

PROGRESS REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR AND THE LEGISLATURE

by the

STATE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

(Senate Bill No. 1007)

on

INDIANS IN RURAL AND RESERVATION AREAS



Commission Members

Senator Stephen P. Teale, *Chairman*
Senator Stanley Arnold, *Retired Chairman*
Senator Paul J. Lunardi
Assemblyman Charles B. Garrigus
Dr. Malcolm H. Merrill
Dr. Max Rafferty
J. M. Wedemeyer

Committee Members

Thomas Weaver (*Exofficio Chairman, 1964*)
Mrs. Eleanor Bethel
Leo Calac
Erin Forrest
Michael Harrison
Bert D. Lane
Mrs. Jesse H. Parker
Mrs. Waldo H. Pate

Thomas Weaver, Ph.D.
Executive Secretary, 1964
Consultant, 1965

Jack A. Tobin
Social Research Analyst, 1964
Executive Secretary, 1965

Past Members
Senator Edwin J. Regan
Assemblyman James L. Holmes

February 1966

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Letter of Transmittal.....	5
I. Introduction	7
II. Summary of Findings and Recommendations.....	9
Economy and Employment.....	9
Living Conditions	10
Education	10
Health and Welfare.....	12
Law and Justice.....	12
Additional Recommendations	13
III. Full Report: The Social and Economic Conditions of Indians in California	18
Introduction	18
A. The Indian Population.....	18
Distribution of the Indian Population.....	19
Patterns of Migration.....	20
The California Roll.....	21
Summary	21
B. Reservation and Rural County Areas.....	22
General Problems	22
Economy and Employment.....	23
Summary	26
Living Conditions	26
Summary	32
Education	33
Summary	39
Health and Welfare.....	40
Summary	45
Law and Justice.....	45
Summary	49
Relocation	49
Appendices	
A. Population Tables	53
B. Reservation Survey Tables and Field Notes.....	61
C. Selected Letters and Reports on Living Conditions.....	85
Bureau of Indian Affairs—Housing Survey.....	89
Environmental Sanitation Survey.....	95
D. Selected Laws Pertaining to Indians.....	103
E. Projects and Surveys in Education.....	113
F. Biographical Sketches of Commission Members.....	123
Acknowledgments	128

State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

SENATE

December 20, 1965

HONORABLE EDMUND G. BROWN, *Governor*
HONORABLE GLENN M. ANDERSON, *Lieutenant Governor*
HONORABLE JESSE M. UNRUH, *Speaker of the Assembly*, and
Members of the Legislature

Gentlemen:

It is with great pleasure that the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, created by Senate Bill 1007, transmits to you its progress report including supporting evidence and recommendations on Indians in reservation and rural county areas.

This report is the result of extensive research and analysis of the problems of California Indians performed under the direction of the commission.

The problems of Indians in California discussed herein indicate that prompt action is needed by the state in implementing the recommendations of the commission.

Respectfully submitted,

STEPHEN P. TEALE, *Chairman*

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs was originated by Senate Bill No. 1007 in July 1961. The act stipulated that the commission should function until September 18, 1964. Late in the 1963 legislative session the life of the commission was extended to September 18, 1966. A further extension until October 1, 1969, was granted by Senate Bill No. 1021 on June 18, 1965.

The commission consists of nine members, three members of the Senate appointed by the Senate Committee on Rules, and three members of the Assembly appointed by the Speaker: the Director of Social Welfare, the Director of Public Health, and the Director of Education. The chairman is designated by the Governor. The commission has the power to appoint a secretary and "an advisory committee of not more than seven members, three of whom shall be appointed from among the recognized leaders of the California Indian reservations in the northern, central and southern sections of the state, and four of whom shall be appointed from the public at large."

The purpose of the commission is to "study the problems of the American Indians residing in California including, but not limited to, the problems presented by the termination of federal control over Indian affairs, the operation, effect, administration, enforcement, and needed revision of any and all state laws pertaining to the Indians and the three * relocation centers in California and shall report its findings, together with any suggested legislation, to the Governor and to the Legislature. . . ."

Thomas Weaver, an anthropologist, was appointed executive secretary in January 1964. His research plan, approved by the commission, called for periodic meetings with the advisory committee, consultation with Indian leaders and other interested persons, and the use of questionnaires and personal interviews to survey the social and economic problems and the services provided by various agencies for the Indian in California.

Several techniques were utilized to accomplish this end.

(1) A *questionnaire* was circulated to make a general survey of the needs and extent of services provided to Indians in California and the attitudes held toward Indians by agencies and individuals who deal with Indians.

(2) A *sanitation survey letter* was sent to selected county sanitarians.

(3) An *education survey letter* was sent to 110 selected educational officials.

(4) A *survey of Bureau of Indian Affairs educational placement services* in surrounding states.

* There are now four relocation centers in California, also now renamed "Employment Assistance Offices." See Appendix D for the full text of Senate Bill 1007.

(5) An *education and housing survey* was made of 146 households of the following reservations and rancherias: Auberry, Baron Long, Big Valley, Hopland, Pala, Rincon, Santa Ysabel, Stewart's Point, Tule, and Upper Lake (Robinson). In addition, narrative reports were written on Alexander Valley, Alpine County, Auburn, the bay area, Barona, Fort Yuma, Geyserville, Graton, Los Angeles, Lytton, Middletown, Modoc County, Morongo, San Pasqual, and Susanville.

(6) *Interviewing and correspondence* was conducted at all levels with federal, state, county and local officials; church leaders, interested citizens; social scientists; Bureau of Indian Affairs officials; and Indian leaders from throughout the state.

(7) *Meetings* held to discuss the information gathered by the commission staff are as follows:

Commission Meetings

February 4, 1964—Research objectives and procedures

March 16, 1964—Appointment of advisory committee

April 6, 1964—Appointment of advisory committee

April 25, 1964—Joint meeting with advisory committee

April 15, 1965—Joint meeting with advisory committee; discussion of progress reports

August 21, 1965—Joint meetings with advisory committee; discussion of progress reports

Committee Meetings

April 25, 1964—Advisory committee planning session

June 20, 1964—Discussion of housing, sanitation, education and voting

August 22, 1964—Discussion of problems of Indians living in cities

October 17, 1964—Discussion of economic development on Indian reservations

December 5, 1964—Discussions with Bureau of Indian Affairs officials

(8) *Conferences.* An American Indian Conference was held at Fresno on November 7, 1964, to explain the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The conference was conducted by the following Indian leaders: Leo Calac, Escondido; Allen Cottier, San Francisco; Erin Forrest, Alturas; Harvey Ince, Fresno; Adam Nordwall, San Leandro; and Joseph C. Vasquez, Los Angeles. Fred Gunsky of the California League for American Indians, Wes Huss of American Friends Service Committee, and Thomas Weaver of the commission staff, assisted in planning for this meeting.

The executive secretary was a participant in the Great Basin Anthropological Conference held in Reno, Nevada, on September 4 and 5, 1964. Discussions were held on problems common to the surrounding states.

Erin Forrest and Thomas Weaver, as the Governor's representatives, attended the Governors' Interstate Indian Council conference in Denver, September 24-27, 1964. This same conference was held in

Santa Fe, New Mexico, on August 9-12, 1965. Official representatives for the Governor were Erin Forrest and Leo Calac. Thomas Weaver attended as an observer for the commission.

On January 1, 1965, Thomas Weaver left employment with the commission for the University of Kentucky and continued as consultant to the commission with responsibility for writing a report based on data gathered in 1964. Preliminary reports were presented to the commission on April 15, 1965, and August 21, 1965. Subsequent reports are planned on Indians in the urban areas and a report of resource and background papers by experts in geography, education and anthropology. Jack A. Tobin, an anthropologist from the University of California, Berkeley, who was employed by the commission for seven months in 1964

as a social research analyst, assumed the duties of executive secretary in April 1965.

A brief statement has been presented in *Part I: Introduction*, on the origination of the California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs and of its activities from January 1, 1964, through 1965.

Part II: Summary of Findings and Recommendations presents the basic findings and recommendations of the commission.

Part III: Full Report and Recommendations spell out in greater detail the findings and recommendations outlined in the previous section.

The *Appendix* includes demographic tables, special sections on state laws, summaries of reports utilized in the work of the commission, and other information too detailed to include in the body of the main report.

PART II

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Reservation and Rural County Areas

Indians are found in California in the same proportion as in the United States as a whole. Both in California and in the U.S. Indians make up less than one-half of 1 percent of the total population. Their importance is not so much in numbers as in a historical, cultural, and in a greater moral sense. The social and economic condition of the Indian has continued at a low state for many years, and his access to the means for self-improvement has not been developed. As time has passed and the land has become more utilized and adjusted to the movement and progress of a complex civilization, the Indian has retreated to remote and usually poorer areas.

Historically, Indians of California have received much less consideration than Indians of other states. With few exceptions, no appreciable land base was ever authorized for Indian bands or tribes of the state. The rancheria system is unique to California and these generally isolated, small acreages provide little else than homesites which are often without water. The great majority of Indians received no land base at all.

The country as a whole, through the activities of Congress, has been devising programs to assist the Indian in recent years. The California Indian has been excluded from most, if not all, of these programs, and although the Indian in California has full citizenship rights, the state has failed almost entirely to recognize his needs. California, as a state, should not be less concerned with the problems of its Indian population than is the United States. California should not depend for programs, planning, or thinking on the federal government or its agencies, but should step out vigorously and imaginatively in the search for a solution to the social and economic problems of its Indian people.

The Indian in California has a series of social and economic problems which do not exist independently, but which are best described as clustered. He is not fully employed because he does not possess the requisite skills. He lacks these requisite skills because he has not been well educated or sufficiently trained. He lives in substandard homes under insanitary conditions because he is not sufficiently employed to allow improvement of his living condition. His poor health status is directly linked to poor living conditions and inadequate nutrition. Furthermore, the land tenure structure often prohibits full ownership of the land on an individual basis and thus he lacks the desire to improve the land or housing because of the uncertainty that any such action would benefit his heirs.

Indeed, the history of his legal position together with this clustering of social and economic characteristics has relegated him to second-class citizenship.

The social and economic characteristics which define the position of the Indian today are summarized in this section of the report. Recommendations follow each section.

Economy and Employment

Two of the major underlying factors which account for problems of underdevelopment of reservation economies are the poor quality and remoteness of Indian lands and the almost complete lack of higher job skills among Indians.

The information on employment gathered by the commission is not unlike the data considered by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in 1963. Both studies report a heavy dependence on seasonal occupations in agriculture and lumbering, primarily in the unskilled categories. Eighty-five percent of the persons providing employment information, of whom there were 439 persons in the commission's 10-reservation survey, were either housewives (156) without employment outside the home, or unskilled, semiskilled or domestic workers (218). The rate of unemployment in the commission's survey of 10 reservations is 25.5 percent; the rate of unemployment reported by the house committee questionnaire for five California reservations is 35 percent. The rate of welfare utilization is 8 percent according to the commission's survey; the rate of welfare utilization ranges from 10 percent to 30 percent on the reservations included in the house committee study. The annual median income for the reservation population reported by the commission staff is \$2,268 per family; the house committee survey reports a range of *average* family incomes of \$2,218 to \$4,080 per year.* The commission survey finds that over 70 percent of the families residing on 10 California reservations earn less than \$3,000 annually, with one-half of these earning less than \$1,500 per year.

Obstacles to full employment in reservation areas include: lack of winter employment; seasonal or single industry profile of the area—usually agriculture or lumber; lack of employment opportunities for women, school dropouts, and for youths during the summer months; lack of training in other than local unskilled work; lack of vocational training programs to meet skilled job needs of the local area; and lack of technical and financial assistance needed to develop local

* The commission *median* figures are not comparable with the house committee *average* earnings because of their misuse of "median" for "average." An average score is usually higher than a median score, and the latter is most often utilized in comparing earnings.

water resources for economic exploitation in the few instances where it is possible.

Difficulties encountered in seeking employment away from the reservation are: distance from employment agencies; lack of public transportation, poor quality of local roads, and expensiveness of operating private automobiles; and the fact that work away from the reservation consumes all earnings because of low wages and high cost of living.

Recommendations

The key to the solution of the problems of Indians, whether in the areas of education, welfare and health, or living conditions lies in the development of the employment potential of Indians and in the economic development of their land resources. The following recommendations are suggested as a means to assist the Indian in the development of these potentials:

(1) Recommendation for a meeting of economic development experts for purpose of fully exploring the economic development of Indian reservations. Participants should include but not be limited to representatives from the State Economic Development Agency, the branch of economic development of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State Department of Employment, and State Department of Education.

(2) A study should be conducted of the economic potential of Indian arts and crafts in California. Where are the Indian artists and craftsmen located today? How may these arts be passed on to the younger generation? A study should also be made of the marketing potential of native arts and crafts by the State Economic Development Agency in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A possible source of funds for conducting a feasibility study is the Area Redevelopment Act. Training programs may be set up through the Manpower Development and Training Act.

(3) A reexamination should be made of the regulations and practices of state and federal lending agencies, such as Cal-Vet and the Small Business Administration, to ascertain the eligibility and fair treatment of Indians in acquiring loans. Restrictions because of race or land status of reservation land should be removed so that Indians may borrow money in the same manner as non-Indian citizens.

Living Conditions

The conditions under which Indians live in California are the lowest of any minority group. Housing is grossly inadequate: living quarters are small, crowded and poorly furnished; existing houses are structurally unsound; foundations are lacking in many cases; the building materials used, together with faulty electrical wiring and the unsafe use of gas, kerosene, and wood stoves, constitute a constant menace to life; houses generally do not provide the minimum necessary protection from extreme climatic conditions. Reports from federal, state and local agencies agree with the commission's findings: from 30 to 50 percent of the homes need complete replacement and 40 to 60 percent need improvements; taken together, this means that 90 percent of all homes need replace-

ment or repairing to provide adequate living quarters for California Indians. Sewage disposal facilities are unsatisfactory in 60 to 70 percent of cases. Water from contaminated sources is used in 38 to 42 percent of the homes. Water must be hauled, under unsanitary conditions, by 40 to 50 percent of all Indian families.

As indicated in the foregoing, *all* agencies—federal, state and local—agree that housing and sanitation on Indian rancherias and reservations for the most part are inadequate. The commission feels that improving one without the other would be, in many instances, a waste of effort and money. It is suggested, therefore, that when a program is developed for alleviating living conditions in these areas, that the program for such improvement—housing, sanitation and domestic water supply—be carried forward simultaneously.

Recommendations

(4) *Housing.* Long discussions have been held with officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Public Housing Administration in California. Opinions voiced indicate the California Indians are not eligible for federal housing programs because Indian Councils are not empowered to act for the group* (according to PHA officials) and because the Indians do not have a sufficient amount of time available because of high rates of employment to allow them to furnish the labor required under mutual-help housing requirements or because the Indian groups are too small (according to Bureau of Indian Affairs officials). The last two contentions are in error and the first can be remedied by revision of tribal constitutions by the BIA. This commission recommends that the Sacramento area office of the BIA in cooperation with the Public Housing Administration take the necessary steps to make federal housing programs available to California Indian groups.

(5) *Sanitation.* In 1964 the Phoenix area office of the U.S. Public Health Service published an extensive report on the sanitary conditions on California reservations. They concluded that \$1,700,000 would be required to renovate or replace sanitation facilities for Indians in California. At the present rate of work (\$150,000 per year) it will take over 10 years to complete this work. This commission recommends that Congress be memorialized to appropriate sufficient funds to complete this important task immediately.

The present system of establishing priorities for the improvement of sanitation facilities and domestic water systems is untenable. Those areas most remote, undeveloped and most needy often do not achieve high priority rating. High priorities have been granted, in some cases, to those having some matching funds and has been offered as an inducement for termination to others. Need and urgency should be the only criteria.

Education

California Indians have achieved less in formal education than other Californians. The U.S. census

* It would appear that only those councils set up under IRA and those groups whose constitutions have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior whereby the power to act for the group is vested in the council should qualify.

figures show a greater disparity between these two groups than do the commission's figures: 8.9 median school-years completed in the rural farm areas by Indians compared to 10.0 years for non-Indians in the same area. The commission's survey found the median year completed for the Indian group to be 10.3 years. These differences in educational achievement between Indians and non-Indians increase with age; the greatest difference exists between Indians 75 years or older and a comparable group of non-Indians of the same age. This fact has important implications for Indian leadership; in those areas where leadership is in the hands of the elderly, it is in the hands of those who are less well educated by modern standards.

Specifically, the findings of the commission derived from surveys and personal interviews indicate that Indians are enrolled in elementary schools at the same ratio as non-Indians. Upon reaching the age at which attendance is no longer a legal requirement, dropouts from school increase at a phenomenal rate. High schools with high percentages of enrolled Indian students reported a dropout rate which is three times higher for Indians (21 percent) than for non-Indians (7 percent), with some schools reporting rates which range from 30 percent to 75 percent. Needless to say, few Indian students finish high school, few attend college, and many who have graduated from high school receive an inferior education because of lack of teacher concern or the failure of the school system to devise compensatory teaching techniques to cope with students of differing cultural backgrounds.

Obstacles to the full education of Indian children are found in the home, the schools, and in educational administration.

Those obstacles found in the Indian home include: inadequate study facilities; an oppressive social environment due to crowded living conditions, inadequate incomes to provide proper clothing and to allow participation in recreational and subsidiary educational activities such as music programs and social events; lack of motivation and encouragement from parents and peer groups; lack of preparation because of a lack of educational heritage in the home and nonattendance in kindergarten.

Obstacles to the full education of Indian children are also found in the schools. There are also indications that the education of the Indian is not of the same quality as that of the non-Indian in the California public schools. Teachers are not encouraged or prepared to deal with the special problems of children who come from a social and cultural environment such as described in this report. Teachers often accept work from Indian students which is below the standards of others in the same class. This results in the inadequate preparation of those Indian students who manage to advance, and eventually results in discouragement and dropping out when the student finds himself well behind his class in later years; should he graduate, he finds himself still unable to compete in the job market with other high school graduates who have been better prepared.

In the area of educational administration mention has already been made of the lack of courses or work-

shops to prepare teachers for the special problems they will encounter with minority groups. Another feature is suggested by the many school districts indicating a lack of replacement of Johnson-O'Malley funds for educating children. Thirty-seven percent of the school districts (31 respondents) replying to our questionnaire stated that Johnson-O'Malley funds had not been replaced by other moneys for assistance in educating Indian children. Johnson-O'Malley funds are federal funds for Indian students that are unique by their permitted use. Among these uses are the purchase of school lunches (\$148,158.66 spent for lunches in Arizona 1961-62 school year with increases in subsequent years), clothing and housing of Indian students, salaries of counselors especially for Indian students and bus transportation to Indian reservations. Generally, entitlement is computed by subtracting from the cost of educating a pupil all state, county and federal aid (including P.L. 874 funds); or in effect is that portion raised by local taxes for the non-Indian child. Other states with substantial Indian student population enjoy the use of these federal educational funds. It is felt that the utilization of these funds for these special benefits would assist in the prevention of dropouts by the culturally and economically deprived Indian students. Schools with large percentages of Indian students are in need of funds to assist them in setting up compensatory educational programs, such as preschool or head-start schools and vocational training, to mention only two of these areas of need.

Recommendations

(6) That the State Department of Education make available a report of the exact past use of Johnson-O'Malley funds, and we recommend that these funds be requested again to assist Indians in California . . . particularly those Indians living in rural areas and on reservations.

(7) That special continuing workshops comparable to those conducted in Arizona State University be established, by cooperation between the Department of Education and some California state college or university. The purpose of such workshops would be to provide teachers, counselors and social workers with a background on the methods of coping better with the problems of educating and counseling Indian children.

(8) *The Maple Creek Willie Scholarship Fund.* That assistance be given to help publicize the work of the fund to increase the size of the fund through contributions.

(9) That the Sacramento office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs be advised that more California Indians should be included in their vocational training program. The present requirement of residence on trust land for eligibility to participate in the adult vocational training program should be eliminated to permit other California Indians to participate. California represents a special situation in that all native Indians did not get on reservations or rancherias in the first place. California is a nontreaty state and therefore constitutes a special case. There are Cali-

ifornia Indians who should be "reservation Indians" and who, today, live in towns near reservations. The historical accident of not having set up reservation areas to include all Indians at one time should not be a basis for discrimination against Indians today.

(10) That Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools be reopened to Indian students in special cases in which the home environment constitutes a detriment to their education and social and mental well-being and in cases in which difficulty has been encountered in locating suitable foster homes. These conditions affect his overall performance in the public school system.

(11) That congressional action be solicited to establish a California Indian trust fund from the remaining balance of the 1944 California Indian Judgment, and that specific provisions be enacted to provide that the annual interest or earnings from such trust fund be used to augment the Maple Creek Willie Scholarship Fund.

(12) That the State Department of Education employ an Indian education specialist, as is the practice in most surrounding states, to deal with the special problems of techniques and of Indian education.

(13) That the Department of Education explore and implement all possible programs available through state or federal agencies for the education of preschool Indian children. These include any programs such as Project Head-start and those compensatory education programs available under the McAteer Act.

Health and Welfare

The health problems of California Indians are a result of a history of inadequate medical care and aggravation by conditions of poor housing and sanitation, lack of employment, poor nutrition, and the apathy which accompanies these social conditions. Leading causes of deaths among Indians are tuberculosis, accidents, cirrhosis of the liver, influenza and pneumonia, and congenital malformation. The death rates from these causes are many times higher for Indians than for non-Indians, and higher for Indian men than for Indian women. Tuberculosis accounts for six times as many deaths among Indian men than among other Californians. Deaths from accidents and cirrhosis of the liver account for four times the number of deaths among Indian men as among all other races. The death rate for influenza and pneumonia is 2.2 times, and from congenital malformations 1.7 times the rate of death from similar causes among the population as a whole. Alcoholism, tuberculosis, and diabetes are the most commonly mentioned diseases of the Indian population by county departments of health and welfare who responded to the commission's questionnaire. Seventy-five percent (18 of 24) of these departments report high rates of utilization of services by Indians, with a range of 10 percent greater to 25 times the utilization of facilities by non-Indians. Other problems mentioned include the inaccessibility of medical facilities, lack of transportation, and lack of information on health and hygiene.

Recommendations

(14) The data available to the commission in its study of the health problems of Indians are inadequate. It is recommended that a study of the health status of California Indians be conducted by specialists in the U.S. Public Health Service Division of Indian Health, with assistance from the California State Department of Health. The study should include three phases:

First, an analysis of statistics on population, births, and deaths; second, a field study of selected reservation and rural county areas, and urban areas to measure the extent of illness and the receipt of medical care. This second phase should involve an anthropologist or another behavioral scientist; and third, a report should be presented which reviews the social and economic resources available for Indian health purposes and recommends a program outlining the means for helping the Indian in California achieve a health status equal to that of other Californians. Because of the high incidence of illness and death from tuberculosis and gastrointestinal disorders, special attention should be given to these problems in the study to include care and treatment, and health education. Another important factor is the existence of differences of susceptibility and reaction to certain illnesses by Indians. Some doctors who have dealt with Indians are impressed with these differences. More investigation is needed in this area to substantiate these findings and to make recommendations for better medical care for Indians.

(15) Alcoholism is a problem which is not restricted to Indians, and many of the factors which result in alcoholism among Indians are the same factors which account for this disease among non-Indians. Yet, there is the fact of its prevalence among the Indian population and a concern for the problem has been expressed by county health and welfare officials. The commission recommends that all state agencies which engage in the study of alcoholism should be sure to encompass in such studies the particular problem of Indians in relation to the use of alcohol.

(16) That the State Department of Social Welfare and the State Department of Public Health initiate positive programs designed to assure that the various health and welfare programs under their jurisdictions effectively meets the needs of Indians with such action to include but not be limited to exploring the possibilities of special positions within these departments dedicated to this purpose.

Law and Justice

The findings of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs on the problems of Indians in the area of law and justice substantiate allegations made by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in their 1961 report. Although the commission was not able to engage in a detailed study, and basing its findings on comments and complaints of Indians and county agency representatives, its conclusions must be the same as those of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

... the repetitive nature of the charges emanating from different sources suggests that discrimination in the administration of justice is a serious concern.

These complaints include disproportionate arrests of Indians; a need for legal advice and representation; local discrimination and racial persecution of Indians, especially in the areas of employment and application for loans—both state and federal; and the need for police protection and law enforcement on and near reservations especially with regard to squatters and violators of fish and game laws.

Of grave concern are recent assaults on the rights of Indians in the field of civil jurisdiction, particularly as they apply to trespass, guardianships, conservatorships and the zoning of Indian lands which are held in trust by the United States. There appears to be a serious question as to where federal jurisdiction ends and where state jurisdiction begins.

Recommendations

(17) The Honorable James A. Haley, Chairman of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, should be advised immediately of the need to clarify jurisdiction disputes of Public Law 280.

(18) The commission further recommends that a special assistant attorney general be appointed to handle the legal problems unique to Indian groups.

Additional Recommendations

(19) *Termination.* Time limitations prevented a thorough study of the problems of termination. Indications are that this is a problem which bears close surveillance. The Commission on Indian Affairs should conduct an extensive investigation in this area.

The commission recommends that all termination be suspended until the sanitation facilities and domestic water supply meet the standards of the county and state of which the area concerned is a part.

The California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs believes that no plan or proposal to terminate federal supervision over any Indian rancheria or reservation should be considered which does not have the understanding and acceptance of tribal authorities, their constituents, state executive, legislative and judicial branches, federal agencies and other political subdivisions concerned. Such understanding should include all applicable economic, social and political factors which affect the governmental levels involved. Special consideration should be given to such items as the effect of taxation and phasing-out procedures.

(20) *Church groups and social clubs.* Many requests from church groups and social clubs were received in 1964 requesting information and guidance on how to help Indians. With all due respect to the solitary devoted efforts of these organizations for many years, with little public support and extremely limited budgets, the services they provide are small in comparison to the needs of the people they serve. Improvement could follow several lines:

A. Consolidation of the many small scholarship funds into a single fund, such as the Maple Creek Willie Scholarship Fund.

B. Professionalization of services by hiring college trained social workers.

C. Professionalization of special study efforts by calling upon some of the many trained anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, and other behavioral scientists available in the many local California colleges.

(21) *Promotion of better understanding of Indian groups and culture.* There seems to be a wide lack of knowledge of the cultural background of Indians, and many respondents to commission questionnaires answered with prejudicial statements towards Indians. The following are examples:

"Few Indians are industrious."

"Indians are richer than you and I."

"Fishing is something they can and will do."

"Indians are unreliable."

"Lack of motivation."

"No drive."

"Most of any problem the Indian has he brings on himself."

"They don't seem to take advantage of or appreciate anything provided for them."

A widely held premise found in responses to commission inquiries is that Indians do not have a different culture from non-Indians, or that there is little left of the aboriginal culture. The misconception behind this notion is that since Indians no longer have an aboriginal culture they, therefore, must be held accountable for patterning their behavior after the dominant American value system. Of course Indians no longer go on the warpath. Few (about one-third) speak their aboriginal language. Gone are the picturesque native customs, costumes, habitations and way of life. Almost gone are native arts and crafts and native foods (although more prevalent than commonly believed). Missing are the traditional patterns of leadership.

Cultural differences demonstrated by Indians in California today (and reference is more to California Indians than to migrant Indians from other states) are a mixture of the old and the new, of the modern and the traditional, utilizing some of the best of the aboriginal and the most easily accessible and usable of the modern. At the same time, Indian "culture" falls "in between" both cultures without any real or long lasting attachment to or use as a normative guide of either traditional or modern. The Indian today finds himself in a dilemma. He would like to look to the aboriginal past for guidance, for patterns of behavior to use as guides for the present, but he finds it either gone or not suited to satisfying present-day desires and needs. He would also like to look to the present—to the modern American culture, but he finds the passage blocked by his own lack of skills and education, by a lack of opportunity, of natural resources to develop, by a lack of freedom to decide for himself.

Often, too, if the passageway is not blocked, the door at the end is closed and barred.

If the Indian has a different outlook on life and nature, of his responsibilities for his relatives and family, of his immediate educational and other goals, of his utilization and view of medicine, of how he spends his money, or how he tries to compete or not compete in the world, then we must conclude that he does have a culture which is different not only from the traditional but from the modern. As long as administrators, politicians, teachers, welfare directors, physicians, and others who work with Indians in California do not recognize this nuance in the definition of "culture," the Indian will continue to be treated as a person without "initiative," without "motivation," as a failure in modern American culture. The Indian is different. He has a different culture, with its own rules, norms of behavior, standards, and expectations. He cannot be castigated because he has failed to assimilate the changing values of American (U.S.) society, no more than can a non-Indian be looked down upon because he too has failed, as has an Indian.

The commission should promote the understanding of Indian culture in California by: (A) identifying Indian lands by appropriate markers on highways which pass through reservation lands; (B) by asking the Fair Employment Practices Commission to issue a pamphlet similar to the one on Mexican-Americans entitled "*Si se Puede*" as a means of encouraging achievement on the part of young Indians; (C) by issuing a pamphlet advising Indians of the services currently available to them through all federal and state agencies similar to the information pamphlet issued by the Governor's Interdepartmental Committee on Problems of the Aging entitled "California Cares About Its Elder Citizens" and which lists services and assistance available in jobs, housing, health, financial aid, education, recreation, and community services.

(22) That the Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs be continued for a period of at least five years with the following changes:

A. Augment the advisory commission membership by including the State Director of Employment and State Director of Industrial Relations because of the programs and special competence of these departments in economic and employment matters.

B. Augment the membership of the advisory committee by adding two Indian leaders or spokesmen to represent large numbers of Indians in the urban areas.

(23) That the commission write a monthly newsletter for the purpose of disseminating information on any federal or state programs or other information which will assist Indians in the solution of their problems. This newsletter should be distributed without cost to Indian leaders, agencies and civic or church organizations concerned with Indian affairs.

(24) That the commission make an annual report to the Governor and the Legislature concerning the conditions of Indians residing in California, and to in-

clude any action taken during the past year to correct preexisting problems and to include recommendations for the correction of any existing conditions.

(25) That the commission recommends that the Governor take whatever action is necessary to involve Indians of California in the Economic Opportunity Program.

(26) *A proposal for the formation of an interdepartmental advisory committee to assist Indian community development.* Two major premises, two general points, can be isolated which, if controlled by California Indians, will help them improve their state in life: the development of their economic base and of their leadership potential. The Indian must have at his disposal either some type of natural resource, for example, timber lands, farm lands, or lands which can be developed as tourist attractions, or some special skills such as the production of native arts and crafts. These elements are necessary if the Indian is to acquire economic equality in modern society. Every effort should be made to place at his disposal the advice necessary to develop the resources he already has. If the Bureau of Indian Affairs cannot or, as it appears, will not because of the policy of bureau termination in California, then the responsibility of initiative falls to the state to make available any advisory or technical services and the organizational means by which these services may be utilized by the Indian. These include services from agricultural extension agencies, the State Economic Development Agency, welfare advisory groups, educational and employment counseling services—all of the facilities which a state such as California makes available to other citizens; all of these should be made available to the Indian on a special basis to compensate for their long time absence.

The second factor is leadership. For the purpose of this statement we can identify two types of leadership: (1) technical leadership or ability and (2) modern political leadership. Use of the first type of leadership in the process of developing the economic sector of his life will help the Indian develop political leadership. In other words, the Indian today is capable of providing the basic technical leadership (with minimum training) necessary for leading himself out of an economic chaos. Given the technical advice, the Indian can provide his own technical leadership which will allow the full education of his children in the American educational system. In this manner, he will be providing his children with the opportunity necessary for developing the abilities of modern political leadership which he needs to make him an equal member of society tomorrow. It is recommended that an interagency committee be formed to help develop the economic and leadership potential of Indians in California.

A recent study by Dr. Edward H. Spicer, an anthropologist of the University of Arizona, provides a framework for the analysis of successful programs of developmental change. He distinguishes five phases in programs of planned change. The first is *awareness* of mal-integration or of felt needs on the part of social planners or other concerned parties. The second

phase is one of *planning*. In this phase a program is planned to eradicate the problems, or mal-integration or to provide special services. The third phase is called *structuralization*, and consists of establishing a linkage between the planners and those persons who are the object of the program of planned change. The fourth phase is one of *modification* during which the program is modified according to the needs of the people involved in the program. The final stage involves *integration* of the planned aspects into the ongoing culture.

This scheme of analyzing programs of planned change provided by Dr. Spicer becomes meaningful for analyzing the problems of administrators of various public agencies. This is most evident when one considers the various programs which have been initiated within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example as when a new task force is created to study the problems of Indians or a new administration comes in with new ideas to face the old problems of the Indian. A good example of this was the Merriam survey of 1928 and the influence the published report has had on subsequent programs in the bureau. Each new administration seems to come in with a new series of ideas. The relevant question to ask is why they are not successful. Dr. Spicer's scheme provides a suggestion to this problem. His third phase is called *structuralization* and involves the people in the program of change. This phase has often been missing from bureau programs of change. The importance of this element is attested to by its incorporation into recent poverty program legislation as the necessity for "involving the poor" as active participants in the program. The greatest single reason for the lack of success and the unpopularity of bureau programs has been that they have failed to involve Indians in the planning and implementation of programs which affect them. In effect this has meant a half-cycling in bureau programs from *awareness* to *planning*, and after attempts at implementation fail and new administrations are brought in, back to awareness and planning, and so on, administration after administration, with an awareness of problems, a planning of programs, and rarely a full cycle which involved good development for the Indians.

After many years of this half-cycling of programs a resentment is built up among Indians so that they become skeptical of any new program and refuse to cooperate with any public official.

Purpose

The purpose of an Economic Development Advisory Committee is to bring to focus the special abilities of state, federal, and local civic and governmental agencies on the special problems of Indians. It is hoped that representatives of those agencies, which have some service of value to the economic development of a community, can be brought together to provide suggestions and recommendations to the Indian community and that together a solution can be worked out for the alleviation of the generally poor economic condition of Indians. This advisory committee should

include representatives of all administrative, civic, or other interested groups, and to have them work within the realm of interests and desires of the Indian community. By bringing together members of different levels of government with persons having local responsibility, assurance can be provided that the Indian will not again find himself in the "no man's land" which, on the one hand, has given the Indian a sense of insecurity because he does not know who is responsible for providing the services which are available to everyone else in the state and, on the other hand, has allowed governmental agencies in certain instances, because of "red tape" or other reasons, to be remiss in their responsibilities for providing normal services to Indians.

Composition and Duties

(1) *Coordinator of Indian affairs*, an employee of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, or an anthropologist, who coordinates all plans, is a resident of an Indian community or immediate area, links the committee to Indian groups, conducts a preliminary social survey of the Indian community, and knows leaders and Indians and they know him.

(2) *Economic development advisor*, a member of the State Economic Development Agency or of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, economic development branch. He conducts an economic survey, makes suggestions to Indian leaders, and continues as economic advisor through the duration of the project.

(3) *A State Department of Employment representative(s)* develops the necessary training and counseling programs for operation of whatever economy is to be established, and coordinates with State Department of Education for setting up training programs.

(4) *State or federal housing officials* survey housing conditions and make recommendations.

(5) *State and local health and welfare department* representatives survey local health (including sanitation) and welfare conditions and make recommendations.

(6) *Local chamber of commerce, civic, and government group representatives* assure local cooperation and interest.

(7) *A Bureau of Indian Affairs representative* provides any pertinent information or assistance available through Bureau of Indian Affairs sources.

(8) *A representative of Governor's Economic Opportunity Office* assists in making application under the Economic Opportunity Act (if applicable).

Phases of a Pilot Indian Community Development Project

I. *Preliminary Planning Phase* (approximately one month)

A. State Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs makes selections of Indian communities with above average economic potential from larger rancheries and reservations.

B. State Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs surveys this group and makes further selection based on expressed interests and willingness to become involved in a joint venture from those Indian groups selected in (A) above.

C. Preliminary meetings between Interagency Indian Development Advisory Committee and the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs directed by the coordinator of Indian affairs.

D. Preliminary meetings between selected Indian group or groups with selected members of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs directed by the coordinator of Indian affairs.

E. Meeting of Interagency Indian Development Advisory Committee and Indians of the selected Indian community.

II. Survey Phase (approximately three months)

All surveys conducted by participating agencies with Indian assistance.

A. Coordinator of Indian affairs makes an intensive survey of social conditions and leadership structure of selected Indian community.

B. Economic Development Agency representative surveys the Indian community's economic potential.

C. Department of Employment surveys employment potential.

D. Housing, sanitation, and welfare (living conditions) survey conducted by county health and welfare departments.

III. Coordination and Modification Phase (approximately three months)

A. Surveys are now brought together and discussed with Indians with alternate suggestions presented to Indians.

B. Indians modify, make alternate suggestions, and approve plans.

IV. Economic Development and Training Phase (approximately one year)

A. Plans for economic development are chosen and implemented with Indians providing local leadership.

B. Short training programs are instituted by Department of Employment and Education under Area Redevelopment Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, or Office of Economic Opportunity Act.

V. Improvement of Living Conditions Phase (approximately one year)

A. Plans for improvement of housing and sanitation conditions are made and implemented.

B. Plans for local clinics, betterment of education, etc., are implemented.

Suggested Principles to Guide Work of the Committee

A. Emphasize Indian involvement, consent, and leadership.

B. Advisory committee *advises only*, always makes alternate suggestions, and defers to Indian leadership and desires.

C. Work only within existing group political and social structure found in the community. Do not impose any direct social changes!

D. Emphasize economic development first, training second, then housing and health last.

E. Provide for flexibility, be able to make adjustments as project progresses.

F. Transition of some families from the lowest levels of poverty is expected to be gradual; therefore, they must be allowed to set their own goals and rates of progress during the various intermediate stages.

Types of Development, Where Applicable, Desired by Indian Groups

A. Improvement of existing roads and the development of new roads to open areas for tourism.

B. Soil conservation to protect reservation lands (fire breaks, reforestation).

C. Development of water resources for fishing and other recreational purposes.

D. The development of special areas such as hot sulphur springs.

E. The construction of dams for irrigation and recreational purposes.

F. Encouragement of native arts and crafts.

G. Establishment of local museums.

H. Establishment of local industries.

Problems Which Can Be Anticipated in Establishing of Interagency Indian Development Advisory Committee

(1) *What about cooperation within the Indian community and the problem of factionalism?*

If one works within the political structure of the Indian community one can expect a reasonable amount of cooperation after the advantages of such cooperation are demonstrated. One of the factors in selecting the initial pilot community will be a minimum of factionalism present and an expressed desire on the part of the entire community for the program.

(2) *Should economic development come before health, housing, education?*

Some studies in other parts of the world have shown that when these other programs precede economic development, that the population increases at such a rate that soon, the population gains outstrip any gains in the original areas of improvement. These problems are not anticipated in California, but it is my opinion that economic growth should precede planned programs in other areas.

(3) *How will the program be financed?*

Financial support for surveys and staff needed including travel and subsistence should be assumed by the parent organization of each representative.

(4) *What will be the post-pilot-project procedure for other Indian communities?*

Once a clear example of a successful pilot program has been demonstrated, a paper outlining

the procedures taken by local and state representatives can be written as a manual of instruction. State and other representatives may be allowed to withdraw from active participation in the program, and remain in the capacity of advisors to local Indian and non-Indian communities.

(27) The state should investigate the possibilities of federal grants to implement the foregoing recommendations.

3
-
l
)
'
-
-
;
1
s

r
-
1
3
s
1

n
f
r
s
e
y
d
e

e
e
r
n
f
d
ic
r

PART III

FULL REPORT: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA

Introduction

This report tries to substantiate three main notions about Indians in California. First, Indians are more numerous in the state than is known, both from indications in public records such as the U.S. census report and from statements by the public in general. Second, Indians in California have major social and economic problems which are long standing and need immediate attention. Third, because of their special status in California, Indians are caught between bureaucratic organizations in that each level of government disclaims responsibility for them, and therefore, Indians cannot solve their problems without some special assistance. It is not unusual for each agency in turn to "advise" the Indian just where he can get the needed medical or welfare service assistance. In this way, the Indian is shuttled from the local reservation to county agencies, to Bureau of Indian Affairs offices, possibly to state agencies, and back to the county office and reservation, all without receiving assistance. From the view of some local offices, if they know that the county does have the responsibility for the Indian, prejudice may exist, or service is slow, insufficient, or discourteous because the "Indian does not pay taxes," or "if he would get out and work like the rest of us, he wouldn't need welfare." A few local and state offices are not aware of state and local responsibility for the Indian and, believing that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the agency which has *always* been charged with matters relating to Indians, send the Indian to this office. Here, of course, he is given the proper information (for the third or fourth time) and is sent back to the local county office. All this entails time, travel expense, loss of some pride, and, above all, frustration on the part of the Indian. So he returns to the reservation and "makes do" with what there is. His children continue to be reared in poverty, poorly clothed and educated, socially deprived. They grow up being unable to move off the reservation because of strong personal ties, inability to get good-paying jobs, and so rear a subsequent generation on a few acres of misery.

A. The Indian Population

Definitions. Defining an Indian meets with the same difficulties encountered in attempting to define other ethnic and cultural groups in the United States. Some of these difficulties may be attributed to problems of identification of a physical type for each separate group made difficult by the amount of intermarriage which has taken place after many centuries of close contact, and to the desire of some members of ethnic groups not to be identified because of the general prejudice held for that group by the public. These difficulties notwithstanding, several notable definitions have been widely utilized. The 1960 U.S. census defines

Indians as persons who are "full-blooded or mixed blood of at least one-fourth Indian blood or if they are regarded as Indian in the community." * The Bureau of Indian Affairs does not have a uniform definition which applies to all Indians. "Traditionally, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has considered as being Indians those enrolled members of the tribes for which the Bureau is responsible, with eligibility for enrollment determined by each tribe according to its own rules." †

There have been other definitions or attempts at defining an "Indian," but aside from taking extensive genealogical histories to establish Indian "blood quantum" which would be unreliable for various reasons in any event, mainly because of the necessity of relying on the memory of respondents, there is no certain method for defining an "Indian." It would appear to this investigator that a social definition is the most appropriate—that is, to identify a person as an Indian if that is his identification in the Indian community.

For the purposes of this report, American Indians in California are classified into four categories: *Urban* Indians are those American Indians who live in places exceeding 10,000 inhabitants. *Reservation* refers to a tract of land set aside for the use of a particular group of Indians by treaty or executive order. A *rancheria* is a homesite which was acquired by special purchase for "homeless Indians of California." *Rancheria* is often included under the general category of reservation as a special category of land set aside for Indian occupancy and use only. One important difference between a reservation and a rancheria is the generally smaller and poorer quality of land found in the latter. *Rural county* Indians are Indians who live adjacent to rancherias and reservations or in rural counties and who may have rights or interests in Indian reservation or rancheria properties.

The federal government has at least three agencies who provide services specifically to Indians within California. (1) The Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sacramento area agency, with its three field offices at Hoopa, Riverside, and Palm Springs, at present restricts most of its activity to trusteeship over California Indian lands. It is worthwhile to mention at this point that California Indians of the lower Colorado Valley and the Quechan Indians of Fort Yuma are under the jurisdiction of the Phoenix area agency and, unlike other California Indians, receive full benefits of federal programs administered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. (2) The second branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which provides services

* United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Health Service for American Indians, 1957, p. 7.
† United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Health Service for American Indians, 1957, p. 7.

in
F
fc
A
se
ir
of
H
su
u
a
I
a
F
s
c

t
A
t
t
r
I
u
c
e
t
l
i
c
i

in California is the employment assistance branch. Four of its eight national offices are located in California in Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles. The employment assistance branch provides services mostly to non-California Indians, although in the past few years it has included small numbers of California Indians. (3) The Division of Indian Health of the U.S. Public Health Service, which assumed responsibility for Indian health care in 1955, until recently maintained medical facilities at Hoopa and Fort Yuma. Today its sole facility at Sherman Institute near Riverside provides services for Navajo and some Arizona Indians only. The U.S. Public Health Service also administers the construction of sanitation facilities under the Indian Sanitation Facilities Act.

It may be pertinent to discuss tribal government at this point. Urban Indians, since they represent many American Indian tribal groups, of course, have no tribal government as such. They are developing voluntary organizations which tend to be pan-Indian in membership and which are becoming increasingly important in providing leadership and minor services to urban Indians. Some of the reservations and rancherias are ruled by an elected representative body established under authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Most tribal councils, however, lack the specific powers necessary to conduct corporate business. These groups are usually recognized as representatives of the tribe. In some rancherias the council includes all enrolled members and, in still others, there is no formally organized or elected body. In the latter, representation is provided informally by some of the most influential members of the tribe.

Distribution of the Indian Population. Self-identification in the 1960 census resulted in the enumeration of 551,669 Indians and Alaskan natives in the United States (see population tables in Appendix A). About 60 percent of these are found in seven western states as shown in the table below.

The 1960 U.S. census enumerates 39,014 Indians in California. Of this number, 20,619 live in urban and the remainder in rural areas. Table 2 shows the change in population figures for California from 1890 to 1960.

Table 1

Indian Population of Selected Western State: 1950, 1960

	1950		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States.....	*357,499	100.0	551,669	100.0
Arizona.....	65,761	18.4	83,387	15.1
Oklahoma.....	53,769	15.0	62,871	11.4
New Mexico.....	41,901	11.7	56,356	10.2
Alaska (including Eskimos and Aleuts).....	14,089	---	42,518	7.7
California.....	19,947	5.6	39,014	7.1
Montana.....	16,606	4.6	21,181	3.8
Washington.....	13,816	3.9	21,076	3.8

*Total U.S. census enumeration for 1950 was 343,400. This was adjusted for underenumeration to 421,000; but neither of these figures include Alaskan Indians and natives.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950, 1960.

Table 2

Population of American Indians in California: 1890 to 1960

Year	State population	Indian		
		Population	Change over previous census (percent)	Percent of state population
1960.....	15,717,204	29,014 (Urban 20,619) (Rural 18,395)	+95.6	.248
1950.....	10,586,223	19,947 (Urban 5,094) (Rural 14,853)	+6.8	.2
1940.....	6,907,387	18,675 (Urban 4,078) (Rural 14,597)	-2.8	.3
1930.....	5,677,251	19,212	+10.7	.3
1920.....	3,426,861	17,360	+6.0	.5
1910.....	2,377,549	16,371	+6.5	.7
1900.....	1,485,053	15,377	-7.5	1.0
1890.....	1,213,398	16,624	---	1.4

State population increase 1960 = 48.5%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960, 1950.

There exist some very good reasons for questioning the accuracy of the 1960 U.S. census figures, namely, the estimates by social and service agencies located in the cities, the estimated number of Indians migrating to California, and the number of Indians on the California roll. For example, the 1960 U.S. census counts 3,461 Indians in the San Francisco Bay area. Dr. Joan Ablon, in a doctoral dissertation written after several years of work among urban Indians of the San Francisco Bay area, writes: "The totals used by Indian organizations and by white agencies that deal with Indians are probably more accurate: about 10,000 for the whole bay area, of which 4,000 are in Alameda County, 4,000 in San Francisco County, and 2,000 in Santa Clara County." †

In support of her estimate, Dr. Ablon has the following to say: "The Bureau of Indian Affairs reports that a total of 11,596 persons have relocated in this area from June 1954 through March 1963. Of this number 3,886 relocated through the Oakland office, 5,053 through the San Francisco office, and 2,657 through the San Jose office." She further reasons that, "Even if we deduct the accepted national return rate of 35 percent, the number of Indians remaining in this area considerably exceeds the census totals."

Two additional sources of Indian migration to the urban areas include the addition of several thousand self-relocated persons and the placement of graduates from Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. D. L. Mahoney of the Oakland employment assistance branch, Bureau of Indian Affairs, estimates that over 50 percent of the Indians in the bay area are self-relocated and do not avail themselves of the assistance provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These two factors lend validity to the estimate of a larger urban Indian population in the bay area. U.S. census figures

† Joan Ablon, *Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area: Concepts of Acculturation, Success and Identity in the City*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963.

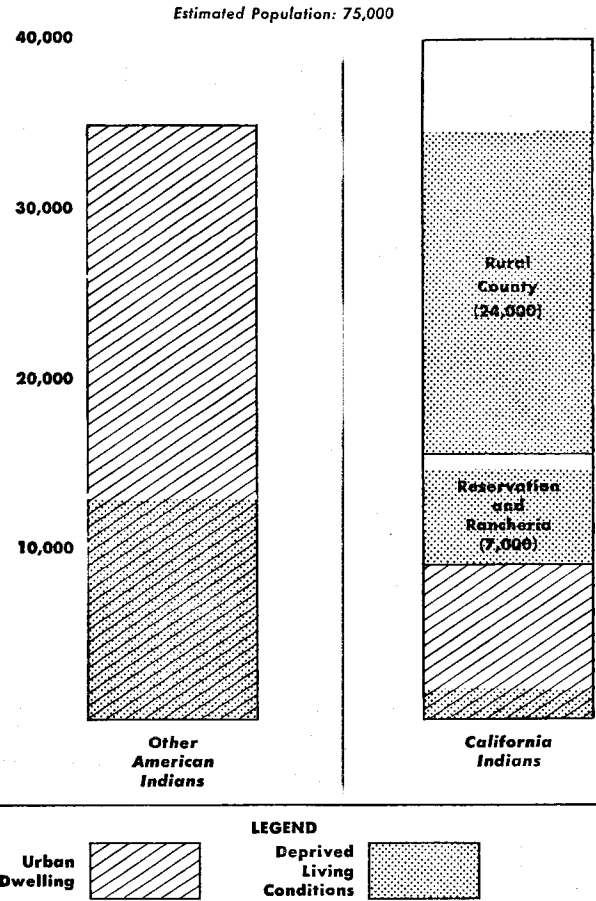
for the urban Indian population of the Los Angeles area also seem to be conservative. The U.S. census report indicates about 12,000 Indians for the area. Dr. Ablon estimates the Indian population of the Los Angeles area to be around 20,000.* Other estimates of Indian population in the Los Angeles area by social service agencies range from 45,000 to 50,000. From all indications it appears that the census bureau under-numerated Indians in the larger urban and metropolitan areas by as much as 45 percent. I estimate the number of Indians present in the eight urban counties of the San Francisco Bay area at 12,000 to 15,000; in the Los Angeles area at 23,000 to 25,000, and approximately 10,000 Indians in other urban areas (Redding, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Barstow, and Bakersfield), or a combined estimate of 45,000 urban Indians in California, of whom approximately 9,000 are migrants from native Indian areas within the state.

California Indians, that is, Indians native to the state, numbered 36,094 at the time of the last California roll of May 24, 1950.† If we assume a natural increase rate (births less deaths and outmigration) of 3 percent per year since 1950, the number of California Indians in 1960 would have been 48,000 and they would number 54,000 today. Even if we assume a high rate of migration out of California, as assumption not apparent in data provided by the California roll (see discussion which follows), a conservative estimate of California Indians now living in California is 40,000. Of this estimated California Indian population, less than 7,000 are actual residents of rancherias and reservations,‡ and an additionally estimated 24,000 are residents of areas adjacent to trust properties or within the same rural county. Members of the latter group have been referred to in this report as *Rural Counties Indians*. The remaining 9,000 California Indians live in urban areas. Chart 1 summarizes the Indian population of California.

Patterns of Migration. Up to this point we have indicated some of the reasons for our dissatisfaction with the U.S. census Indian population figures for 1960. This alleged underenumeration aside, an analysis of these figures provides an excellent view of the behavior of the Indian population and also allows us to pose some problems which could originate from this behavior. I refer specifically to the spectacular movement of Indians to California in much greater numbers than the non-Indian population and to the concentration of these people in the large urban centers (refer to Table 2, p. 46).

First, I would like to examine the migratory behavior of American Indians as a whole, then the patterns of migration within California, and follow this with a discussion of the implications of these facts. Percentage of Indian population is shown for

CHART 1
INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA



each state in 1950 and 1960 in Table 1, Appendix A. The majority of states show a decrease of population in 1960. It is interesting to note that California and North Carolina were the only two states with any significant percentage increase in Indian population in 1960.

In California, Indians increased 95.6 percent over the 1950 census population, while the state as a whole increased by 48.5 percent during the same 10-year period. The Indian population thus increased at a rate double that of the general population. This fact becomes more significant if we look at Indian rural-urban characteristics of the state and counties. The rural Indian population increased by 1.8 percent from 1940 to 1950 and by 23.8 percent from 1950 to 1960. During the same period the urban Indian population increased in 1950 by 24.9 percent and in 1960 by a dramatic 304.8 percent. This is shown in the following chart.

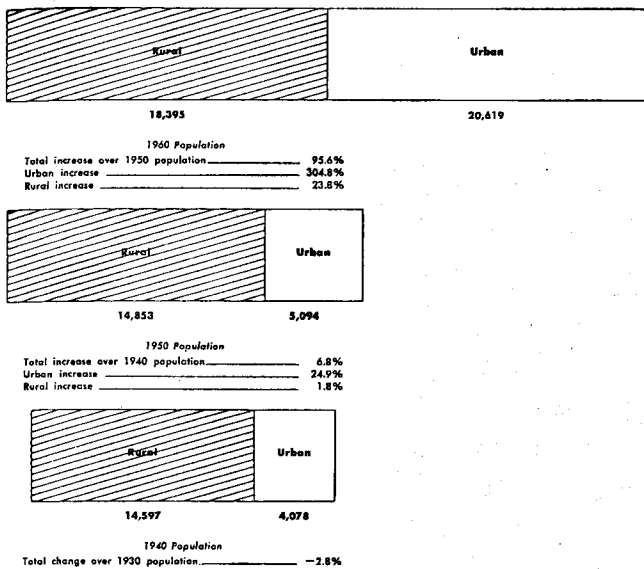
The differences in population increase become more significant when considered by county. These data are given in Table 2, Appendix A. Rural-urban differences are highlighted by grouping these counties into various categories. Thus, *relocation center counties* (San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, and Los Angeles) increased an average of 81 percent from 1940 to 1950 and 307.1 percent from 1950 to 1960. *Periph-*

* Verbal communication.

† Leonard M. Hill, Sacramento area agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, letter dated February 28, 1964.

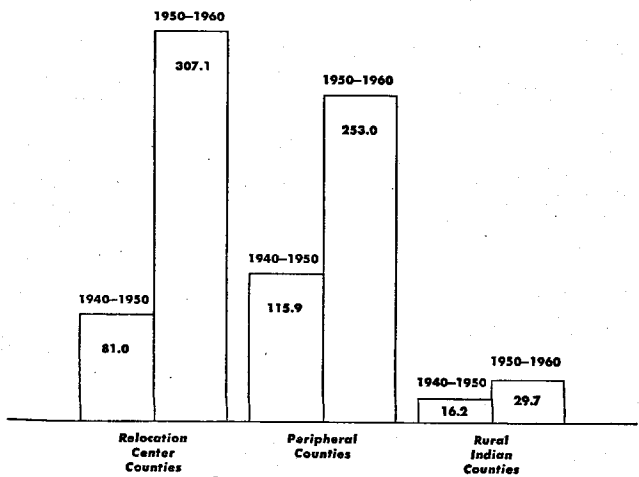
‡ Bureau of Indian Affairs estimate of population and current size of rancherias and reservations are given in Tables 4 and 5, Appendix A. The median population of 101 rancherias and reservations is 30; that is, one-half have more than 30 and one-half have less than 30 persons. The average population is 67 persons. Forty percent of the rancherias and reservations have more than 50 persons.

CHART 2
Comparison of Urban and Rural Indian Population: 1960, 1950, 1940



eral counties, which surround the relocation centers increased an average of 115.9 percent from 1940 to 1950 and 253 percent from 1950 to 1960. At the other extreme the rural counties (including counties having reservations or rancherias) increased an average of 16.2 percent from 1940 to 1950 and 29.7 percent from 1950 to 1960. This is a rather dramatic demonstration of the impact of the establishment of relocation centers in California. These data are given in Tables 2 and 3, Appendix A, and in Chart 3. The comparatively smaller increase in the rural county category is further highlighted by pointing out that there were four rural counties in 1960 with significant percentile increases, namely Trinity, 149.3; Glenn, 128.2; Alpine,* 118.3; and Butte, 103.3, with an average increase of 126.9 percent. At the other end of the scale were 10 rural counties with a percentile decrease in population, namely, Mono, -53.0, Mariposa,

CHART 3
Percentage Increase in Indian Population by County Groups: 1960, 1950



Source: U.S. Census, 1940, 1950, 1960

* I suspect an error in Alpine County in the census for 1950.

-40.3, Sutter, -30.8, Amador, -24.3, El Dorado, -20.0, Colusa, -14.5, Modoc, -8.1, Nevada, -7.4, and Mendocino, -3.0, with an average decrease of -17.1 percent.

Something should be said about the general distribution of Indian population within the state. Again, utilizing the U.S. census report of 1960, Indians are found in certain areas and counties and not in others. Generally, the majority of Indians are located in the large urban areas of Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay. Eighty-six percent of Indians enumerated in the last census year (1960) are found in 25 counties, and 75 percent are found in 17 counties. The 25 counties with the largest number of Indians are Los Angeles (8,109), San Diego (3,293), Humboldt (2,608), San Bernardino (1,864), Riverside (1,702), Alameda (1,688), Mendocino (1,215), Fresno (1,083), San Francisco (1,068), Inyo (1,036), Sonoma (949), Imperial (830), Sacramento (802), Shasta (793), Orange (730), Santa Clara (705), Tulare (705), Monterey (695), Del Norte (691), Kern (676), Siskiyou (592), Contra Costa (447), Lake (433), Butte (421), and Madera (420).

The California roll. Analysis of the California roll provided additional information, namely the physical location of California Indians today. Current addresses of California Indians are maintained on the California roll as a result of the recent vote involving California land claims settlement and through communications between the Indian and the Sacramento area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The accompanying map and the tabulations found in the Appendix are a result of the commission's analysis of this information.†

Today there are only 33,340 names remaining of the 36,094 California Indians appearing on the May 24, 1950, roll. The difference represents the number of Indians no longer living. Almost 90 percent of the present enrollees, or 29,520, live within the State of California. Those California Indians who leave the state do not go far, as attested by the fact that approximately 80 percent of those providing addresses outside of California are found in the neighboring states of Arizona (769), Nevada (753), Oregon (1,048) and Washington (360). Approximately 30 percent (about 9,000) of the Indians remaining in the state live in urban areas (Arcata-Eureka, Redding, Sacramento, the bay area, Bakersfield, Fresno, San Diego area, and the Los Angeles area). According to information provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs less than 7,000 Indians, or about 21 percent of the Indians listed on the California roll, actually live on rancheria or reservation lands. On a previous page we have indicated our projection of these population figures based on an estimated rate of increase since 1950.

Summary. Difficulties in making population counts of ethnic groups have long been a problem to demographers and population experts. Enumeration of the In-

† Current addresses of California Indians were plotted on a map by Alan Mason, a graduate student at Sacramento State College. The work was directed by Professor William G. Davis of the Department of Anthropology, Sacramento State College. The information was furnished by Leonard Hill, area director, Sacramento agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Additional tabulations were made by Mrs. Grace McLeod.

dian in California is no exception to this difficulty. Among the factors which contribute to the problem may be included the desire of some persons not to be enumerated as members of that minority group. This may prove to be the case with the Indian in California.

The fact remains that service agencies and researchers estimate a larger population figure for Indians in California than the U.S. census reports. An excellent example was provided in 1950 when the U.S. census listed 19,947 Indians at the same time the Bureau of Indian Affairs was enumerating 36,094 on its roll. There is also good evidence to question the 1960 U.S. census figures.

The commission estimates the 1964 Indian population in the State of California as being around 75,000. Most of these (45,000 Indians) live in the larger urban areas of the state, including about 9,000 Indians native to the state. The remaining 30,000 of the total Indian population live in rural county areas, with less than 7,000 actually residing on reservation and rancharia lands.

B. Reservation and Rural County Areas

General problems. The general dimensions of the problem may be outlined by considering the following questions:

What is the social and economic condition of Indians in California? Are the problems of native California Indians distinct from those of Indians relocated from other states? What is the rate of unemployment? The rate of welfare utilization? Housing and sanitation conditions?

What services are provided for the Indian by the federal government? The state? County and local agencies? What groups are working in this area or are interested in problems of the Indian?

What are the needs of the Indians in California as viewed by various governmental and service agencies? What are these needs as visualized by interested non-governmental agencies?

What are the felt needs of the Indian? What do Indian leaders and spokesmen feel are their most pressing problems? What suggestions do they have for a solution? Suggestions from other individuals and interested agencies? What obstacles may be anticipated to such solutions? What are the attitudes of local non-Indians toward the Indian?

These questions reveal three general aspects of the problem:

- (1) Problems of Indians living in urban areas,*
- (2) Problems of Indians living in rural areas (reservations, rancharias, and adjacent rural environs),
- (3) Problems deriving from the separate jurisdiction of federal, state, and local authorities with respect to provision of services to the Indian.

Little can be gained from listing general problems or past grievances. The commission recognizes the need to concentrate on specific problems and on quantitative knowledge of the extent of these problems.

* A subsequent report will be made by the Commission on the Indian in urban areas.

The specific areas discussed in this report are derived from the commission's questionnaire surveys, from visits to Indian rancharias and reservations, and from knowledge of problems of acculturation in other areas of the country.

The commission's questionnaire survey of agencies dealing with Indians. The research work of the California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs began early in 1964 with the circulation of a questionnaire designed to survey the social and economic conditions of Indians in California. Although the intent was to find out the nature of the problems of this group, it also provided insights into the knowledge of those problems possessed by various organizations who deal with Indians in California.

The questionnaire was sent to Bureau of Indian Affairs offices; state hospitals, departments of employment, education, welfare, and correctional agencies; county hospitals, school superintendents, physicians, welfare directors, probation officers and sheriffs; church and civic groups, welfare planning councils; and to Indian voluntary groups, reservation councils, and persons interested in Indians. A total of 704 questionnaires was circulated. An overall return rate of 55.4 percent provided only 160 (22.7 percent) responses containing relevant or useful information. The largest percentage of replies were from county welfare directors, county department of health directors, and Indian voluntary associations. The agencies or individuals replying with blank forms provided the following reasons for lack of information: "few or no Indians in our jurisdiction, lack of specific or relevant data on Indians, little or no contact with Indians, no means of supplying data from our records because Indians are not classified separately, no distinction in provision of services made on the basis of race, color, or creed, no Indian problems present locally, problems same as for other groups, Indians represent a well-adjusted or integrated population in our area, no specific programs for Indians, prefer not to answer."

Most agencies replying with information about the problems of Indians indicated that they provide the usual services to Indians which are provided for other clientele. They feel that no distinction is made within their organization in providing services to minority groups, and that few special handling techniques have been devised for dealing with Indian clients.

A few organizations provide services specifically to Indians and a few others are concerned with the special problems of Indians. Among these are the employment assistance offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who furnish employment assistance and vocational training to a few California Indians through their representative in the Sacramento area office. Others in this category include the Intertribal Friendship House, Oakland, supported in part by American Friends Service Committee and by United Crusade funds. The Intertribal Friendship House furnishes counseling and welfare casework for relocated families, recreational work for various age groups, and room rentals for young men on Bureau of Indian Affairs vocational training programs.

The California League for the American Indian provides limited services including counseling, scholarships, and a newsletter of information which is sent to 1,300 Indians. Two California Federation of Women's Clubs with branches in Auburn and Torrance occasionally provide food, clothing, financial assistance and scholarships to California Indians. The Young Women's Christian Association in Oakland has a counselor who spends one-third of her time with Indian girls. The Christian Reformed Church operates the Friendship House in San Francisco. The American Baptist Union of the San Francisco Bay Cities provides home visits, camp scholarships, and conferences for Indians. The American Friends Service Committee in the Los Angeles area provides some assistance to Indians on tribal and reservation problems.

Indian groups who provide services for Indians are located in the large urban areas. These include the American Indian Center in San Francisco, the United Bay Area Council on Indian Affairs, the Sierra Indian Center in Fresno, and the Indian Center in Los Angeles. A more recent, but very active group, is the American Indian Historical Society in San Francisco.

A few individuals working for county welfare and health departments take a personal interest in Indians and attempt to lend assistance beyond the provision of usual services. The State Department of Employment reported special counseling, testing, and placement services provided to Indians at Sherman Institute.

Specific problems. One of the questions in the survey questionnaire asked whether there were any special problems or racial discrimination involving Indians in the respondent's area which had occurred during the past two years.

"Blanket" answers were provided by 62 of the 113 respondents who answered this question. Of these 62, 16 stated they did not know of any problems or discrimination in any of the areas and 45 indicated that there were no problems or discrimination. The remaining 52 questionnaires indicated problems or discrimination in each of these areas. The number of answers given in the table below refer to the frequency that item was chosen as a problem area. Each of the 52 respondents could have checked all of the nine areas, but only one did so.

Housing and sanitation (living conditions)	31
Employment and economic problems	27
Health and welfare	25
Education	19
Federal laws or policies	14
State laws or policies	12
Public accommodations	9
Administration of justice	9
Voting	6

Economy and Employment

Reservation Indians throughout the United States are characterized by high rates of unemployment and low income. They are untrained, undereducated, and usually live in areas which are isolated from the large industrial and manufacturing centers where employ-

ment is more readily available. The training necessary for acquiring these much needed skills is generally only available to a small number of the total reservation Indian population. Commissioner Phileo Nash reported in 1964 that the total permanent placements in 12 years of the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation and vocational training program amounted to 17,000, affecting 36,000 family members, and that there were 3,500 enrolled in all phases of the program during that year. This is indeed a small number when compared to the 380,000 Indians living on reservations and to the extensive nature of the problem. In the same speech, Dr. Nash reported that the rate of unemployment on reservations is between 40 and 50 percent—seven or eight times the national average, and that the average income for each Indian family in 1962 was \$1,500—between one-fourth and one-third the national average. This last fact is significant in view of the often quoted figure of \$3,000 as the average income received by the lower fifth of all families. This figure has often been referred to as the "national poverty line."

Not only are reservations located far from industrial centers and opportunities for employment but, it would seem, if a judgment can be made by present accomplishments, employment is difficult to develop in those areas near reservations. One of the reasons for this, and this is especially true in California, is that most of the land surrounding reservations is poor and does not lend itself easily to economic development.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs* has the following to say about unemployment:

For, located in areas of very limited employment opportunities, Indians badly needing work commonly lack the social mobility to seek it at a distance and may even not know how to seek it nearby.

For this reason the Bureau of Indian Affairs utilizes a special definition of unemployment.

Because it would be unrealistic to measure the need for employment on the reservations by the number of Indians actively seeking work without success, the bureau has used another definition of unemployment. Our estimates of unemployment are based on [a] labor force estimate that includes all Indians of working age who are neither unemployable because of physical or mental handicaps nor unavailable for employment because of enrollment in school, of family responsibilities, or of early retirement.

This is also the definition used by the House Interior Committee in their questionnaire study of Indian unemployment in 1963. This study reported a labor force for all reservations of about 120,000, with a rate of unemployment of 49 percent. The data reported for California by the House Interior Committee will be presented later in this report.

* A statement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, submitted to the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, September 10, 1963.

The commission's survey. The foregoing overview of the economic and employment problems of American Indians can be used as a background for comparison with information gathered on California reservations by the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs.

The commission's survey of 10 reservations included employment information on 439 adults, of whom 98 were nonresidents but still considered part of the reservation population by resident family members. For this reason they are included in the employment data although their inclusion may raise the reservation rate because of their relatively higher rate of employment. Besides data on rates of unemployment, the commission survey includes information on types of occupation, kinds of financial assistance received other than from occupation, and annual income.

Most of the types of occupations represented by the reservation population are in the unskilled categories. Among the highest paid occupations are construction iron worker (\$7,000), ordnance worker (\$6,000), logger (\$5-6,000), hospital maintenance man (\$4,500), and barber (\$4,000). A breakdown by type indicates that of 439 persons listing primary occupations 156 (35.5 percent) are housewives without outside employment, 218 (49.6 percent) are unskilled, semiskilled or domestic workers, 18 (4.0 percent) are foremen or skilled workers, and 9 (2.1 percent) are clerical or sales personnel. The remaining 38 persons are retired (16), in military service (4), in vocational training (2), or occupation is listed as unknown (16). A reason for the high number of unskilled or semiskilled workers on the reservations may be that this is the only type of work which is needed in the reservation or rural area. It may be that if the requisite skills were present that employment could be found near the reservation, although possibly not as frequently as in the urban areas.

Laying claim to an occupation or profession does not mean that the person doing so is fully employed. Most of the job skills found on the reservation are adjusted to seasonal agricultural or lumbering industries (32.8 percent); therefore, at best these people can expect employment only for part of the year.

The reservation labor force includes all Indians of working age who are not physically or mentally disabled, not students, retired, or encumbered by family responsibilities (housewives, in most instances). Using this definition results in a total reservation labor force of 238, of which 177 are employed. The rate of unemployment for the 10 reservation sample in the commission survey is 25.2 percent. This represents over four times the rate for the state. The rate of unemployment is much higher than this in the wintertime because of the large numbers of workers employed in the lumber and agriculture industries. An additional indicator of the level of employment and economic condition of the reservation Indian is that approximately 8 percent of the adult population receives some form of welfare assistance such as disability, aid to needy children, old age and survivors benefit, social security, aid to needy blind, home aid,

or unemployment benefits. This is significant in that the reservation population represents approximately five-tenths of 1 percent of the total population in the counties in which the reservations in the sample are located.

Annual income was provided to the commission by 169 of the persons interviewed about employment. Of these, 70.4 percent reported family incomes of less than \$3,000, 11.8 percent earn between \$3,000 and \$4,000 annually, and the remaining 17.8 percent earn above \$4,000. Of the persons in the last category, 12 (7.2 percent) report an annual income above \$5,000. One-half of the group reporting less than \$3,000 annual income earn less than \$1,500 per year. All Indians reporting income below \$3,000 (70.4 percent) may be compared with the number reporting the same income in California (14.1 percent) in 1963. A different view of the same data reveals the same disparity. Median income for the reservation sample (one-half fall below and one-half fall above this figure) is \$2,268 per family. This represents a range from \$1,438 at Auberry to \$4,250 at Baron Long. In comparison, median income for the California family in 1960 was \$6,726, or approximately three times the median income for the reservation Indian family.

The house committee survey. The data gathered by the commission are not entirely unique. There are supporting reports from other sources for the poor economic conditions found among California Indians. One such source is the report on Indian unemployment compiled by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in 1963. Questionnaires were answered with information on Hoopa, Round Valley, Big Sandy, Morongo, and Los Coyotes by the Sacramento area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A summary of the report on the conditions on each reservation follows.

Most of the employment opportunities in the Hoopa area are in the forests or in forest products industries. Although there has been some improvement in reducing seasonal unemployment in recent years by improving forest access roads, the economic situation is not as favorable as has been indicated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on various occasions in the past. This fact is evident in the information submitted by the Hoopa Valley area field office to the house committee. The report indicates that there are 54 persons unemployed of a reported labor force of 172; this results in an overall rate of unemployment of 31.4 percent. If male and female workers are separated, the result is a rate of unemployment of 29.1 percent for males and 41.9 percent for females. About 70 percent of the workers are unskilled, semiskilled, or work in the lumbering industries. During the wintertime the rate of unemployment is somewhat higher although reputedly not as high as in other Indian areas. Forest work is classified as dangerous and restricted by law to persons 18 years or older, hence the problem of idleness is more serious for out-of-school youths and for youths during the summer. The per capita income for residents of Humboldt County is \$2,465, and that of Indian residents is about 90 percent of this, after augmentation by per capita

distribution of income from tribal forests and other tribal income. In 1962 this amounted to a \$791 per capita payment. The Humboldt County department of welfare provided information to the Bureau of Indian Affairs which indicates that 29.3 percent (44) of the heads of household residing at Hoopa received some welfare aid in 1962. This included old age security (27), aid to disabled (3), general relief (1), and aid to needy children (13 families for 31 children). The report listed the main obstacles to full employment as being (1) lack of winter employment, (2) lack of industrial employment opportunities for women, and (3) lack of employment for 16- and 17-year-olds who are out of school or during the summer months. No mention was made as an obstacle to full employment of the fact that considerably fewer Indian students than non-Indian students go on to higher education. The report indicated that steps being taken by local industry, the tribal council, and through Bureau of Indian Affairs programs would alleviate the problem in the near future, but this remains to be seen.

The economic position of the Indian on Round Valley Reservation in Mendocino County is almost wholly dependent upon seasonal employment in lumbering and agricultural industries. Work in these industries and in related unskilled or semiskilled jobs accounts for nearly 90 percent of the labor force of the area. This is stated clearly in the house committee report:

The logging season usually begins in April of each year and continues until around November 1. Approximately 15 Indians are employed in the logging operation and are usually unemployed during the winter months. Approximately 20 Indians are employed more or less year around in the lumber manufacturing process. . . . Other Indians employed in agriculture are usually unemployed during the winter months. Overall, the dependence upon timber is the major factor. When the industry is good, the employment situation is good. When it falters or is unable to work, the employment situation is bad.

With regard to the last part of this quotation, the same report offers the following:

The (state) department of employment estimates that there has been a 25-percent decline in the lumber industry in Mendocino County since 1957 and that the rate of decline will be greater in coming years.

The report indicates further that Round Valley has 23 persons unemployed of a labor force of 59, or a rate of unemployment of 38.9 percent. If male and female workers are separated, the result is a rate of unemployment of 27.1 percent for males and 90.9 percent for females. As indicated before, the rate increases sharply during the winter months. The rate of unemployment would be higher except that the report excludes an unknown number of Indians from the labor force as permanently unavailable for employment because of a "total lack of training or lack of occupational skills of any kind." This group is

normally included in the labor force in other studies of unemployment.

The information provided by this report on family income is somewhat misleading.

The median earned cash per family income for the Indians included in this survey for fiscal year 1962 was \$2,866. This amount was determined by dividing the total heads of households, excluding students and persons in the armed forces, into the sum of the family incomes.

The manner in which the "median" is derived as described above, in fact describes the average or mean family income rather than the median. Median income may be expected to be somewhat lower. Even so, a mean family income of \$2,866 is still insufficient for maintaining a decent standard of living. An additional indicator of economic conditions on the reservation are the 13 persons receiving welfare assistance, who represent 10.9 percent of the total adult population of Round Valley.

Employment at Big Sandy (Auberry) Rancheria in Fresno County is found in lumbering and agricultural industries and by Indian women as nurse's aides in a local tuberculosis sanatorium. The sanatorium is an extremely important economic asset to the Indian families of Big Sandy. Most of the employable women work there, and all men work in the lumber industry. The house committee survey indicates that 31.3 percent of a labor force of 16 are unemployed. If women are excluded from the sample, the rate increases to 40 percent.* As elsewhere in such Indian areas, work is seasonal and results in an unemployment rate which is higher in winter than at other times.

The annual family income earned is low at Big Sandy by any standards. Again "median" income is given in the report when *average* income is intended. The average annual income quoted in the house committee survey for the state in 1962 is \$7,587; for Fresno County, \$6,246; and for Big Sandy Rancheria, \$2,814; or less than one-half of the income for the county and almost one-third of the state average annual income.

The house committee report further indicates that almost every family on Big Sandy is affected by unemployment during the winter season and that the situation will continue as previously. The report adds that no plans have been proposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the tribal government, or other county officials to remedy the situation. Indications in the report are that although there are programs available in the county under the Manpower Development Training Act, state apprenticeships, and Bureau of Indian Affairs adult vocational training, that not a single Indian has applied or availed himself of these facilities. Furthermore, no other services are available to Big Sandy through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The picture for Morongo in Riverside County is about the same as for other reservations included in the house committee survey. About half of the workers from the reservation are unskilled or work in lumber

* The Commission on Indian Affairs' survey taken in 1964 indicates a labor force of 24 for Big Sandy with an unemployment rate of 50 percent.

or agriculture. A local shirt factory employed six, five were employed in general construction, and five in a peat bog operation. These conditions were reflected in the rate of unemployment: 37.7 percent of a labor force of 45 are unemployed; this, even considering that an unknown number of Indians are listed as unemployable because of a "complete lack of skills." Fifty percent of the heads of households are unemployed, and 8 of 31 heads of households (25.8 percent) received general welfare assistance during 1962. One can well imagine what effect these statistics will have on the future of the children reared in these households. The annual income per family was listed as \$4,080, but this figure must receive the same criticism which was made in the discussion of income on Round Valley. With regard to assistance to alleviate the situation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported to the house committee that 20 Indians from throughout southern California had enrolled for adult vocational training during 1962 and 6 completed barbering, chef, and cosmetology courses.

Information for Los Coyotes Rancheria is meager because of the small size of the group. Full employment is reported for the rancheria with two persons temporarily and three persons permanently employed, one receives general welfare assistance, and two others are permanently disabled. The "median" annual family income reported is \$3,370, and the future outlook and obstacles are the same as for the other four reservations.

As part of the house committee survey questionnaire, state and U.S. employment bureaus and affiliated state agencies were asked for information on farm placement services for Indians. California provided such services for the years indicated below: 1953, 40; 1954, 164; 1955, 21; 1956, 86; 1957, 100; 1958, 140; 1959, 100; 1960, 95; 1961, 0; 1962, 0. Total U.S. farm placement services provided in the same periods were as follows: 1953, 38,613; 1954, 49,947; 1955, 47,617; 1956, 45,887; 1957, 43,444; 1958, 44,848; 1959, 40,570; 1960, 44,337; 1961, 26,536; and 1962, 30,262. For comparison, Nevada, with fewer Indians, provided between 700 and 2,800 service units per year during the same period.

The Indian view. Indian residents of reservations are not unaware of the problems of underemployment and the underlying causes. Most frequently heard are complaints that only seasonal wage labor is available, that local opportunities for employment on the reservation are few or entirely lacking, that when jobs are found commuting is inconvenient, expensive and difficult because of a lack of transportation facilities and poor quality roads, and that working away from the reservation consumes all earnings because of low wages and high cost of living. It is no wonder that Indians prefer to return to their rent-free homes, however incommensurate they may be. Another frequent complaint concerns the need to develop local water resources to enable farming at least for home consumption. Few Indians maintain gardens. Less frequent rumblings heard concern the lack of job skills found in the Indian population, the out migration of the young people, the need for training programs for

young people and for adults as well, and the need for assistance from "anyone" in the development of the few economic resources found on most reservations. These complaints are detailed in the reservation reports found in the appendix.

Summary. The information on employment gathered in the commission's reservation survey is not unlike the data considered by the house committee; in fact, it may be somewhat more conservative. Both studies report a heavy dependence on seasonal occupations in agriculture and lumbering, primarily in the unskilled categories. The rate of unemployment reported by the commission's survey of ten reservations is 25.2 percent; the rate of unemployment reported by the house committee questionnaire covering five California reservations is 35 percent. Whichever figure is utilized, California Indians have the highest rate of unemployment of any group in California. The rate of welfare utilization is 8 percent according to the commission's survey and ranges from 10 percent to 30 percent on the reservations included in the house committee unemployment survey. The median income for the reservation population reported by the commission staff is \$2,268 per family; the house committee survey reports a range of average family incomes of \$2,218 to \$4,080. The commission median figures are not comparable with the house committee average family earnings because of their misuse of "median" for "mean." A mean score is usually higher than a median score. The commission survey finds that over 70 percent of the families residing on 10 California reservations earn less than \$3,000 annually.

Living Conditions

Spokesmen for the division of Indian health, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, have stated that 9 of 10 Indian families in the United States live in housing that is far below the minimum standards of comfort, safety, and decency. Additionally they state that:

More than half of the American Indians and Alaska natives live in one- or two-room dwellings, the majority constructed by themselves from indigenous materials. The average occupancy is 5.4 persons. Many are subject to severe climatic conditions for which their dwellings are ill-suited or inadequate. More than 70 percent of the water comes from potentially contaminated sources. More than 80 percent of the Indians must haul or carry all the water for their household use and have inadequate waste disposal facilities—12 percent have no facilities at all.*

In contrast to this view of the low level of American Indian living conditions are a number of reports which purport that California Indians are at the end of the continuum which is closer to the standards considered adequate for the average U.S. citizen. According to these studies, California Indians have

* Wagner, Carruth J. and Erwin S. Rabeau, *Indian Poverty and Indian Health. Health, Education, and Welfare Indicators*, March 1964.

b
li
A
n
ti
R
o
E
t
a
a
e
a
c
v
l

better homes, are better clothed, educated, nourished, live longer, and have a higher income than other American Indians.* This has been one of the arguments utilized in rationalizing the policy of termination of federal responsibility for Indians in California. Regretfully, it is also one of the arguments which has often been used to explain the lack of services by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in California. To argue that the poverty of California Indians is better than the poverty of Indians or minority groups in other areas of the country constitutes a defeatist attitude and one which prevents initiating programs to remedy existing conditions. There is substantial evidence available which indicates that the socio-economic condition of the Indian in California is lower in most areas than that of any other minority group. It is worthwhile to discuss some of these sources at this point.

The Bureau of Contract Services survey. In 1960 a survey of the use of public health and medical resources by American Indians was undertaken by the California State Department of Public Health through its Bureau of Contract Services.† The survey included the 10 counties which contract for health services, namely: Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mariposa, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Sierra, and Trinity. The survey was chiefly concerned with health facilities usage. Of relevance to this section was the extension of the survey to include the conditions of housing and sanitation facilities on all federal Indian land in Modoc County.‡ The conclusions were as follows:

Of the 65 homes surveyed for sanitation . . . only two had properly functioning sewage disposal systems. Two had systems that were failing, 10 were on a common pipe system, and 51 dwellings were served by privies that were substandard. It was felt that all of the shallow wells should be discontinued and that the deep drill wells in existence should be altered so that protection would be given to the source. Poor housing was found to be one of the biggest problems on the Indian properties. Many of the dwellings offered practically no protection against the elements. Faulty wiring and structural deficiencies constituted health hazards.

Elsewhere the study concluded that:

The Indians themselves do not usually perceive poor housing and unsanitary living conditions as being detrimental to their health.

The Indian households, in a sample representing 79 percent of the Indians in the area, tended to have a higher occupancy rate than white households. The average size of household was 4.7 persons per Indian household compared to 2.9 persons per household in

* U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Health Services for American Indians, 1957.

† California State Department of Public Health, "Use of Public Health and Medical Resources by American Indians in 10 California Counties." In California Health, Vol. 20, No. 10 (Nov. 15, 1962). Other information relating to living conditions was taken from field notes furnished by Dr. Loyd Bond, Chief of the Bureau of Contract Services.

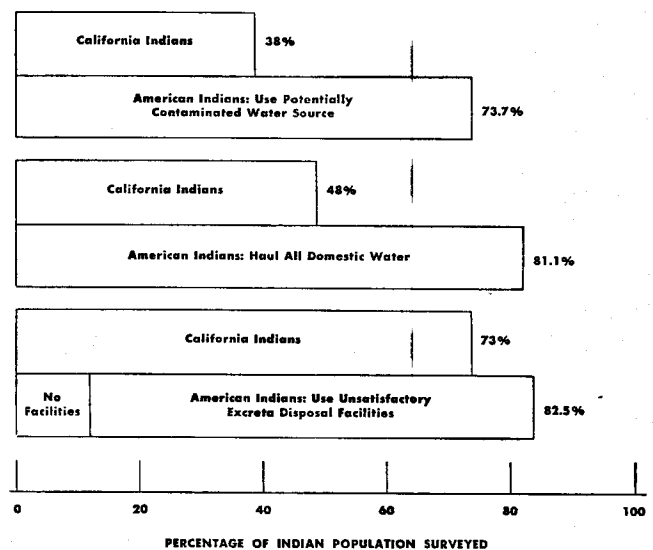
‡ The following federal properties in Modoc County were surveyed: Fort Bidwell, Cedarville, XL Ranch, Alturas Rancheria, and Lookout.

the non-Indian sample. Only 4 of 67 Indian households had telephones compared with 35 of 58 white households.

The Indian sanitation facilities survey. Late in 1963 the division of Indian health of the U.S. Public Health Service, Phoenix area office, conducted an environmental sanitation survey of 75 nonterminal reservations in California (those not named in Public Law 85-671, the termination bill). The purpose of the survey was to evaluate existing conditions and to develop information for selecting priorities and methods of construction for projects under the Indian Sanitation Facilities Act (Public Law 86-121). (See appendix for the provisions of this bill.) The general conclusions were that existing sanitation facilities are not adequate. They found that 38 percent of the people use a potentially contaminated water supply, 48 percent must haul their water, and 73 percent of the families have unsatisfactory excreta disposal facilities. Community water supply systems serve approximately 46 percent, individual system 38 percent of the Indian homes, and the remaining 16 percent have no source of water at the homesite. Chart 4 compares these data to similar information on all American Indians.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs housing survey. The field technical office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs conducted a housing survey on 41 nonterminal California Indian reservations in cooperation with the U.S. Public Health Service at the time they were conducting their sanitation facilities survey. Estimations were made on 16 other reservations to bring the total reservations surveyed to 57. Of 1,129 occupied housing units, 14 percent are considered adequate (compared to approximately 10 percent of all U.S. Indians), 58 percent require renovations, and 28 per-

CHART 4
SANITATION CONDITIONS AMONG INDIANS



Source: Indian Poverty and Indian Health. USHEW, Indicators, March 1964; and California Indian groups environmental sanitation survey, USPHS, division of Indian health, Phoenix area office, January 1964.

cent require complete replacement. A complete summary of this report is found in the appendix.

The California commission's reservation survey. During 1964 a special survey was made of the living conditions on some reservations in California by the commission staff. Preliminary visits were made by Thomas Weaver and Jack A. Tobin to Alexander Valley, Alpine County, Auburn, Barona, Fort Yuma, Geyserville, Graton, Lytton, Middleton, Modoc County, Morongo, San Pasqual, and Susanville. A survey form was devised from the information gathered on these trips. Subsequently, in May, June, and July 1964, Jack A. Tobin surveyed the following 10 reservations using this form: Auberry (Big Sandy), Baron Long (Viejas), Big Valley, Hopland, Pala, Rincon, Robinson, Santa Ysabel, Stewart's Point, and Tule River. The data relating to living conditions is presented in Tables 1-5, Appendix B. The survey included 794 persons living in 146 households on 10 reservations. This sample represents 11.3 percent of an estimated 7,000 reservation Indians.

The social characteristics of the sample population investigated in the commission survey include type and composition of household, sex of household head, birthplace, present address of family members, religious affiliation, and military service.

Household type and composition can tell much about the social relationships which exist in any community, such as the economic relationships a member has with relatives outside of the primary family. Is the check a man brings into the house expended on obligations outside of his primary family (or nuclear family: a man, woman, and their children)? The survey provides some answers to this question.

Seventy percent of the 146 households in our sample of 10 reservations are nuclear family households; and the remaining are extended or joint families—that is, other relatives live under the same roof with the primary family. These outside members are most frequently grandchildren (21 households), a married child with spouse and their children (7 households), nieces or nephews (5 households), and the remaining 22 households contained brothers or sisters of the husband or wife (7 households) and other more distantly related kin. Sixty-one percent of the persons listed as household heads are male. The larger number of female heads of household are women who are widowed, separated, or divorced, and represent a serious dependency problem.

Although the persons interviewed listed only 794 persons as living on the reservation, an additional 104 were listed as family members away from home. These are almost exclusively "sons" and "daughters" and actually do not go far from home. Sixty-five (62.5 percent) of these live in the same or an adjacent county, twenty-five (25 percent) in other California cities, six (6 percent) in other states and two (1.9 percent) in a foreign country (Germany and Mexico). The address of six persons was either unknown or the information was withheld from the interviewer.

Place of birth is given for 92 percent of the resident and nonresident reservation family members.

Thirty percent of the total population give their place of birth as the reservation where they are now living, 41 percent were born in the same county, 13 percent in adjacent counties, and 4.5 percent in other California cities. Only 3.2 percent of the resident and nonresident family members were born in other states, and only one-third of one percent (three persons) were born in a foreign country (Mexico). One of the significant facts emphasized by these figures is support for the statement made in the section on population of rural county areas, that approximately 84 percent of the Indian population of the reservation surveyed in our sample derive from the reservation itself or from the immediately surrounding region.

Two additional interesting social characteristics which pertain to our sample population are the high incidence of membership in the Roman Catholic Church and the number of persons with military service. With regard to the first factor, religious affiliation, 68 percent list Roman Catholic, 15 percent Protestant, 2.6 percent Pentecostal, and 4.3 percent Dreamer (a native Indian religious group found in the north, mostly at Stewart's Point). Roman Catholicism occurred more frequently in the southern area of the state where the early Spanish priests were most active. Pentecostalism was found only at Stewart's Point and Tule River Reservations in our sample. The second of these two factors—military service—provides a surprising fact in that 42 percent of the resident and nonresident male members 18 years of age and older of these 10 reservations have had some type of military service: 2 are veterans of World War I, 44 of World War II, 15 of the Korean conflict and 33 have had peacetime military service.

An average of 5.4 persons were found living in each household with a reservation range of 2.7 persons (Hopland and Rincon) to 7.6 persons (Tule River) per household. The average number of 5.4 persons per home corresponds to the average for all American Indians. The average household contained 4.9 rooms, but this is misleading in that the rooms are usually very small. A factor which would increase the occupancy rate per household is that during this time of the year many persons are seasonally employed away from the reservation.

A rating scale for the structural condition of each home was utilized with the following categories: *excellent*, *very good* included homes which were equal to or better than comparable homes in a middle-class suburban non-Indian area, that is, homes with permanent, substantial walls, foundation, and roof; *good* and *fair* were utilized to designate homes which seemed to provide a moderate degree of protection from extreme climatic variations but which needed some improvements; and *poor* and *very poor* designated houses which were substandard in construction, i.e., poor or nonexistent foundations, apparently unsafe electrical wiring, no insulation or wall covering, poor roof, etc. Utilizing this rating scale 6.8 percent are judged to be adequate homes, 39.0 percent need improvement, and 50.7 percent of the homes provide inadequate protection in extreme climates, are unsafe and unsanitary, and should be replaced.

The rating utilized for adequacy of house construction was obviously correlated with other living conditions such as lighting, heating, and cooking facilities, and with water supply, plumbing and personal property. Lighting in approximately 14 percent of the homes is by kerosene lamp. Although 86 percent of the remaining homes are furnished with electricity, in most of these the wiring is faulty, having been installed by the owner, and therefore, constitutes a fire hazard. Almost 50 percent of the homes are heated by wood and another 14 percent by kerosene, oil, or open fireplace. Needless to say, most of these fuels are used in a manner which constitutes a fire hazard. Only 30 percent of the homes appeared to have an adequate, relatively safe heating system. Less than 50 percent of the homes surveyed possess inside plumbing,* and only 39.7 percent have hot water facilities.

The water supply on these reservations is also below standards. The U.S. Public Health Service stipulates that any home supplied with water not adequately treated or which is derived from an inadequately protected source has a potentially contaminated water supply. In addition, the U.S. Public Health Service assumes that all homes which do not have water immediately available on the premises are using water that is potentially contaminated either due to hauling from a contaminated source or the failure to provide adequate protection of the water in transit and in storage. Utilizing these standards in analyzing the results of our survey, less than 58 percent of the homes visited have potable water and approximately 40 percent haul water for varying distances.

The California commission's survey of county health departments. In May 1964 the Commission on Indian Affairs sent a survey letter to 39 county health departments.† These departments are from those counties which have Indian reservations or sizable Indian populations.

The survey letter requested information on:

- (1) Whether the department possessed knowledge about Indian housing and sanitation,
- (2) Whether they had made any survey of these conditions, and
- (3) Whether they planned such surveys in the near future.

Twenty-four (61 percent) of the 39 counties responded. Of the total Indian counties (counties with reservations or sizable Indian populations) only 13 (33 percent) possessed information on Indian housing and sanitation; 5 others responded that there were

* Considering the inadequacy of water source which generally prevails, it must be assumed that not all homes possessing inside plumbing have adequate excreta disposal facilities. Regrettably, this information was omitted from our survey form so that an accurate statement cannot be made.

† The counties included in the survey are: * Alameda, * Amador, Butte, * Calaveras, Colusa, * Contra Costa, Del Norte, El Dorado, * Fresno, Glenn, Humboldt, * Imperial, * Inyo, Kern, Kings, * Lake, * Lassen, * Los Angeles, * Madera, Mendocino, * Modoc, * Monterey, * Nevada, * Orange, * Placer, * Plumas, Riverside, * Sacramento, * San Diego, San Bernardino, San Francisco, * Santa Barbara, * Santa Clara, * Shasta, Siskiyou, Sonoma, * Tulare, Tuolumne, and * Yolo. An asterisk (*) identifies the counties which responded.

"no Indians" within the jurisdiction of their territories.‡ Only eight counties representing 20 percent of the counties in the sample had surveyed the problem. Four of these submitted a copy of their survey, three planned a future survey, and one a resurvey of Indian housing and sanitation. Of the 13 counties possessing information, either through survey reports or reconnaissance instigated by our letter of inquiry, 6 reported inadequate water and sanitation facilities, and 3 reported facilities recently improved or to be improved in the near future by the U.S. Public Health Service under the Indian Sanitation Facilities Act. One county department reported that Indian facilities are adequate in that they meet county standards, one failed to submit information although possession of knowledge about Indian facilities in the county was claimed, and two departments furnished bacteriologic analysis of water supplies and information and advice on the installation of facilities only.

The following are examples of information included in letters or surveys submitted by county health departments.

Calaveras. The source of water is primarily from springs and dug wells which in most cases are inadequate. Probably 85 percent of the Indian population depend on individual water supplies.

The method of sewage disposal depends largely upon water supply. Still the most common method of sewage disposal is the use of the pit toilet.

Many have jobs, some are on welfare, and there are those that are temporarily without jobs who have not accepted welfare. It was found that among the 300 Indians that reside in this county that the overall sanitation is below standard and housing poor.

Inyo. There has been no sanitary surveys made by the Inyo county health department of the Indian communities, and no survey is contemplated for the future. Water samples are routinely collected by this department for bacteriologic analysis from all of their water systems. All, except for the Independence community, consistently meet U.S.P.H.S. and California State Department of Public Health water standards. Regarding bacteriological quality, only the Independence Indian community water system is a surface source and untreated. Analysis of water samples from this system always indicate a high coliform index of pollution.

Sewage disposal and sewage disposal system installations are regulated by a county ordinance governing sewage disposal within all of Inyo County including Indian community areas.

Modoc. (The information reported was the same utilized in the 1960 bureau of contract services survey of facilities use.)

Of the 65 homes surveyed for sanitation . . . only two had properly functioning sewage disposal systems. Two had systems that were failing,

‡ In these five counties Indians represent less than two-tenths of 1 percent of a total population of over two and one-half million. This points to one of the major problems of Indians in California: their small numbers compared to other minorities renders them practically "invisible."