.

Educational Picture is Brighter

There was improvement in Indian education during the 1960's in terms of higher proportions of children attending school, of high school graduates, and of those attending college. However, Indians 25 years old and over are still more than 2 years behind the U.S. population in median years of school completed.



Îtem		Indian	C >	U	nited State	s
. Trem	Total	Urban/	Rura1	Total 4	Urban -	Rural
All families	: 149,122	71,213		Number 51,168,599	37,452,876	23,715,723
income below poverty level:		, , ·	,		•	•
Families	49,669	14,930	34,739	5,462,216	3, 382, 653	2,079,563
(Percent of all 'families)	(33.3)	(21.0)	(44.6)	(10.7)	. (9,0)	(15.2)
Mean size of family	5.04	4.39	5.32	3,86	3.82	3.96
Families with related children under 18 years		. 1	1	*	•	
of age	.40,153.	12,081	28,072	3,480,419	2,277,622	1,202;797
(Percent)	(80.8)	(80.9)	(80.8)	(63.7)	(67.3)	(57.8)
Families with female head	15,287	6,463	8,824	1, 797, 72ρ	1,402,499	395,221
(Percent)	(30.8)	(43,3)	(25.4)	(32.9)	(41,5)	(19.0)

Source: (9), PC(2) ÎF, table 9, and PC(1)C1, table 95.

The national median is 12.1 years; for Indians, it is 9.8. Approximately the same lag of about 2 years is found among rural Indians compared with the total 0.5. rural population -- 8.7 years for rural Indians, 11.1 years for/all rural people (table 4). Furthermore, in 1970, 12 percent of Indians in rural areas had received no schooling at all, in contrast to less than 2 percent in the total rural population.

More than half of the people in the United States who are 25 years of age and older and more than 40 percent of the rural residents are high school graduates (app. table A-5), a level of education believed to be minimal to meet the needs of a modern, technological society. However, only 33 percent of all Indians, and about 24 percent of rural Indians have completed high school. Among those who have gone on to college, only 6 percent of rural Indians have done so; the proportion in the total rural population is 15 percent (fig. 3).

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) reported that 1976211 Indian children, ages 5-18 inclusive, were enrolled in public, Federal, private, and mission schools in fiscal year 1972 (26). Of those enrolled, 70.2 percent attended public

schools, some 25 percent attended Federal schools, and about 5 percent were in mission and other schools. (These data refer only to the Indians served by BIA). In States in which local school funds are inadequate because of tax-exempt Indian land and large numbers of Indian children, the Secretary of the Interior may contract with the States (through the Johnson-O'Malley Act) for the education of Indian children and the use of Federal school buildings and equipment by the local schools. In fiscal year 1972, BIA had such contracts with 13 States, 6 school districts in other States, 9 tribal groups, 7 towns adjacent to the Navajo Reservation, and Albuquerque. In 1972, there were nearly 87,000 Indian students in Johnson-O'Malley-assisted schools.

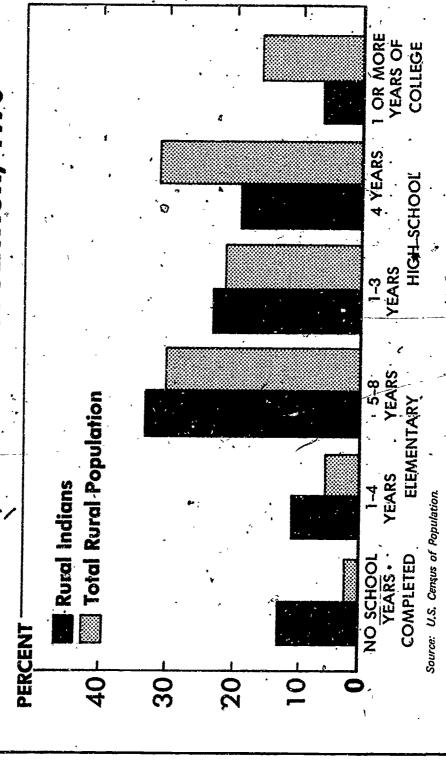
Table 4-Years of schooling completed: Rural Indians and total rural population, 1970 1/

,		<u></u>		/_
	Rural	Indians	Total rural p	opulation /
Years of school completed	Number	Percent of total	Number :	Percent of total
Total	: 168,814	100.0	28,864,909	100.0
No school years completed	20,828.	12.3	499,856 >	1.7
Elementary school:	• •	•		,
1-4 years 5-7 years 8 years	: 17,001 : 29,603 : 24,135	10.1 17.5 14.3	1,517,000 3,582,600 4,767,766	5.3 12.4 16.5
High school:		* *	•	
1-3 years 4 years	36,912 : 29,702	21.9 17.6	5,703,370 8,540,830	19.8 29.6
College:	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		·	
1-3 years 4 years or more	7,514	4.5 1.8	2,332,392 1,921,095	8.1 6.6
Median school . years completed .		8.7		11.1
Percent high school graduates		23.9	1	44.3

^{1/} Persons 25 years of age and over.

Source: (9), PC(2)1F and PC(1)C1,

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RURAL INDIANS AND TOTAL RURAL POPULATION, 1970



NEG. ERS 784-74(9)

10

()015

In 1972, BIA operated nearly 200 schools with enrollments totaling 53,763 in Indian children, plus 19 dormitories for 4,025 children attending public schools. Five-year-olds have been included in the school-age coverage since 1969 when kindergarten classes were started in some BIA-operated schools. In fiscal year 1972, there were kindergarten classes in 89 schools, all on a day basis, representing some 5 percent of total Indian school enrollment.

A full 4-year course was offered in 1972 in 27 Federal secondary schools. In addition, eight other schools provided high school training, but not a 4-year course. The largest proportion of BIA enrollment, about 42 percent of the total, is among children in kindergarten and the first four grades. Many Indian children transfer to public schools at the 6th grade, which helps account for a relatively small number of graduates from Federal high schools.

Indian education (at the elementary and secondary school levels) in BIA facilities has been strengthened considerably by programs funded under P.L. 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. To meet the special problems of bilingualism and psychological and physical handicaps, and to give added attention to basic skills; many Indian students have been helped by projects supported in this legislation, both in regular school terms and in summer programs.

BIA has greatly increased the number of students assisted through its scholar-ship program. In 1950, there were only 139 such college-assisted students. By 1970, the number had grown to 4,271, and, in 1971, to 6,623. This was doubled in 1972 to 12,438. Progress has been especially notable at the college level in that many Indians are now attending professional schools and are using their training in law, engineering, and other fields to help in reservation development.

Health Status of Indians is Improving

In general, the Indian health picture is improving. However, when compared with the total U.S. population, Indian health in many respects is poor. For example, while infant and maternal mortality rates have been greatly reduced in recent years, they continue to be considerably higher than for the U.S. population as a whole (app. table A-6). Health services of all kinds have substantially increased since 1955 when the Public Health Service (PHS) assumed responsibility, through its Indian Health Service (IHS), for comprehensive health care for American Indians and Alaska Natives 5/. However, the problems in providing these services are serious and longstanding.

In the 1970 report of the Public Health Service, "Indian Health Trends and Services," IHS Director Emery A. Johnson summarized the situation in this way: "To generalize, the inferior health status of Indians and Alaska Natives' results from their impoverished socio-economic status, limited education, poor and crowded housing, inadequate nutrition, lack of basic sanitary facilities, unsafe water supplies, gross unsanitary practices, and emotional problems inherent in a transitional culture." (23, 1970 ed., p. 111).

^{5/} IHS serves Indians and Alaska Natives in 24 reservation States.



11

In the 1974 report, Director Johnson says, "Substantial gains have been made, but much remains to be done before we reach our goal of elevating the health status of Indians and Alaska Natives to the highest possible level. Their problems are more diverse, more severe, and are further compounded by a number of cultural, socio-economic and geographic-environmental factors." (23, 1974 ed., p. 111).

Various measures can be used to reflect the health condition of a given population group. The trend in mortality rates is one such indicator. Among Indians and Alaska Natives, the infant death rate per 1,000.1ive births was cut by two-thirds between 1955 and 1972, from 62.5 to 20.9. The 1972 rate was 13 percent, or about 1.1 deaths per 1,000 live births, higher than for the United States, 211 races, which was 18.5 in 1972. Similarly, maternal death rates per 100,000 live births were reduced dramatically, from 82.6 in 1958 to 37.9 in 1972 6/ (app. table A-6).

Accidents continue to be the leading cause of death among Indians and Alaska Natives. One of every five deaths in this population results from an accident, compared with less than 1 out of 16 deaths in the U.S. population. Diseases of the heart and malignant neoplasms are the second and third leading causes of death among the Indians; they rank first and second in the U.S. population. On the increase since 1955 are crude death rates from cirrhosis of the liver, suicides, diabetes mellitus, and homicides. Major reductions have occurred, however, for enteritis and other diarrheal diseases, tuberculosis, influenza and pneumonia, certain causes of mortality in early infancy, and congenital anomalies (23, 1974 ed., p. 31).

Life expectancy is another measure often cited in judging the general health status of a population. The Indian and Alaska Natives' life expectancy increased 3.4 years in the decade following 1960. In 1970, it was 65.1 years for Indians and Alaska Natives, and 70,0 years for the U.S. population.

Reflecting the importance of environmental causes of the inferior health status of Indians and Alaska Natives mentioned earlier, IHS is giving increased emphasis to its environmental health program. This consists of consultation, services, and facilities construction designed to improve sanitation in Indian homes and communities, and at Indian celebrations, trading posts, and commercial enterprises serving Indians, as well as in new Federal and tribal housing. Particular attention is being given to trying to provide adequate water supply and waste disposal systems in all new housing and, through follow-up surveys, seeing that advice on maintaining sanitary conditions throughout the communities is heeded.

To mount a health care program dealing with such serious health deficiencies found in the Indian population requires an increasing number of services and health personnel. Acceptance of such a program appears to have grown, as indicated by the increase in users, admissions to hospitals, and workloads of specialized health manpower. Admissions to PHS Indian and contract hospitals increased from about 50,000 in 1955 to 102,500 in 1972, or 105 percent. Out-

^{6/} Indian Health Service, Office of Program Statistics.

patient visits to PHS Indian hospitals and visits to field clinics have also grown substantially nearly every year since 1955. While the number of pharmacists in 1969 was 5 times as high as in 1955, the number of workload units performed was over 25 times as high. The number of Public Health nursing personnel increased 25 percent between fiscal years 1964 and 1970, while the number of families served increased 46 percent. The IHS dental program, placing primary emphasis on the younger age groups, met more than half of the dental needs of Indian children (5 to 14 years of age) in fiscal year 1969. For the service population as a whole, the proportion of requirements met was about one-fourth. 7/

As would be expected in an expanding program and for a growing population, the cost of providing health care services has risen substantially. IHS obligations in 1955, when it assumed responsibility for the Indian Service population, totaled \$24.6 million. In 1972; the figure was \$155.1 million. More than half of the 1972 total, or \$78.8 million, was for direct patient care; \$44.4 million was for field health services, \$29.5 million for contract patient care, and \$2.4 million for administration (14, p. 44). Direct patient care is provided in IHS-operated hospitals.

Unemployment Rates Remain High: in Indian Labor Force

The U.S. civilian labor force (16 years old and over) totaled 80 million persons in 1970. The unemployment rate was 3.9 percent for males and 5.2 percent for females. The Indian civilian labor force, numbering about 214,000, had unemployment rates twice as high, or 11.6 percent for males and 10.2 percent for females (app. table A-7): The number of Indians not in the labor force exceeded the number in the total labor force by more than 9,000. Out of a potential Indian labor force of 453,000, just over half were not in it. This compares with 42 percent for the total U.S. labor force.

Among rural workers, unemployment rates were somewhat higher among nonfarm than farm people, in both the Indian and U.S. total populations. For Indians, the rates were 14.8 percent for the rural nonfarm males and 8.2 percent for rural farm males. In the total rural population, the figures were 4.3 and 2.4 percent respectively for males. In the rural Indian population, 136,000 people, or 58 percent of the rural total 16 years old and over, were not in the labor force, compared with 45 percent in the total rural population.

On and near reservations, the rates of unemployment and underemployment in the resident Indian population are extremely tigh. A March 1973 BIA labor force survey revealed an overall rate of unemployment and underemployment of 55 percent. 8/ Among the 25 States covered in the survey, this combined rate

^{8/} The combined rate of unemployment and underemployment used here is the percent of those in the BIA labor force survey, 16 years old and over, who are unemployed and those with temporary employment (underemployed).



13

^{7/} The IHS service population represents all Indians and Alaska Natives who look to the Indian Health Service for essential health services. They live in the 24 reservation States.

ranged from 28 percent in Oregon and 30 percent in Kansas to as high as 77 percent in Alaska and 78 percent in Nebraska (18).

There was also considerable variation among the reservations. The majority of the reported rates were well above 50 percent, rising to 91 percent in the Bethel Agency of the Juneau area in Alaska. Unemployment and underemployment as severe as this clearly calls for alleviation through additional employment opportunities on and near reservations. National Indian policy supports economic development programs on reservations to help meet this need.

Rural Indians Shift to Nonfarm Occupations,

The distribution of occupations among rural Indians changed during 1960-70. For example, only 13 percent of rural Indians held white-collar jobs in 1960, but this proportion had increased to 23 percent by 1970 (table 5). A rise also

Table 5--Employment distribution by occupation: Rural Indians and total rural population, 1960 and 1970 1/

Occupational group	Rural	Indians	Total .rural	population
1970	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	•		•	•
White collar workers ::	20,022	23.1	6,498,574	34.4
Blue collar workers :	40., 284	46.4	8,096,112	42.9
Service workers *:	16,766	19.3	2,198,414	11.6
Farm workers :	9,678	.11.2	2,098,193	11.1
, A	Q			
Total :	86,750	100.0	18,891,293 4	100.0
1960	•	4	•	٤
***		•	•	•
White collar workers :	7,892	. 13.4	4,752,562	28.6
Blue collar workers :	25,241	42.8	. 6,707,235	.40.3
Service workers :	8,382	14.2	1,566,678	9.4
Farm workers	17,506	29:6	3,604,185	21.7
Total 2/	59,021	100.0	16,630,660	100.0

^{1/ 14} years old and older.

White collar workers: Professional and technical; managers and administrators except farm, sales, clerical.

Blue collar workers: Craftsmen and foremen, operatives, nonfarm laborers. Service workers: Private household, service.

Farm workers: Farmers and farm managers, farm laborers, farm foremen!

Sources: (9), Pc(2)1F and PC(1)C1, 1070 and (11).

3¹⁴ (3019)



^{2/} Excludes workers not reported.

occurred in this type of occupation in the total U.S. rural population, from . 29 to 34 percent. Some increase was observed in both population groups with respect to blue collar and service employment. Simultaneously, the proportion of rural Indian employment in farm work decreased from 30 percent to 11 percent. In the total rural population, the proportion declined from 22 to 11 percent.

As in 1960, more than 40 percent of employed rural Indians and of all rural workers were in blue collar jobs in 1970 (app. table A-8). Among service workers, there was a considerably higher share in that category in the rural Indian population (19.3 percent) than in the U.S. rural population (11.6 percent). The changes since 1960 and the distribution of occupations in 1970 reflect the increasingly nonfarm composition of the rural population (fig. 4).

Employment by Industry Groups Also Changes

Among rural Indians, 27.6 percent were employed in services of various kinds in 1970, up from 20.5 percent in 1960 (table 6). Some 22 percent were engaged in

Table 6--Employment distribution by industry: Rural Indians and total rural population, 1960 1/ and 1970 2/

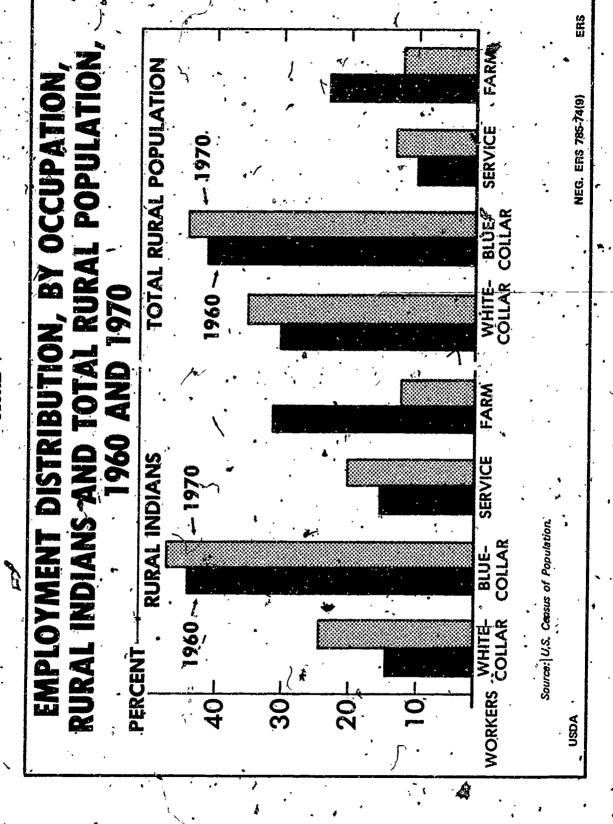
•					-	
Industr	:	Rural I	ndjans :		rural lation	
industry	:	1960	1970	Ì960	: 1970 '	-
	`;-	, ,	<u> </u>			
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	₩.	31.9	13.1	22.8	12.0	
Mining	:	2.9	2.1	2.1	° 1.6	
Construction		10.0	. 9.1	· 7.2	7.9	
Manufacturing	:	15.1	21.9	24.8	• 27.9	
Transportation, commerce, and public	2					
utilities '	:	5.9	5:0 .	5.4	5.8	
Wholesale and retail trade	:	7:2	10.0	14.9	16.8	
Finance, insurance and real estate		0.3	1.0	2.1	2.8	`
Services:	:	20.5	27.6	17.0	21.0	
	:	1.0	1.6	1.9	2.2	
Business and repair	•	6.7	5.6		4.2	
Personal .	:	0.5	0.6	0.5		
Entertainment and recreational.	•	12.3	19.8	9. 4		
Professional and related	•					
Public administration	:_	6:2	10.2	<u> </u>	4.2	
Total employed	.:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

^{1/ 14} years old and over and totals exclude not reported for 1960.

15

 $[\]frac{2}{}$ Indian data relate to 14 years and over and U.S. data 16 years old and over for 1970.

Sources: (9) PC(2)1F, table 7; PC(1)Cl. table 92; and (11) PC(2)1C, table 33 and PC(1)1C, table 91.



0021

ERIC Full Text Provided by ERIC

manufacturing in 1970, an increase from 15 percent a decade earlier. In the U.S. rural population, there were smaller increases in both of these industry groups, but the largest share of the rural total was employed in manufacturing in both 1960 and 1970. During the 1960's, the percentage in agriculture in both population groups declined drastically. Among rural Indians, the decrease was from 32 percent in 1960 to 13 percent in 1970. In the total rural population, the decline was less precipitate—from 23 percent to 12 percent.

The only other industries commanding a significant portion of the rural Indians employed in 1970 were wholesale and retail trade and public administration (app. table A-9). In the rural population as a whole, 17 percent were employed in trade; each of the remaining industry groups had less than 10 percent of the workers. The trend in both rural population groups over the decade was toward nonagricultural industries as the need for workers in agriculture continued to decrease.

Rural Housing Ownership is High, but Housing Quality is Low

In 1970, about 60 percent of the rural Indian housing units were owner-occupied, compared with 75 percent in the total rural population (app. table A-10). However, in urban areas, ownership is far lower among the Indian population (38.4 percent) than for the total U.S. urban population (58.4 percent). For the Indian population as a whole, owner-occupancy is about 50 percent.

Various measures are used to indicate the quality of housing, although no single index is really definitive. Since quality is itself difficult to define, its measurement is even more difficult. One indicator of inadequacy commonly used, however, is lack of complete plumbing facilities in the dwelling: By this standard, 46 percent of rural Indian dwellings would be classified as inadequate in 1970, compared with 15 percent for the total U.S. rural population. These proportions were much higher in rural than urban areas for both population groups, whether the housing units were owned or rented.

Another measure frequently used is that of crowding, or the amount of space available to serve the needs of the household. A dwelling is considered crowded if there is more than one resident per room. More than two out of five rural Indian homes are crowded according to this standard, whether they are owned or rented. Housing for the Indian urban population is less crowded. In 1970, 19 percent of the dwellings in urban areas were considered growded, compared with 44 percent among rural households. For the total Indian population, the proportion is just under one-third; in the U.S. total rural population, it is only 1 in 10.

Half of the owner-occupied housing units of rural Indians were valued at less than \$5,000 in 1970 (table 7). In the U.S. rural population, the figure was only 14 percent. For both groups, about one-fourth of the dwellings were valued at \$5,000-\$10,000. Only 6 percent of rural Indian housing units were valued at \$20,000 or more; more than 25 percent were in that category in the total rural population. The median value of housing for rural people as a whole was more than twice as high (\$12,900) as for rural Indians (\$5,000).



Table-7-Value of owner-occupied housing: Rural Indians and total rural population, 1970

77-1	Rural	Indians	Total rural	population
Value	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than \$5,000	<i>c</i> : 16,594	49.6	1,053,747	14.0
\$5,000 - \$9,999 \$10,000\ - \$14,999 \$15,000 - \$19,999	*, 8,213 *, 4,266 * 2,254	24.6 12.8	1,765,238 / 1,513,101 1,235,585	23.4 20.0
\$20,000 - \$24,999 \$25,000 or more	1,002 1,104	6.7 3.0 3.3	808,109 1,170,044	16.4 10.7 15.5
Total units 1/	33,433	100.0	7,545,824	100.0
Median	\$5,000	. /	\$12,900	

^{1/} Limited to one-family homes on less than 10 acres and no business on property,

Improving the quality of Indian housing is the objective of a program started by BIA, in 1965. This Housing Improvement Program (HIP) strives for "decent, safe, and sanitary housing in a suitable environment" for every Indian family (14, pp. 678-688). In addition to the provisions of its own program, HIP attempts to help Indian families and communities take part in other Federal housing programs for low-income people, such as those of Housing and Urban Development, Farmers Home Administration, Federal Housing Administration, and Veterans Administration.

HIP offers three types of financial and/or technical assistance: (1) for repairs, renovations, and enlargement of existing structures; (2) for new housing where necessary; and (3) for grants to reduce the size of loans required to obtain adequate housing under a tribal or Federal credit program. Sometimes, HIP funds are combined with training program efforts to utilize trainee labor and instructors to extend resources for housing improvement.

The HIP program is generally carried out through contracts with tribal organizations or private contractors, or through grants to individuals who can then do their own purchasing or contracting. These methods may or may not involve BIA technical assistance. There are about 100 tribal housing authorities; these are the chief vehicles through which HIP operates, under the administrative supervision of BIA area directors.

HIP has grown from a funding level of \$500,000 and 64 starts (renovated or new construction) in 1965 to \$10.5 million and 5,000 starts in 1973. So great is the need for new and improved housing for Indian families and communities,

Source: (9) PC(2)1F; table 10; and (10) HQ(1)B1, table 31.

however, it was estimated in 1973 that more than 48,000 new or renovated dwellings are still needed. At the present pace of the program, it may take two decades to accomplish the needed housing improvement with BIA resources.

Despite Improvement, Problems Remain

The current status of American Indians discussed in the foregoing pages shows that progress has been made in some aspects of their lives. Starting from a level of extreme disadvantage, however, improvements in income, employment, education, health, and housing still leave Indians far behind other Americans. Among rural Indians, the disparity is even greater. Income is generally lower, poverty deeper, education more limited, health poorer, and housing more in-adequate than in the total U.S. rural population.

In addition, American Indians bear psychological problems engendered by a minority group position in the society, as well as the uncertainties of a culture in transition. Indians are moving quite rapidly from a rural to an urban population group, involving many difficult adjustments. And until the larger problem of acculturation vis-a-vis separatism, or some middle ground between the two, is resolved, there will be anxiety on the part of the minority about its role and potential in a modern, urbanized economy. Both economic and cultural handicaps are likely to make the transition period ahead an uneasy one.

A CULTURE IN TRÂNSITION

The President's 1970 Message to the Congress on Indian Affairs stated that, "The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions." In discussing "the historic and legal relationship between the Federal government and Indian communities," the Message further stated that, "In the past, this relationship has oscillated between two equally harsh and unacceptable extremes" (8, pp, 394-895). These extremes are "forced termination" and "excessive paternalism."

Forced termination of the trustee relationship with the U.S. government has had unfavorable results in the few places where it has been carried out. The opposite extreme, which has fostered excessive paternalism, has been not only ineffective, but also harmful to the Indian population. The present goal is "to strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community. We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group. And we must make it clear that Indians can become independent of Federal control without being cut off from Federal concern and Federal support" (8, p. 896).

Although Indians are full-fledged, legal citizens of the United States, entitled to the same rights and privileges as all other citizens, special programs have been carried out for most of them because of the unique trustee role of the 'Federal Government and the reservation status of the majority of Indians. Many Federal programs have been designed to improve income, employment, health, and education of the Indian people, but they have been operated mainly for them, not by them.



The purpose of the policy of self-determination is quite clearly to enable Indians to control and take responsibility for the special programs or services provided under the trustee relationship with the Federal Government. This is done through legal contracts between tribal groups and Federal agencies administering the programs, with money set aside by Congress for particular services. It is also intended to give Indians some options as to the directions of their lives, whether to live and work on the reservations or in cities. In a population group as diverse as American Indians, implementation of self-government is very complex, and progress toward achieving it is uneven among the numerous tribal groups.

Alaska Natives -- A Case in Point

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 9/ is a recent example of a U.S. effort to place more responsibility for the Indian's future in his control, and at the same-time redress past wrongs. Widely regarded as a generous settlement and full of promise, it is too early to assess its impact on the lives of Alaska Natives (Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts).

Alaska Natives represent a culture already in transition. Isolated by distance from the rest of the United States, socially and economically disadvantaged by most standards, and even separated from each other by great expanses of frozen wastes, the village residents of Alaska are torn between the deep roots in their past culture, and the forces pulling them into the ways of a modern society. The principal link between the past and present is their physical heritage—land and strategic location. Untapped sources of wealth hold promise of unprecedented economic growth and development in Alaska. The process of reclaiming, in just terms, what is rightfully theirs brings the Alaska Natives face to face with the complexities of bureaucracy, land selection and administration, and safeguarding their resources for themselves and their posterity.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act is a complex piece of legislation. It calls for the appropriation of nearly \$1 billion over a period of years and outlines the procedure for "a fair and just settlement of all claims by Natives and Native groups of Alaska." The intent of the law is that the settlement "be accomplished rapidly, with certainty, in conformity with the real economic and social needs of Natives, without litigation, with maximum participation by Natives in decisions affecting their rights and property," and in general, to avoid wardship and other relationships setting the Natives apart from other citizens of the United States.

Various entities or structures have been established to carry out the purposes of the Act. The Alaska Native Fund, in the U.S. Treasury, carries a total of \$462.5 million from general funds, authorized to be appropriated in varying amounts over a period of 11 fiscal years. To receive and handle these and other funds, there are Regional Corporations, one for each of 12 geographic regions of Alaska. These regions correspond generally with the locations of existing Native Associations. They represent, as far as possible, Natives with

^{9/} P.L. 92-203, approved December 18, 1971.



20

a common heritage and common interests. At another level are Village Corporations, which receive funds from the Regional Corporations in their own areas. They are composed of the Native residents of each Native village entitled under the Act to lands and benefits.

One of the most interesting features of the legislation is the process of land selection by the Natives, to be accomplished over a 3-year period from the date of enactment of the law. Some 205 Native villages are listed as eligible for land benefits from withdrawn public lands under public land laws and from selection under the Alaska. Statehood Act. Villages are considered ineligible for land selection if they had fewer than 25 resident Natives in 1970, or if they are of a modern or urban character and the majority of the residents are non-Natives. The Village Corporation for each eligible village is permitted to select all of the land in the township in which it is located, plus some acreage for future growth.

Involved in this Native Claims Settlement are 40 million acres of land. The Village Corporations are to select 22 million acres of withdrawn public lands, and 11 Regional Corporations are to be allocated 16 million acres by the Secretary of the Interior on the basis of the number of Natives enrolled in each region. (A special provision is made for the twelfth region in southeastern Alaska because of an earlier court case against the United States.) Each Regional Corporation is to reallocate such acreage among the villages in its region on an equitable basis after considering historic use, subsistence needs, and population. An additional 2 million acres of unreserved and unappropriated public lands may be withdrawn and conveyed by the Secretary of the Interior for certain stated purposes.

The basic land selection process is in the hands of the Natives themselves through their Village Corporations, and their rights and claims to lands and benefits are to be satisfied. Numerous safeguards are included to keep land and business profits protected for present and future Native people and their home villages, and to honor valid existing rights and claims. This Act is intended as a final settlement of all Native claims, thus superseding claims under prior legislation. Also, with one exception (Annette Island Reserve), Village Corporations will take the place of reservations.

The magnitude and complexity of what this Act has undertaken to accomplish in a relatively short period of time to settle longstanding claims of many thousands of Native villagers, make the task a formidable one. Many legal and sociopolitical issues will arise in trying to achieve "fair and just" settlements and to meet the "real economic and social needs of Natives." Nevertheless, this landmark legislation opens the way to a new era and brings those most directly involved, the Alaska Natives, into a period of rapid change.

For most of the Alaska Natives, the transition that is occurring and gaining momentum is one of moving from a subsistence to a money economy. Many will enter for the first time the price and market system with newly acquired lands, mineral resources, and business enterprises. Even though precaution has been taken to avoid dissipation of long-sought benefits from land claims, the Act specifically states that the Alaska Natives be afforded "maximum participation" in determining what happens to their property and their rights. This is a new

role for most villagers. It will require a great deal of patience and understanding of complex legal and business matters, and very probably a different style of living and working. There will be much community effort, through the Village Corporations, rather than by individuals acting on their own. Considerable technical guidance and help will undoubtedly be necessary to resolve the many problems bound to arise. A whole new pattern of living is in the offing. And the impact of the Alaska pipeline is yet to come.

SELF-DETERMINATION POLICY STIMULATES CHANGE

The groundwork for carrying out the U.S. policy of "self-determination without termination" for American Indians is being laid in Federal programs in a number of different ways. The overall direction of this effort is to place decision-making and, where possible, the actual operation of programs and services in the hands of the Indians themselves. A change in policy of this magnitude inevitably brings about change in historic Indian customs, attitudes, and values. To make the present policy succeed, time will be required to prepare the way for Indians to adopt unaccustomed roles and perform unfamiliar tasks.

The principal structure through which self-determination efforts are being conducted is the tribal organization at the local or reservation level. In the early days of this country, the tribal council was an effective form of self-government. When the United States took over the trustee responsibility for American Indians on reservations and performed numerous services for them, tribal governments lost their purpose and fell into decay. After the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, they began to revive as instruments of self-government among the tribes. Today, they represent the primary mechanism for initiating action and articulating Indian problems and needs on the reservation. They are an essential link between reservation Indians and Federal programs of assistance.

Participation Increases in Health , and Education Programs

One of the first steps Indians must take before operating their own programs is to become increasingly involved in them. In the health area, this has been done through greater participation in all facets of planning and evaluating the IHS delivery system, helping to operate some programs, and gaining professional experience and training in various skills. IHS has fostered the development of these skills through various health-related training programs. It operates training programs in the following allied health professional services: community, dental, pursing, and nutritional health; X-ray and laboratory technology; and social work. These programs are conducted to enable Indian employees to gain necessary skills to participate as allied health professionals within IHS programs. In addition, IHS provides funds for long-term training (tuition and other support), and the Commissioned Officer Student Extern Training Program (Co-Step), which provides part-time employment for students pursuing professional degrees.

Recently, reservation Indians have taken a more active part through their tribal councils, tribal health boards, health authoriti 3, and advisory committees in



improving and extending acceptance of health programs, locating additional resources, and devising new methods of solving their health problems. Trained Indians and Alaska Natives are widely employed by IHS and by tribal groups. They also serve as Community Health Aides to provide liaison between their communities and existing health services. The National Indian Health Board provides a link between IHS and local Indian health entities.

Under contract arrangements with IHS, several Indian groups have undertaken the operation of their own health care systems. For example, the California Rural Indian Health Board, with a "seed" budget from IHS, has added State, local, and private funds to provide health services for about 38,000 Indians in 32 rural counties and 50 Indian reservations (14, p. 4). Also, the United Southeastern Tribes Intertribal Council has an agreement with IHS "to coordinate and insure the delivery of all available health services to Indians residing in Mississippi, North Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana" (14, p. 5). Some groups, such as the Navajo health authority, are moving into the management side of comprehensive health programs.

As IHS Director Johnson put it, "...the growth of Indian participation in the management of Indian Health Service programs is indicative of the growth of Indian participation in the self-determination process" (14, p. 5).

In the field of education, considerable progress has been made in enlisting the cooperation of Indian educators, tribal groups, and individuals in Indian communities to improve the quality and scope of education at all levels. The Indian Education Subcommittee, formerly in the National Council on Indian Opportunity, was composed of nine Indian educators, and was available to offer technical assistance to Indian communities wishing to establish school boards. It also reviewed and evaluated the status of education of all Indian school children, including preparation of a report on the extent of local control of Indian education. At the local level, many Indians work as teacher aides, home visitors, and counselors, especially in interpreting cross-cultural behavior for school officials and parents. In some places, adult education programs are contracted by BIA to tribal groups. Some 16 programs, contracted to tribes in whole or in part, are designed to enable adult Indians, on a part-time basis near their homes, to improve their chances for employment or additional education.

There are varying levels of Indian participation in, and responsibility for, the operation of schools for their children. Indian involvement in BIA-operated schools or public schools with a large number of Indian students may consist of total control through the school board, or may be only voluntary participation in planning or conducting special educational programs. Perhaps the highest degree of Indian responsibility is found in the 12 schools which BIA has under contract with tribal groups in 7 different States. Some are elementary and others are secondary schools; some are day schools, some are boarding schools, and three are a combination of day and boarding. Together, they serve more than 2,000 students. This contract system "provides for the development, training, and related expenses of Indian School Boards and for the operation of schools under management contracts to Indian School Boards or tribal cooperatives" (14, p. 593). To whatever extent Indian people operate or assist in the

educational programs of their children, they are building a foundation for selfdetermination and increasing participation in programs and services affecting their lives.

Indian Economic Development Moves Ahead

The policy of self-determination has turned more and more activity toward building up the reservations. Not only are boarding schools yielding to schools in or near Indian communities, but efforts are underway to attract industry and business to reservation sites. The purpose is not only to improve the income and employment situation of Indians, but also to give Indian tribes, groups, and individuals greater opportunity for ownership and development of their economic resources. Specific targets of the BIA industrial and tourism development program, for example, are to provide more jobs and payrolls in Indian country; develop facilities to accommodate commercial and industrial enterprises, particularly for processing products from agricultural, mineral, and other Indian-owned resources; train Indian people as employees, as well as in ownership and management skills; find sources of financing for local economic projects, including financial institutions of their own; and publicize commercial and industrial resource potentials for doing business in Indian labor force areas (14, p. 716).

Several Federal agencies have assisted in promoting economic development on reservations. The principal participants in this program have been the BIA, Economic Development Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Departments of Labor and Housing and Urban Development. Manpower training programs, technical assistance, and planning grants from these agencies have all helped in this activity

Tribal leaders and Indian groups have taken considerable initiative in organizing and promoting business ventures which are or will be Indian owned and controlled. For example, 10 years ago, the Navajos invested \$8.5 million of their own money in the Navajo Forest Products Industries. The business has since brought profits of some \$30 million to the tribe. The American Indian National Bank, owned and operated by Indians, has been established in Washington, D.C., to help in the financing of Indian economic development projects. There has also been established the American Indian Travel Commission to promote tourism on Indian lands. With the help of BIA in locating or expanding industry for Indians, as of December 1972, there were 237 industrial and commercial enterprises in Indian labor force areas, employing about 7,400 Indians. These are mostly manufacturing and processing plants, providing not only employment and training, but also rental income from tribal property.

Also contributing to self-determination is the work being done in the staining field. The Indian Action Team Program was started by BIA 2 years ago. Through it, assistance funds are given to tribes that train and employ Indians in construction work on reservations. This program had 30 demonstration projects in 14 locations in 1973 where Indians were building their own facilities. Training is provided by the Indians themselves, who are generally BIA staff members, skilled in carpentry, bricklaying, plumbing, painting, bulldozer or lathe operation, and who return to the reservation to teach others. As the apprentices become trained, they move up to jobs as foremen or supervisors and in turn teach their skills to additional trainees on a part-time basis. This



program not only gives Indians a hand in construction, maintenance, and management of reservation roads and buildings, but provides them with skills necessary to become involved in the general improvement of reservation life.

Self-Determination Activities Undertaken by Urban Indians

Despite the redirection of policy toward economic development on reservations, more than 300,000 tribal Indians have left their communities. They do not receive the services provided to federally recognized tribes on reservations or in Indian communities. These are, for the most part, Indians who have themselves decided to seek training or employment away from the reservation. Many have gone to large cities, where they find adjustment difficult because of language problems, customs alien to them, and complex situations endemic to large aggregations of people competing for living space and employment opportunities. Caught between two worlds—one of dependency and the other of independence—and content or comfortable in neither, they become alienated from society or take steps to find out how the system works and how to make it work for them. The self-determination activities related briefly here are in the direction of accommodation to what is available to off-reservation Indians as American citizens entitled to the same services and rights as otherse

An Urban Indian Project in Minneapolis-St. Paul, where nearly 10,000 Indians live, focuses on improving Indian access to health facilities and services. With financial assistance from IHS, the Indians established the Indian Health Board of Minneapolis, a nonprofit corporation made up cf. 21 Indian organizations, to determine what health resources were available and how to use them. They created a professional advisory committee composed of State and county health officers, the chief of staff of the County General Hospital, the IHS subarea health director, and the HEW Regional Health Director from Chicago. Both State and county health departments have cooperated in the project. By taking the initiative, Indians in this Minneapolis project have located responsive individuals and groups able to help solve some of the health problems of Indians living in this urban area.

Lost in the anonymity of city life, Indians often feel the need of some identifiable source of guidance and help. For the last several years, about 80 Indian centers have been established to lend a hand in finding housing and employment and locating available social services of Federal, State, and local programs. These centers represent the combined effort of several Federal agencies. Some of the centers have undergone an evaluation to test the Indian proposition that they be the mechanism for operating Indian programs in urban areas. One of the major problems of urban Indians is the breaking of ties with both their tribes and the BIA when they leave their Indian communities. They must therefore contend with a complex set of new relationships to gain the services and assistance available to all Americans.

Self-determination activities are indeed under way, as the foregoing examples indicate. However, implementation of the self-determination policy is difficult because of the extreme diversity of Indian tribes and the differences among them as to precisely what self-determination means. It seems clear that Indians want to retain the services owed them under the special trust relationship with the



Federal Government and also to have access to programs and services provided to other U.S. citizens by the government. Beyond that, they want to plan, operate, and be responsible for programs for their own people. In some Indian programs, the extent of control through tribal contracts is still quite limited, while in others it is nearly total. As tribal councils gain experience in planning and managing their own affairs, and as adequate funds become available to support needed programs, Indian self-determination will be more nearly a reality.

CONCLUSION

There is evidence that Indian society is changing, and many of the signs are hopeful. Both excessive paternalism and termination of the trust relationships have become discredited as national policy regarding Indians. As the President's Message of 1970 stated, "Federal termination errs in one direction, Federal paternalism errs in the other." It is also widely accepted that the integrity of the Indian culture should be preserved, not only as a contribution to cultural pluralism which enriches society as a whole, but also as a reflection of the desires of the Indian people themselves.

A time of rapid change is difficult for any cultural group. When that group is disadvantaged economically and socially, and is in a minority position in the surrounding society, the adjustments required to achieve upward mobility are especially trying.

The Indian culture is in a transition period, but the roots of Indian customs and values are deep and will not yield quickly or easily to alien customs and values. The process of moving toward self-determination is underway, and some measure of change is in the Indian Picture today.

APPENDIX TABLES

Table A-1--Where most Indians lived in 1970 1/

State	Total	Urban	Rural nonfarm	Rural fárm
•	•	· Nu	mber	
Oklahoma .	96,803	47,623	44,019	5,161
Arizona	94,310	16,442	70,808	7,060
California /	88,263	67,202	19,955	1,106
New Mexico	71,582	13,405	51,466	6,711
North Carolina	44,195	6,194	28,748	9,253
South Dakota	31,043	9,115	18,597	3,331 · ·
Washington	30,824	16,102	13,54%	1,181
Montana	26,385	5,070	18 215	3,100
New York .	25,560	17,161	8 365	234
Minnesota	22,322	11,703	9,789	O'830
Wisconsin	18,776	7,439	. 10,963	374
Texas	16,921	14,567	2,126	228
Alaska <u>2</u> /	16,080 -	4,696	11,378 *	, .6
Michigan	16,012	10,541	5,183	288
North Dakota	13,565	1,810	10,642	1,113
Oregon	13,210	. 6,976	5,705 *	529
Utah	10,551	3,689	5 , 606 🔭	1,256
Illinois	10,304	9,542	687	75 ',

^{1/} States with 10,000 or more Indian population. 2/ Excludes Aleuts and Eskimos.

Source: (9).

Table A-2-Age distribution of rural Indians and total rural population, 1970

_	Ru	ral Indians 😿	Total rural	population .
Age	Number	Percent	Number ,	Percent de
Years:		•	. •	
Under 5	52,782	12.5	4,646,618	8.6
5 - 9	62,301	14.7	5,734,214	10.6
1014	: 60,837	14.4	6,061,173	11.3
15 - 19 `	: 49,268	11.6	5,155,064	9.6
20 - 24	: 29,225	6.9	3,416,879	46.3 °
25 - 29	: 24,089	5.7	3,275,515	6.1
30 - 34	: 23,215	5.5	3,046,544	· 5.7
35 - 39	20,999	• 5.0	2,979,591	5.5
40 - 44	19,006	4.5	3,087,475	5.7
45 - 49	: 16,483	3.9	3,067,242	5.7 .
50 - 54-	: 14,890	3.5	2,885,775	. 5.4
55 - 59	: 13,719	3.2	2,702,992	5.0
60 - 64	: 11,305	. 2.7	2,386,869	4.4
65 - 69	: 10,105	2.4	1,942,211	3.6
70 - 74	: 6,040	1.4	1,459,727	2.7
75 and over	: 8,963	2.1	2,030,968	3.8
Total	423,227	1.00.0	. 53,878,857	100.0
(Median age)	~© ·	(18.6)	(27	.9)

Source: (9).

Table A-3--Size of family: Rural Indians and total rural population, 1970

•	Rura1	Indians	Total rural	population
Size of family	Number	. Percent of total	: Number	Percent of total
Total familities	77,909	100.0	13,715,723	100.0
2 persons	15,529	. 19.9	4,732,291	34.5
3 persons	11,848	, 15∗2	2,721,310	19.8
4 persons	11,714	15.0	2,545,436	18.6
5 persons	10,091	13.0	1,700,595	12.4
6 persons	8,611	11.1	986,496	7.2
persons or more :	•	25.8	1,029,595	7.5
:				

Source: (9).



ERIC

Indians and total U.S. population, 1969 Table A-4-Type of income of families:

			Indians	\	in A	United States		
		Total 💘	Rural nonfarm Rural farm	Rural farm	Total :	Rural nonfarm Rural farm	Rural farm	·
3	, Oct		ſ.	Mumber	ner.			
	All families	149,122	69,203	8,706	8,706 51,168,599	10,919,975	2,795,748	
	With wage or salary income (Mean wage or salary income)	124,815	55,772 (\$5,601)	6,386 (\$4,983)	44,134,572	9,231,706	1,971,098	•
	With-nonfarm self- employment income ("Mean nonfarm self-	8,508	3,251		5,461,673	1,288,156	332,960	
	employment income)	(\$5,051)	(\$4,413)	(\$3,098)	(\$8,182)	(\$6,634)	(\$5,244)	
0034	With farm self- employment income (Mean farm self-	6,210	2,298	3,138	2,371,415	437;354	1,585,126	•
_	employment-income)	(\$2,011)	(\$1,489)	(\$2,382)	(\$3,516)	(\$5,583)	(\$3,924)	
	With Social Security income (Mean Social Security income):	24,915 (\$1,290)	12,489	1,952 (\$1,090)	10,070,743 (\$1,626)	2,285,086. (\$1,539)	659,771	•
•	With public assistance or public welfare income	.28,142	16,272	1,533	2,719,074	603,178	104,383	•
	public welfare income)	(\$1,352)	(\$1,300)	(\$1,109)	(\$1,298)	(\$1,062)	(856\$)	7
	With other income (Mean other income)	35,328 (\$1,498)	15,253	2,310 (\$1,591)	17,967,01¢ (\$2,287).	3,026,930 (\$2,007)	839,184 (\$1,902)	•

Source: (9). PC(2)1F and PC(1)C1.

Table A-5--Years of schooling completed: Indians and total U.S. population, 1970 1

Years of school		Indians •		(2)	United States	2
, completed	. Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural'
	· • • •			Number		
· Fotal	322,652	153,838	168,814	.109,899,359	81,034,450	28,864,909
No school years completed	24,906	4,078	20,828	1,767,753	1,267,897	499,856
Elementary: 1-4 years 5-7 years 8 years	25,002 48,110 42,226	8,001 18,507 18,091	17,001 29,603 24,135	4,271,561 11,032,712 14,015,364	2,754,561 7,450,112 9,247,598	1,517,000 3,582,600 4,767,766
G High school: 1-3 years 4 years	75,084 ·	38,172 41,349,	36,912 29,702	21,285,922 34,158,051	, 15,582,552 25,617,221	5,703,370 8,540,830
College: 1-3 years. 4 years or more	24,078	16,5646-	7,514	11,650,730	9,318,338 9,796,171	2,332,392 1,921,095
Median school years completed	& 6	11:2	8.7	Years 12.1	. 12.2	. 11.1
Percent high school graduates	33.3	43.5	23.9	Percent 52.3	55.2	44.3
1 Postcor 26	ě.					

0035

1/ Persons 25 years old and over. Source: (9) PC(2)1F and PC(1)CL.

Table A-6-Selected vital statistics: Indians and total U.S. population

Vital statistics	Indians and Alaska Natives	United States (all races)
Birth rates per 1,000 population	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	
1972 1955	31.7	1/ 15.6 24.6
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births:		•
1972	20.9	1/ 18.5.
1955	62.5	26.4
Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births:		
1972	37.9	1/ 24.0
1958	82.6	37.6
Age-adjusted death rates by specified / cause (per 100,000 population) 1972:	U	
Accidents	1 185.1	<u>2</u> / 55.3
Diseases of the heart	: 165.4	<u>2</u> / 262.3
Malignant neoplasms	81.3	<u>2</u> / 129.7
Life expectancy at birth (years):		
1970	65.1	70.9
		•

^{1/} Provisional: Monthly Vital Statistics Report, NCHS, Vol. 21, No. 13.

Source: Indian Health Service, Office of Program Statistics.

^{2/ 1969} rates used; latest available.

Table A-7--Employment status of males and females: Indians and total U.S. population, 1970 1/

The Total And Street	••	China			מחדובת מופובפ	•
to the state of th	Total 2/	Urban	Rural	Total 3/	Urban	Rural
	E.			Males		
Total	219,672	103,446	116,226	67,235,510	49,355,476	17,880,034
Labor force (Percent of total)	: 139,339 : (63.4)	74,449 (72.0)	64,890	51,502,114 (76.6)	38,290,203 (77.6)	13,211,911
Civilian labor force	131,775	68,031	63,744	49,549,239	36,592,520	12,956,719
Employed Unemployed.	15,308	6,373	54,809 8,935	47,623,754	35,167,824	12,455,930 500,789
(Fercent of civilian labor force)	(41.6)	(6.4)	(14.0)	(3.9)	(3.9)	(6.5)
Not in labor force	80,333	28,997	51,336	15,733,396	11,065,273	4,668,123
Total	: : 233,266	113,858	119,408	73.851.760	55,510,214	18.341.546
Labor force	82,394	47,718	34,676	30,546,667	23,949,957	6,596,710
(Rercent of total)	: (35.3)	(41.9)	(29, 0)	(41.4)	(43.L)	(36.0)
77	82,122	47,499	34,623	30,501,807	23,910,047	6,591,760
themployed	8,356	42,603	3,660	1,571,962	1,204,020	367,942
(Percent of civilian labor force)	(10.2)	(6.6)	(10.6)	(5.2)	(0.5)	(3.6)
Not in labor force	: 150,672	66,140	84,732	43,305,093	31,560,257	11,744,836

32

(9) PC(2)1F and PC(1)C1.

Source:

Table A-8--Major occupation groups: Indians and total U.S. population, 1970 1

Occupation	*	Indians			. Unitedistates	res	
group	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban		Rural
White collar workers 2/ Blue collar workers 3/ Service workers 4/ Farm workers 5/ Total	57,405 85,252 36,567 11,009	37,569 45,221 20,146 1,525	19,836 40,031 16,421 9,484	Number 36,908,425 27,488,541 9,777,088 2,379,545	30,448,953 19,448,662 7,641,685 334,551		6,459,472 8,039,879 2,135,403 2,044,994
			211622	200400000	£0461041C +		TO, 079, 148

1/ Persons 16 years old and over. 2/ Professional and technical, managers and administrators except farm, sales, and clerical.
3/ Craftsmen and foremen, operatives, and nonfarm laborers. 4/ Private household and service. 5/ Farmers and farm managers, far laborers, and farm foremen.

Source: (9) PC(2)1F and PC(1)C1.

Table A-9-Industry groups: Indians and total U.S. population: 1970 1/

Totaletical		Indians	•	,	United States		
- Yearnan	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	
		• ====	-	Number	-		
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	: 13,612	2,470	11,142	2,840,488	591,863	2,248,625	
Mining	2,832	1,040	1,792	630,788	324,425	306,363	
Construction	: 15,425	7,548	7,877	4,572,235		1.464.719	
manuracturing	: 44,360	25,444	18,916	19,837,208		5.212.452	
Transportation, communications, and public utilities	: 10,859	6,531	4,328	5,186,101	4,109,966	1.076,135	
Wholesale and retail trade	: 26,495	18,047	8,448	15,372,880	12,231,869	3,141,011	
rinance, insurance, and real estate	: 4,160	3,313	847	3,838,387	3,318,709	519,678	
business and repair services	: 5,470	4,100	1,370	2,394,887	1,990,687	404,200	
Fersonal Services	: 12,620	7,911	4,709	3,536,576	2,757,637	778,939	
backerdiment and recreational services	: 1,461	1 972	684	631,193	532,736	98,457	
Froressional and related services	: 36,175	19,148	- 17,027	13,511,204	10,863,208	2,647,996	
rubiic administration	: 16,764	7,937	8,827	4,201,652	3,420,479	781,173	
Total employed	190,233	104,461	85,772	76,553,599	, 57,873,851	18,679,748	

1/ Persons 16 years old and oyer. Source: (9) PC(2)1F and PC(1)Cl.

Table A-10-Selected housing characteristics: Indians and total U.S. rural population, 1970 :

Item · /		Indians		: U.S. : rural
	Total	· Urban	Rural	population
	•	, <u>Nu</u>	mber	
Total households	180,849	91,860	88,989	15,887,066
Owner-occupied	90,094	35,286	54,808	12,107,090
(Percent)	: (49.8)	(38.4)	(61,6)	(76.2)
Lacking complete plumbing:		, ,		\
All households	47,495	6,664	40,831	2,301,464
(Percent)	(26.3)	(7.3)	(45.9)	(14.5)
Owned	28,552	1,974	26,578	1,349,031
(Percent)	(31.7)	(5.6)	(48.5)	(~1.1)
· Rented ·	18,943	4,690	14,253	952,433
(Percent)	(20.9)	(8.3)	(41.7)	(25.2)
Crowded (more than 1 person per room):				
All households	56,306	17,061	39,245	1,610,895
(Percent)	(31.1)	(18.6)	(44.1)	(10,1)
Owned	29,162	5,262	23,960	995,740
(Percent)	(32.4)	(14.9)	* (43.6)	(8.2)
Rented	27,144	11,799	15,345	615,155
(Percent)	(29.9)	(20.9)	(44.9)	(16.3)

Source: (10) HC(7)-9 and HC(1)A-1.



REFERENCES

- (1) Aarons, Leroy F.

 1973 Alaskans Confront their Land Problems, The Washington Post,
 Oct. 21.
- (2) Beale, Calvin L.

 1973 Migration Patterns of Minorities in the United States, reprinted from Amer. Jour. of Agr. Econ., Vol. 55, No. 5, Dec. 1973, and Canadian Jour. of Agr. Econ., Aug. 1973.
- (3) Brown, Dee 1972 Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, An Indian History of the American West, Bantam Book, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, N.Y., May
- (4) Corrigan, Richard
 1971 Resources Report/Settlement of Native Land Claims Could Affect
 Alaska Pipeline Controversy, National Jour., Vol. 3, No. 16,
 pp. 837-843, Apr. 17.
- (5) Delaney, Paul
 1973 Census Statistics Indicate Indians Are the Poorest Minority Group,
 The New York Times, July 17.
- (6) Deloria, Vine Jr.

 1971 Custer Died for Your Sins, An Indian Manifesto, Avon Books,
 New York, N.Y., Feb.
- (7) Schmid, Michael J.

 1973 Federal Programs for Economic Development of Indian Reservations,
 Ninth Dist. Econ. Info. Ser., Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis,
 Feb.
- (8) The President's Message to the Congress, July 8, 1970
 1970 Indian Affairs, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents,
 pp. 894-905, July 13.
- (9) U.S. Bureau of the Census
 1970 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, PC(1)Cl and PC(1)D1, Detailed
 Characteristics; American Indians, PC(2)1F.
- 1970 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary, HC(1)B1; Housing of Selected Racial Groups, HC(7)-9, and HC(1)A-1, U.S. Summary.
- 1960 Census of Population, U.S. Summary, PC(1)1C; Nonwhite Population by Race, PC(2)1C.

- (12) U.S. Congress
 1974 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, Senate
 Report No. 93-762, Calendar No. 733, to accompany S. 1017, 93rd
 Cong., 2nd Sess., Mar. 28.
- 1974 Providing for Financing and Economic Development of Indians and Indian Organizations, and for Other Purposes, House of Repr., Report No. 93-907, to accompany H.R. 6371, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Mar. 13.
- Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations
 For 1974. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on
 Appropriations, House of Repr., 93rd Cong., 1st Sess., Pt. 4,
- 1973 Menominee Restoration Act, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess., on S. 1687, Sept. 17 and 26.
- 1973 American Indian Policy Review Commission, Senate Report No. 93-594, Calendar No. 572, to accompany S.J.Res. 133, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 3.
- 1973 Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, Senate Report No. 93-623, Calendar No. 597, to accompany H.R. 620, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 13.
- 1973 Congressional Record, Vol. 119, No. 203, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 22, 1973, pp. \$23900-23905.
- 1972 Indian Self-Determination Act of 1972, Senate Report No. 92-1001, Calendar No. 948, to accompany S. 3157, 92nd Cong.; 2nd Sess., July 27.
- 1971 Public Law 92-203, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 92nd Cong., H.R. 10367, Dec. 18.
- 1971 American Indian and Alaska Natives Policy, Hearings before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., lst Sess., on S. Con. Res. 26, New National American Indian and Alaska Natives Policy, July 21.



- 1971 Alaska Native Land Claims, Hearings before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, 92nd Cong.,

 1st Sess., on S. 35 and S. 835, Feb. 18 and Mar. 16.
- (23) U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
 1970, 1974 eds. Indian Health Trends and Services, Public Health Serv.
 Publ. No. 2092, and DHEW Publ. No. (HSA)74-12,009.
- 1971 Illness Among Indians, 1965-1969, DHEW Publ. No. (HSM)72-507, Public Health Serv., July.
- 1970 Hospital and Medical Services for American Indians and Alaska Natives, Annual Stat. Rev., Fiscal Year 1969, Public Health Serv., Feb.
- (26) U.S. Department of the Interior
 1972 Statistics Concerning Indian Education, Fiscal Year 1972, Bureau
 of Indian Affairs, Off. of Ed. Programs.
- (27) Wagner, James R. and Corrigan, Richard
 1970 Minorities Report/BIA Brings Indians to Cities, but Has Few
 Urban Services, National Jour., Vol. 2, No. 28, pp. 1493-1502,
 July 11.