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AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN
IN AN URBAN SETTING

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Nancy Roux-Teepen Baker, B.S., M.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1982

Reading Committee:
Dr. Erika Bourguignon
Dr. William S. Dancey
Dr. John C. Messenger, Jr.
Dr. Annmarie A. Zaharlick

Approved By

Adviser
Department of Anthropology
To Reid, Kris, Jere and Jackie
whose love and encouragement made this possible
To Jay and Selma and all my other Indian friends
whose cooperation and advice helped keep this project going
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

--To the people at CHRR, with special thanks to the Computer Staff and everyone who helped with the word processor

--To the Women's Studies Small Grants Program for the financial support awarded to pursue this study

--To advisors and friends (not necessarily different people) who provided the support necessary to endure an undertaking of this sort
VITA

March 15, 1935 .......... Born, Perrysburg, Ohio
1957 ............... B.S., Zoology. Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
1962 ............... M.A., Psychology. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1975 ............... M.A., Anthropology. University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
1976-1978 .......... Teaching Associate, Department of Anthropology, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1978 ............... Administrative Associate, Dean Search Committee for the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1979-1982 .......... Research Associate, Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Anthropology

Studies in North American Indians
Studies in North American Prehistory
Studies in Urban Anthropology
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I. Introduction

Slender, seeming more tall than she is with her high-heeled boots, designer jeans and shirt, long straight black hair. Frizzy, orange-brown hair sticking every which way from her head, blue jeans, faded shirt. Young mother with three mirror-image blonde, blue-eyed daughters swirling around her. Short, with snapping black eyes, coal-black hair, vivacious, a magpie-chatterer. Brown-haired, overweight Appalachian woman, sore old leg propped up on a raggedy stool, cotton print dress with a sweater. Distinguished grey hair, chocolate-colored skin, distinguished bearing, marvelous voice that has sent her around the world as an evangelical singer. Aquiline nose, high cheekbones, black hair with a touch of grey, wide forehead, a proud woman. Prosperous bourgeoise, nice perm, polyester slacks with matching colored print polyester top, surrounded by ceramic toads, elephants, boots and Virgin Marys that she glazed and fired herself. Skinny, birdlike little woman, service uniform from her job, keeping after her collection of ancient chihuahuas to try to stop their yapping.

A cross-section of women in an urban population? Yes, but also a cross-section of an ethnic group that few people suspect even exists in this city of football, university and governing seat for the state. Indians? Here? Most people think their leg is being pulled--studying Indian women in this setting. Once assured that such a group does exist questions come fast and furious. Where are they from? What tribes? Where do they live? Do they have powwows? Do they work? Why have we never seen them? A few even look apprehensive and seem to wonder if they're in any danger of attack.

They've probably seen them. Their descriptions are above. These women have been asked if they're Oriental or Italian, Black or Appalachian. Rarely does it ever occur to anyone to ask if they're Indian. When strangers find out that they are, again come the astonishment and the curiosity and the questions.

Cities and Indians are no strangers to one another on this continent. By A.D. 1100, what is now the southwestern United States boasted such places as Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and Canyon de Chelly with their cliff dwellings and adobe-covered masonry "cities." Apartment dwelling was already part of the Indian life style. At approximately the same time and continuing later, mid-America was the site of Cahokia, near East St. Louis. Excavations there demonstrate the remains of a huge community. Residences and temple mounds co-existed.
in what appears to be the capital city of an extensive settlement system (Fowler 1974). The early Mexican city of Teotihuacan appeared and disappeared long before the sixteenth century when the Aztecs amazed Cortes and his men with their capital city of Tenochtitlan. Cortes himself described the specialty shops, "Barbershops and drug-stores, textile and pottery markets, and many other emporia which lined the streets" (Fagan 1977:352). At the time of European contact the Cherokee town of Ichota provided an administrative center for the eastern tribe and excavations there are demonstrating a density of population that could permit the designation of "city" for this prehistoric community as well.

After contact, with the increasing proliferation of the European settlers and communities, the Indians were faced with rapidly and drastically changing conditions. Once a precedent was established by the colonists of claiming desirable lands, taking them by force when necessary, most Indian communities were destroyed or abandoned. Their problems, aside from the obvious ones of losing their lands and life styles as nomadic hunters, semi- or fully-sedentary horticulturalists, have long been entangled with U.S. Government policies. Finally, even the Indians' tenuous attempts at accommodating to life on reservation lands could not be permitted to proceed without interference. To most American pioneers the Indian culture was an abomination. The Indians were perceived as devil worshippers and heathens in need of guidance and a firm hand. Paternalism and outright legislation became the common ways to deal with the savages.

It was impossible for the whites to grasp the concept of tribal land holdings—the holding of land by a group rather than under individual ownership. Tribal authority over the lands and jealousy over its use by whites led to the 1887 passage of the Dawes Severalty Act by Congress. This "Allotment Act" provided that the reservation lands be parcelled out to the Indians as individuals, overriding the concept of tribal sovereignty. Group ownership was to be destroyed and individuality asserted—even if the individuals involved had little concept of land ownership, deeds or other legal maneuvering. Coupled with their inability to understand English, this often led to the surrendering of their property to land speculators, ensuring that the Indian lands would be opened to white farmers. The little money that was received for their property soon disappeared and no more was forthcoming when this resource was depleted. Few Indians retained plots to live on, let alone enough to provide a livelihood by farming or ranching, even if they had been so inclined. Thus were the hunting lands swallowed up by white farmers and settlers. The loss of opportunities to be providers for their families left Indian men with little or no prestige, income or self-respect.

The Indians were not even considered citizens of the United States which had so unmercifully restructured their lives. In 1924 a
statute enacted by Congress finally granted them legal status as citizens. However, in 1940, Congress found it necessary to provide naturalization procedures for Indians who had somehow been bypassed by the 1924 legislation. In 1949 the Indians were in danger of being picked off again, by government fiat rather than the militia. The Hoover Commission recommended that certain tribes be terminated from federal trusteeship and that steps should be taken to limit interference in their lives by federal agencies. Congress agreed and in 1953 adopted a policy to terminate specified tribes from its paternalistic powers. (The Congress also revised liquor laws at this time so that Indians were no longer prohibited from legitimate access to liquid spirits by the federal policymakers.)

As part of these new directions during the 1950's, a stated policy of the U.S. Government was to bring American Indians from the reservations into the mainstream of "American culture." Eisenhower's programs transferred, or perhaps "uprooted" is more appropriate, thousands of Indians, promising them training and jobs if they moved to government-selected cities. Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver and Chicago were a few of the target cities that were recipients of these uprooted and now-homeless people. Programs were federally designed to help the Indians find themselves in the urban setting, to take them off welfare and Indian relief programs. However, the eastern United States had relatively little land area which had been designated as reservation land. Consequently, those who identified themselves as Indian and were born in the eastern part of the country were rarely reservation-born or raised. Because they were not recognized as tribal members, by the federal agencies, Indians residing in the east were not coerced into moving to the cities under the aegis of resettlement and relocation programs. They moved to urban areas for other reasons, but even then jobs remained the foremost motivation for voluntary migrations to the cities. The metropolitan area of this study was not one of the major target cities for the federal relocation programs. Despite not being a target area, the city is listed as having an Indian population of 900 as reported by the Ohio Data Users Center, from 1980 Census data. This then is the second largest concentration of Native Americans in the state. The 1970 census figure of 738 indicates an increase in the number of Native Americans in the city. The county of the central city has a sum of 1256 Indians listed by the 1980 Census out of a total population of 1,093,293. The five-county SMSA is shown to have a population of 1470 Indians which also includes Eskimos and Aleutian Islanders.

Local Indians dispute this figure, however, claiming there are 1500 to 2000 in the central city alone. This population may be characterized as a predominantly migrant population. When they do come to the cities it is by choice—to look for work, to be near
relatives or friends, to come to school. While many in this area are originally from the Appalachian regions of the southeastern United States, nearly 100 tribes are estimated to be represented here by one local Native American CETA outreach worker.

The purpose of this study is to examine how this setting has affected the life styles, attitudes and achievements of a portion of this population. Have they retained their identity as Native Americans or have their cultural identities as Indians been submerged to mingle with their economic, educational and employment level peers? What niches did these new arrivals to the city choose to occupy? What talents do they bring to urban life? Are there special problems or biases or advantages to being Indians? Do they identify themselves as Indian or do they mainstream as did immigrants from foreign countries who leave it for their children and grandchildren and beyond to rediscover their cultural heritages?

Studies by Price (1968) in Los Angeles, Neog, et al., (1970) in Chicago, Stanbury (1975) in British Columbia, Dosman (1972) in Saskatchewan, and Abion (1964) in the San Francisco Bay area have looked at the major problems of urban Indians as a whole—unemployment and underemployment, education and job skill training, housing and medical care. Other authors have analyzed contemporary drinking habits (Graves, 1971), problems of tribal units with government policies and legislative proposals (Officer 1971; McNickle 1972; Harper 1972), and have followed specific tribes to the city (Jorgensen 1971) or looked at their problems after arrival (Garbarino 1971).

But, in all of these instances and even with the occasional use of case histories, the emphases have been on the men or on Indians as a group. The woman is rarely the center of the study—what of her life in the city? Is only the male visible with the woman remaining in the home and raising the children in the traditional way—or has she become part of the employment scene? Is she dreaming of returning to the old ways in a romanticized setting or does she prefer the urban house or apartment? Does she ever think about the traditional ways? Has she become accustomed to and part of the mainstream of the American way of life?

This study began when the opportunity presented itself to examine the lives of some of these Indian women and to compare them with other women in the United States who already lived in the kinds of settings into which the Indians were moving. It grew out of access to the Indians themselves through long-standing friendships and membership on the board of the Ohio Overhill Band of the Cherokee Nation. This combined with the opportunity to work for the Labor Department at the Center for Human Resource Research (CHRR) on the data for several groups of women with an age span of 14 to 59 years to provide a comparison sample. The CHRR procedures and questionnaires gave impetus
to the direction the study would take. Using CHRR materials as guidelines, inquiries were made into the Indian women's economic backgrounds and work histories, their assets and incomes, education, family and marital histories, early formative influences, and knowledge of and participation in their cultural heritage.

The goal of this study was to provide a broad ethnographic account of the Indian women who had found their way to this section of the United States. It examined the likenesses and differences between Indian women and a group of non-Indian urban women. Further breakdowns were also done. One analysis divided the women into two categories: "girls" aged 23 to 39, and "women" aged 41 to 64. The second analysis focussed only on Indian women based on the region in which they were born and raised. This breakdown also resulted in two categories: "East" and "West" with the Mississippi River acting as an arbitrary dividing line.

The present study attempted to pull the diverse materials together to present a picture of life for the modern Indian woman in the modern American city—to show her day-to-day patterns in this setting rather than in the long-lost and romantic settings of film, historical novel or television. Tepees, open skies and beating tom-toms were not part of the urban environment. A modern apartment or modest flat house in an often rundown neighborhood crowned with smog and the beat of rock music drums in the background were more apt to be the scene where she played out her life in the late 1970's and moved into the decade of the 80s. In these surroundings, the survival of ethnic characteristics of women separated from traditional homeplaces competed with their lives as city-dwellers, as wives of urban men. This study tried to determine what these lives had become.
II. Literature Review

Definitions of City

The origin and development of urban settlements and populations has been of interest to prehistorians, geographers, sociologists, political scientists, historians and other scholars over the centuries. Greek philosophers' discourses on the origin of the city and city-state are now part of the classical literature of Aristotle and Plato.

Defining "city" has often been a subject for study and argumentation. As Weber pointed out "The many definitions of the city have only one element in common: namely that the city consists of simply a collection of one or more separate dwellings but is a relatively closed settlement" (1958:65). He also added his own criteria to distinguish cities from overgrown villages—the inhabitants make their livings from trade and commerce rather than agriculture with a regular marketplace where the city residents "satisfy an economically substantial part of their daily wants in the local market, and to an essential extent by products which the local population and that of the immediate hinterland produced for sale in the market or acquired in other ways" (1958:66-67). Wirth defined the city more succinctly "...as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (1936:8).

Prehistorians with their long record of dealing with ancient cities have also developed a list of criteria for defining the city. Sanders and Price (1968), speaking of Mesoamerican civilizations, noted that "civilization" and "urbanism" are frequently used interchangeably. Often urbanism can be identified in the archaeological record of preindustrial centers through "concentric zoning of status levels, with upper levels residing near the center in proximity to religious or secular centers and the lower levels in the peripheries" (1968:47-48). Later development of industry-based cities led to a reversed pattern with the lower class residents living in the inner city. Lanning (1967) also refers to the concept of specialization in cities in Incan Peru—a specialization of laborers, craftsmen, merchants, religious and political leaders that leads to social stratification demonstrated by residential districts with different degrees of wealth and luxury.

With the city as a focus of attention and the target for studies of population movement we find that geographers and demographers in-
clude such chapters as "Interaction: Movements of People and Ideas" and "The Urban System and Urban Structure" (Morrill 1974) in which the importance, mechanisms and reasons for migration are studied. Morrill points out that "The possibility of finding a job in the city, no matter how lowly the job and no matter how filthy and miserable the city slum, has led to the vast rural-to-urban flow that has probably transferred at least 400 million persons to urban areas in this century alone" (1974:163). Today's regional and city planners are concerned about the current direction of expansion of urban centers, not only the physical encroachment into neighboring areas but the psychological stresses the centers place on the lives of the urban population.

Moving to Cities

Cities may be called an "attractive nuisance." They are a "nuisance" in the sense of overcrowding, noise, smog, traffic congestion, high prices, lack of privacy; "attractive" in the sense that they entice non-urban residents to their environs. Economic factors, especially the lure of jobs, along with family and friends' exhortations to come up and find work, are prime factors in decisions to emigrate to the city. Educational opportunities, cultural events, even the noises, make the city seem exciting, attractive, the place to be, whether it's "up North" or simply in the next county or state. When people from outlying districts make their way to the city, for whatever reason may impel them, a number of questions can be asked--"What happens to them?" "Do they maintain old ties and continue to share the cultural habits of their kinfolk back home?" "Is the city welcoming to them?" "Are there severe adjustments to be made or are the newcomers easily absorbed or assimilated or acculturated into the faster-paced lifestyle of the city to which they've emigrated?"

In 1936, a memorandum was published in the American Anthropologist in which Redfield, Linton and Herskovits began an attempt to classify studies that had been made previously of acculturation. They defined acculturation as "...those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (1936:149). Among the types of contacts under which acculturation occurs which are appropriate for this study are a) friendly or hostile; b) those occurring between groups of markedly different size and c) contacts resulting because the receiving group has been brought into the new culture in a new region. These are the conditions for the subjects of this study--all are immigrants to the city where North American Indians number less than 2000 in a setting of over one and a quarter million; in most cases the contacts were friendly and voluntary.
Further elaboration on the concept of acculturation was made by the Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953 (1954). In their report, the panel discussed the concept of "progressive adjustment" which was defined as "the assimilation of one group by another...[implying that]...the erstwhile ethnics should have not only the internalized cultural skills to move freely in the larger social order but also full and free access to those parts of the order for which they have the cultural prerequisites" (1954:988).

Eisenstadt (1953) developed three indices to describe absorption of immigrants: 1) institutional integration into family, economic, religious and political spheres within their new country; 2) acculturation or acquisition of the norms, mores and customs of the area; and 3) personal integration maintained despite the pressures the immigrants face in adjusting themselves to this very physical transition from one region and social group to another. Eisenstadt suggested that adaptive strategies were of three types. In the first, the immigrants retain exclusivity by maintaining their original cultural patterns either by settling in a geographically isolated sector of the region or by being absorbed into a similar upper class stratum of the new society. A second type of transformation occurs as a result of discrimination by the absorbing population which confines the immigrants to the lower stratum of the society. This often results in stress and personal disorganization as the individuals strive to become members of the larger society. The third type of adaptation is by assimilation into the middle class with adoption of its values and behavior patterns. Each adaptive technique is of course affected by many factors including the value immigrants place on acculturation, the social setting, cultural compatibility between the incoming and recipient groups and discriminatory and isolationist practices of both groups.

These assimilative processes then lead to a special case of acculturation with which this research is concerned—urbanization, as an individual process. "Urbanization has been conventionally used as a summary term for three different processes: (1) the growth of cities; (2) the increase in the scale of society, and (3) the culture of city dwellers, or urbanism" (Greer 1962:194). It is here suggested, therefore, that a fourth definition be added to Greer's list. As individuals adapt to life in the city they are participating in their own private process of urbanization—learning to operate within the city's parameters skillfully and confidently.

Migration Studies in Cities around the World

Cultural anthropologists have generally lagged behind many other social scientists in their involvement in studies of cities and their effect on people. A historical comment on the evolution of the fields
perceived as suitable for anthropological field inquiry suggested that interest in cities is perhaps a very recent stage in development. According to Foster and Kemper (1974) the first period began at the end of the 19th century with the emergence of anthropology as a formal science concerned with nonliterate or primitive societies. The 1940's saw a change of attention to peasant societies (seen most forcefully expressed in the Redfield-Lewis exchanges). Now Foster and Kemper see the current interest in cities as a new field, emerging only recently in anthropology though the "Chicago" school of sociologists more than fifty years ago "...began systematic research in American cities...in contrast, the earliest anthropological research on city life took place scarcely a generation ago" (1974:1).

Lewis Mumford in 1937 had criticized earlier sociological research into the city as a social institution saying that early philosophers and Utopian writers such as Sir Thomas More and Robert Owen threw more light on the question than contemporary "urban sociology" had done. Louis Wirth defined urbanism as "...that complex of traits which makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities, and urbanization...as that...which denotes the development and extensions of these factors: (1939:7). Among the traits he felt important were the effect of the size of the population aggregate, density and heterogeneity as they limited the possibility that each member of the community would know all the others at a personal level. Beals (1951) criticized Wirth's and other sociologists' contributions and suggested that they had been more concerned with the nature of society than the actual processes involved in urbanism and adaptations to the urban environment. Kahl (1959) examined the social concomitants of industrialization and urbanization, adding economic development to them as the third variable in an overall complex essential to uniting regions, rural and urban, in a modern world.

"Rural to Urban" Studies

When social scientists did begin looking at processes operating in the cities a varied lot of work emerged. Among the earliest and most well-known descriptions of adaptation to city life are the works of Oscar Lewis who frequently illustrated the effects of movement from a rural to urban setting, as in "Urbanization without Breakdown" (1952) and Five Families (1959), among other works. In these studies he traced Tepoztecan families who had left the village to go to Mexico City where they exhibited widely varying degrees of success in adapting to urban life. His work contrasted in many ways, often to the point of controversy, with that of Robert Redfield. Redfield's work was in the same geographic region but emphasized instead the reverse migration of urban influences on rural lifeways showing how the influx of city ways changed the lives of those remaining in the rural setting (e.g., 1941).
The concept of the folk-urban continuum introduced by Redfield was challenged by Lewis as well as by many other contemporaries. As Lewis (1966) pointed out, Redfield modified his earlier concepts in The Village That Chose Progress (1950). For Lewis, many ways of life coexist in the city which provides a wider range of alternatives in choice of merchandise, educational opportunities, leisure activity, organizational activities and so on, than available in non-urban areas. He sees the differences being defined not as, therefore, a rural-urban continuum, but as economic constraints with the "culture of poverty" concept accounting for and limiting poor peoples's access to both urban and rural facilities and goods.

Dewey's (1961) analysis of the rural-urban continuum concluded that it was real but relatively unimportant. He showed that there was agreement only on the adjective "heterogeneity" in forty different descriptors used by a variety of authors as a basis for distinguishing ruralism and urbanism. Dewey concluded that the differences suggested by rural-urban concepts were overinflated and that they should be minimized in the study of society as a whole. Hauser's (1966) article attacked the rural-urban and folk-urban constructs as products of Western ethnocentrism and as having led to research bent on finding examples conforming to these ideals rather than acceptance of deviations from them.

The settlement patterns of Egyptian villagers who migrated to Cairo were examined by Abu-Lughod (1961) for difficulties the migrants might have in adjusting to city life. In her own way she refuted the concept of a rural-urban dichotomy, feeling that it was an invalid concept in defining the villagers' adaptation to the city. Anticipated changes involving new occupations and division of labor among family members, superficial relationships in a heterogeneous society and changing cultural values were not found. The city itself was being ruralized by the fact that over one-third of its permanent residents were born outside Cairo. These villagers had already been sending their children to schools following a national curriculum, owned radios and had urban friends and relatives before migrating to the city...For these reasons, their move was less drastic and dramatic than predicted by theories of urban-rural dichotomy. Bradfield (1975) analyzed characteristics of Peruvian migrants and found that there too they were most frequently from the more urbanized parts of the rural areas, i.e., the larger villages. These villages in turn are targets of migrants from the countryside. The migrants also are usually younger than the population as a whole, and from the upper class of their home area.

Adaptation to city life, or urbanization to the point of being able to survive in this setting is an important process, psychologically, socially and culturally. A psychological examination of adaptation in cities looked at mechanisms used by people to protect them-
selves from extraneous sensory input to relieve stress and psychological overloading (Milgram 1973).

The Role of Groups in Adaptation to City Life

Other adaptive strategies utilized by migrants that have been analyzed include regional associations. In Peru these associations operate as social clubs assisting migrants to adjust to Lima (Mangin 1959). The basis for organization is locality of birth or members' early residence. The clubs are found in nearly every coastal and mountain town and may even unite at the provincial level to promote communication between hometowns and Lima. Urban members obtain numerous benefits, including recognition and friendships in the urban environment, lobbying efforts for back-home interests at a national level and personal security in these groups away from home. Later Mangin (1974) examined the role of squatter settlements throughout Latin America. While many people consider them unseemly they serve a real need and like other social groups" represent a solution to the complex problem of rapid urbanization and migration, combined with a housing shortage" (1974:355).

Regional associations in Africa were also found to provide modern and traditional activities for members, reminding them of home ties and obligations as well as providing guidance in urban adaptation (Little 1973; Morrill 1967). The two-way communication between villages and city were evident in the fact that home town reputations followed the migrants to the city and this helped the association control urban behavior through the mechanism of gossip and other social sanctions. Shack (1975) found that the urban Gurage of Ethiopia retained tribal identities and ties, rejecting the cultural norms of the Amhara who greatly outnumbered and rejected them in the cities. The Gurage, like many others, organized self-help groups and developed their own status structures within them, but the major focus was back toward their villages. The groups were designed not so much to facilitate urbanization, but instead centered their activities on the village development of health stations, schools and roads in the tribal districts.

West African kinship ties as well as village ties were shown to continue to be strong and close in the 1950s in such varied centers as Brazzaville (Congo), Leopoldville and Stanleyville, (now Kinshasa and Kisangani, Zaire), Dakar, (Senegal), and Lagos (Nigeria). Aldous' (1961) review of research carried out in those cities indicated that the extended family did not disappear but was viable and provided shelter, legal, religious, economic and recreational needs in the urban milieu. Singer (1975) also found that the Asian Indian joint family was not breaking down in the cities, contrary to expectations, but was in fact strengthened during urbanization, industrialization
and modernization. It provided a haven for migrating family members who in turn provided labor for family enterprises.

A cross-cultural analysis of kinship as an adaptive strategy by Graves and Graves (1980) found greater ranges of variation than implied above. Their study indicated that variables influencing the maintenance of kinship ties in the city included: 1) cultural emphasis on kinship in both home and host communities; 2) preferences within individuals of the ethnic groups toward maintaining kin-related bonds; 3) the purpose for which kinship ties might prove useful; and 4) the stages of the family life cycle and migration at which the migrants found themselves. Graves and Graves distinguished between three major types of "preferred adaptive strategies": kin-reliance, peer-reliance and self-reliance. The choice migrants make then is more complex than it first appears to be with psychological and behavioral variables interacting with cultural tendencies and playing an important part in adaptation patterns.

North American Indians in the Cities

In 1970, it was estimated by the U.S. Census that 45% of the American Indian population lived in urban areas (Stanley and Thomas 1978). Those who identified themselves as Indian and who are identified officially as Indian are not always the same; despite this difficulty, all agree that the American Indian population has continued, since 1910, to increase at a faster rate than any other ethnic group identified in the United States. It is the urban Indians who are our subjects in this study, especially the women.

To begin, we examine what urban encroachment means to the inhabitants. In 1939 Marian Smith looked at the processes involved as urbanization takes over an entire area and its inhabitants. In this work she was talking about the Pacific Northwest and the effects settlements such as Seattle, Tacoma, and Olympia had on the Coast Salish. She compared the influx of urban settlements to the northern Atlantic coast where the Indians were also subjected to rapid changes in their environment. In both cases, they never had to move to the cities—the cities came to them. For a long while the Salish lives continued as usual, paralleling the effects of urbanization. By the 1940s, however, they no longer could ignore their neighbors and were faced with the conflicts between two ways of life, as have Indians all over the American continents (Smith 1939).

When writing about American Indians who have chosen or been chosen to move to the city, authors usually restrict their studies to a rather narrow area of investigation. A remarkable exception is Dosman's (1972) book, Indians: The Urban Dilemma. This is a political scientist's view of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Indians, gained through
intimate work with them over several years. He described their relationships with one another, with governmental agencies on provincial and national levels and with whites in the urban environment, their residence patterns and many other variables. Reservation background and agency policies were included in an analysis of success and failure of Indian organizations and individuals in the city. Dosman discovered that the paternalistic missionary approaches of the agencies, which believe acculturation to white society is the only desirable solution to urban living, are at least partially responsible for the limited success of programs for Indians. Agencies tend to refuse aid to initiatives by Indians for innovative programs that might be construed as rivals to liberal white prerogatives to "help" the Indians. Other problems can be attributed to the Indians themselves--inability to develop a stable leadership without grandstanding for white audiences, internal rivalry or caving in to local government. Dosman described a three-class urban Indian society: the affluent group which dissociated itself from its background; a welfare group which had no success in getting away from government support; and the anomic Indians who neither made it nor failed completely in the white society.

Another Canadian study (Stanbury 1975) was largely demographic. He interviewed 1100 Indians found in British Columbia pubs, prisons and through government agencies, housing programs and Indian centers. British Columbia and Canada as a whole have experienced a 10% increase in the off-reserve population in the last ten years. Hope of employment was the principal reason given for moving to urban locales; one-quarter moved because they preferred life off the reserve and 11% because of inadequate housing on the reserve. Secondary education in British Columbia could be obtained only in provincial schools; for nearly one-third of the Indians their first off-reserve living experience occurred while attending school. Income levels of most urban Indians were near or below poverty levels and child welfare problems were among the most pressing because of the combination of low income, high rate of illegitimacy and large family size. Stanbury found as contributing factors to the maintenance of Indian identity the teaching and speaking of the native language at home, telling legends and customs, belonging to Indian organizations and visiting the reserve to attend ceremonies or see relatives and friends. However, there was an increase in the percent of Indians who spoke only English from 5% to 30% between 1954 and 1971. Stanbury concluded that though there was a rise in the level of the social and economic positions of urban British Columbia Indians in the past decade, there was still a wide gap between them and non-Indians.
U.S. Policy and Movement of Indians to the Cities

Among the factors causally involved in the movement of Indians in the United States to cities has been U.S. government policy. A thorough overview of motives, plans and actions of the Federal Relocation Assistance Program (the Relocation Program) is given by Neils (1971). It was estimated that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Relocation Program of the 1950s, also called the direct employment program, shipped 70,000 Indians to Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Jose, Tulsa or Oklahoma City (Gundlach and Roberts 1978). Harris (1973) and Steiner (1968) examined this policy of "removal" which encouraged Indians to move to cities where agents promised jobs, schooling and decent housing. Steiner noted that once the Indian was removed from the reservation he was dropped from BIA statistics and all promises for providing wherewithal, job training and indoctrination into city ways—from using the laundromat, paying bills, riding the bus to watching the clock—were forgotten by the BIA. Harris found that local welfare agencies often ended up paying expenses, including passage home to the reservation for those unsuccessful in adjusting. Those who did adjust frequently did so with help from intertribal organizations which are run by Indians and often offered the only hope and help in urban settings for the Indians.

Sorkin (1969) also looked at aspects of American Indian migration and the BIA, coming to somewhat less pessimistic conclusions. "While relocation can enhance the standard of living of those participating in federal programs, budget limitations prevent these programs from assisting enough applicants to markedly reduce the level of surplus labor on the reservations" (1969:243). In addition, he concluded that those attracted by this program were better educated in the first place and nearly a third had attended night school to further their education within five years of receiving BIA training. Participants in the program earned twice as much as they had previously and had significantly fewer arrests, suggesting that antisocial behavior declined with urban success. A more ambitious project by Sorkin (1978) examined The Urban American Indian on a larger scale; in addition to the relocation programs he included health care, alcoholism, housing and social services, education, Indian centers and other urban Indian organizations as aspects of acculturation to urban life.

Statistics offered by Gundlach and Roberts (1978) show that in 1970 38% of the 750,000 Indians in the U.S. lived at the poverty level. Of those on reservations, 54% were at the poverty level, thus motivating them to leave for the cities in hope of improving their lives. Unfortunately, even with limited BIA backing and although their total family income was greater for the relocated Indians, frequently they were less well off financially because living in the city was more expensive than reservation living.
Indian Support Groups in the Cities

Bahr (1972) stated that the philosophy of the federal relocation programs was a fiction with its demand for conformity to white standards. There is also a failure by social sciences, exacerbated by unreliable census data, to recognize that a large segment of today's Indian culture is an urban culture. He added that the urban Indians' response to relocation was divided on the basis of geographical location—if close enough to the reservation they maintained former ties; if not, pan-Indian ties were formed, tending to increase the sense of Indian identity.

These pan-Indian groups and Indian centers are analogous to regional associations discussed above, providing a base for migrants to maintain contacts with other members of Indian tribes and to provide aid and comfort while becoming urbanized. A San Francisco Bay area study (Abion 1964) found that Indians in that area continued to maintain close ties to other Indians, mostly relatives or other tribal group members, or to pan-Indian activities rather than becoming involved with white or mixed groups. Interaction with whites, even when encouraged, was rarely more than superficial. Abion explained this historically, pointing out that typically white roles as government officials had led to dependency relationships. These in turn caused suspicion of any motives that might prompt whites to be friendly.

Thomas (1968) felt that on the national scene the pan-Indian movement often signified disillusion with assimilation and acceptance into the mainstream American society and was often composed of members who were angry about both objective and relative deprivations. Vogt stated that "The significance of this Pan-Indianism in general terms is that it provides a social and cultural framework within which acculturating Indian groups can maintain their sense of identity and integrity as Indians as long as the dominant larger society assigns them to subordinate status" (1957:146). Washburn noted that the degree to which 20th-century Indians have lost or retained their heritage is difficult to ascertain, but that "The acculturation scale provides examples from tribes like the close-knit Hopi, on the one hand, to individual Indians who live in white society and have no visible or overt identification with Indian culture" (1975:261).

Other Adjustment Strategies

Other adjustment strategies were the focus for a number of authors who have analyzed the urbanization of American Indians. Fried (1972) looked at the effects of programs initiated in outlying areas of the Canadian Northwest Territories to implement Indians' integration into national life. Once relocated to the city the Indian attempted to accommodate along what Fried perceived as a gradient typi-
fied by three levels. The Indian might choose to compartmentalize, keeping the core of his traditional values internal and intact, maintaining contacts with whites at a superficial level and adding wage labor or money contacts to older patterns of behavior. Marginal accommodations were seen in those who were socially detached from both the native and white communities and were neither economically nor socially close to either. The acculturated natives were in daily contact with whites though rarely totally socially assimilated but able to accommodate themselves well to the white society.

McFee (1975), in his "150% man" concept, combined the first and last of these three types of adaptation, suggesting that the compartmentalization provided adequate support to operate within each lifestyle— as Indian or as white. Louise Spindler's study (1962) of Menomini women, although they were not urban residents, produced a theory of acculturation to white ways. She suggested there was a continuum of adaptations ranging from native-oriented to elite. The label "Native-oriented" described women who most retained "...Menomini values, such as 'Knowledge of native lore,' 'Use of Indian medicines,' 'Knowledge of Menomini language,' and 'Display of native objects' (L. Spindler 1962:92). The "elite" group was described as the most thoroughly acculturated to Western-oriented conditions of life. Spindler found indications that the Menomini women retained more aspects of the Menomini culture during the acculturation process than did the men.

Graves (1980) listed a number of techniques for coping with urban life. He found that Indians relocated by the BIA rather than with encouragement of urban kinsmen, tended to display a predominantly peer-reliant strategy and tended to more frequently be arrested for drunkenness than migrants operating under kin-reliant auspices. On this same line, McCracken (1968) found a lesser proportion of kin vs. non-kin social relations among Navajo migrants. He compared urban Navajos with those who had migrated to the city but returned to the reservation and those who had never left the homeplace. He found that those with the greater exposure to urban life were more likely to use non-kin status terms in their interactions in the cities than used by reservation-based Navajos in their social relations.

A different set of defining variables for adjustment was developed by Hurt (1962) when describing the Yankton Indians. He suggested that their reactions were dependent on their response to the urban environment: rejecting, selecting or accepting. Those Indians defined as rejecting didn't accept either white or Indian ways, were indifferent to life, full of hopelessness and frustration, often in jail. Selecting Indians chose to accept neither white nor Indian cultural patterns at face value but displayed inconsistency between overtly expressed values and actual behavior. The accepting Indians preferred white ways and became highly critical and ashamed of their Indian culture. Hurt concluded that these composite patterns were
dependent on basic reactions to life and the environment as well as whether the individual was city- or reservation-born.

Yinger and Simpson (1978) identified four levels of assimilation: biological (amalgamation or intermarriage), psychological (identification), cultural (acculturation) and structural (integration). They anticipated an eventual but full integration of Indians and non-Indians at some time in the future. In the meantime, however, cultural pluralism and maintenance of ethnic identification still seemed to be the order of the day.

The concept of cultural pluralism was further examined by Steele (1972) who found that the Pottawatomi and Kickapoo who moved to a nearby city to work still kept up tribal affiliations and relationships with their friends and relatives remaining on the reservation. The fact that this city was less than an hour's drive away from home was certainly a key factor. The city bureaucracy had made little attempt to understand the Indians or to reduce its prejudice against them. As a result interaction was frequently frustrated, did not lead to assimilation, and resulted in the maintenance of social pluralism. However, DeGeyndt (1973) found that surprisingly fewer Indians returned to the reservation for holidays, weekends and rituals than anticipated in Minneapolis. Unfortunately, no mention was made of any attempts to correlate visits with income, distance from the reservations or types of transportation available.

Price (1968) distinguished between personal adjustment and acculturation, suggesting that the former can be passive and have little correlation with acculturation. He found that Los Angeles Indians were scattered throughout the metropolitan area locating near their work and that this scattering resulted in the formation of pan-Indian groups. The lack of tribal enclaves enhanced associations with members of other tribes with whom they discovered common history and heritage. An opposite reaction manifested itself near Green Bay, Wisconsin (Dowling 1968). Here jobs were few and prejudice great, so an almost 'rural' enclave with large families and other rural characteristics was maintained by the Oneida in the Green Bay Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). In contrast, in Dallas, where Fogleman (1972) said prejudice toward Indians was minimal, acculturation occurred but Indians themselves were delaying entrance into white institutions on a primary group level. He found little importance attached to class structure within the Indian society but that a heightened sense of tribal identity was emerging.

A general report focussed on Chicago Indians (Neog, et al. 1970) who were recipients of an agency which provided practical social services to recent migrants. Intensive counseling on individual and family marital, alcohol and delinquency problems resulting from feelings of isolation and estrangement from family, friends and familiar
ways of life were one aspect of the agency's program. Most of the
needs met were, however, for emergency situations, of an economic
nature. Like others, Neog et al., discovered that urban migration
continues to precipitate severe social, economic and family problems.

In areas where new migrants attend school, the young people are
often greatly affected. In an examination of contemporary American
and Canadian school systems, Fisher (1973) found that the systems were
gear ed to white middle class values and rites of passage, taking no
account of values of Indian members. Indians frequently failed to use
their educations or did not take advantage of the opportunities avail-
able for schooling, although they did "about as well" as whites on per-
formance tests of intelligence. Fisher felt that too frequently the
expanded educational opportunitites really were not helpful because to
the Indians they were offering an irrelevant set of values and train-
ing, often in direct conflict with the students' moral and cultural
values. He explained, "Thus, it is the education system that fails
the student and not the student who fails the system. In trying to be
a good and successful Indian, the Indian student must often be a bad
and unsuccessful student" (1973:294).

Another focus of adjustment was traditional Indian medicine,
Press (1978) felt than an obvious function in the retention of folk
illnesses and cures in the city was to minimize the trauma of accul-
turation. These retentions were often found in low-income areas of
migrants where residents were socially or culturally marginal to both
the larger population and their own culture.

Fuchs and Bashehur (1975) found that nearly 30% of the Indians in
the San Francisco area used traditional medicines. Use was closely
and positively associated with use of native languages, frequency of
trips back to the reservation (perhaps to procure the necessary herbs
and roots?), dislike for the city and length of time in the city. It
was not associated with education, economic level or the number of
visits made to Anglo doctors. The traditional medicine emphasized
etiology rather than symptoms, and no conflict between use of Anglo
medical care and traditional medicine was apparent.

Indians and Appalachian Studies

The length of time a group of people are exposed to the customs
and culture of another group often plays an important role in the
problems of adjustment. As Bullough and Bullough (1972) pointed out,
the Indians living east of the Mississippi today, had long ago accept-
ed European customs, so for many of them the transition to European
ways has been far in the past. Many of these were Indians who re-
mained in the eastern mountains after the removals in the 1850s to
Oklahoma. As a result, brief mention of urban Appalachians, not nec-
essarily Indian, in Ohio is appropriate since half of the respondents in this study were from that region. Fowler's (1981) examination of residential distributions of urban Appalachians in Cincinnati, Ohio, found the migrants scattered throughout the city, as were the Indians in Dosman's Saskatchewan study (1972). Here, too, competition for the limited housing available in the city was the major factor. Like the Indians, the Appalachians most frequently were concentrated in low and lower-middle socioeconomic status areas, and encountered the same lack of accessibility to opportunities for education, jobs, good schools and housing.

A Cleveland study (Photiadis 1981) of Appalachians describing occupational adjustment, emphasized that people moved to the city in expectation of bettering their incomes and standards of living. Those who did so tended to remain while those whose expectations were not met tended to return to their places of origin when their ability to adjust to the pressures of urban demands was insufficient. The returnees were generally older, less skilled, with lower incomes and socioeconomic levels than those remaining. Those who stayed in the city tended to live in the suburbs or ghettos, were physically healthier, earned more, had higher technical skill levels, were less fond of Appalachian life and preferred the urban environment.

The Appalachian Indians most frequently encountered in this study are the Lumbee. This group is from Robeson County, North Carolina, named for the Lumber River that flows through the region. Two histories of the Indians (Dial and Eliades 1976; Blu 1980) trace their struggles for recognition and acceptance as Indians. This was a difficult and drawnout process because, as Brewton Berry (1963) indicated, many of them are tri-racial—black, white and Indian. The brown skins and tightly curled hair of some made them suspect to the whites who wanted to simplify the school systems by labeling the Indians as blacks, thus requiring only two sets of schools. Their status was codified by the North Carolina Legislature as Lumbee Indians in 1953 and so many of them, before the 1964 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation, were educated in their own Indian schools. Even so, their self-identification as Lumbee is not complete, many of them still prefer to refer to themselves as Cherokee (Baker 1982).

Like the Navajo, the Lumbees have their own college, Pembroke State College, founded in 1957. The school was the first in North Carolina to desegregate, in the early 60's, but the Indians recently fought to retain control after a white chancellor was appointed in 1979 (Middleton 1979). This group fits well into the descriptions of the Appalachian migrants. A group of Lumbees, residing in their own enclave in Baltimore, Maryland, has been described by Peck (1972). He found that their rural background and urban legislative and educational experiences had both assisted and hindered their assimilation to city lifestyles.
The strategies above all indicate some anticipation that acculturation or urbanization will occur among the Indian population. When the Indians do not adjust they often return home, to the rural area or reservation from which they came, or become statistics in the arrest records for drunkenness, prostitution or as suicide and murder victims. Assimilation, for many of the Indians, is threatening and frequently resisted (Chabrowe 1973). Some of the factors listed by Isenberg (1973) contributing to the adversity are the lack of job opportunities or training programs. Language problems, the need to deal with demands of punctuality by whites and other factors often result in drunkenness caused by frustration when the Indians fail to cope with urban life.

Bigony (1974) focussed on the reasons Indians themselves accepted or rejected urban life. Again, it was those Indian migrants who had vocational skills leading to jobs who successfully adjusted to life in Detroit. They lived with their nuclear families, encouraged their children's attendance in school and were optimistic about the white society. For most, the Protestant work ethic had replaced the communitarian ideal because they were unable to maintain kin and friendship ties for mutual assistance if they wished to survive financially. The opposite picture emerged for the unskilled migrants. They lived in extended family households where several relatives could pool resources. They often held opposing points of view toward their children's schooling and society from those of their successful cousins. These Native Americans did not maintain longterm residence in the city but often returned to their rural homes in Michigan and Ontario. Thus we see that when adversity becomes too much to handle in the city, Indians often return to their home bases which offer a way out or a more compatible life style.

Indian Women in the Cities

Studies of urban Indian women are quite rare. In a review essay by Rayna Green (1980) of works on Native American women, she examined over 350 bibliographic items from the 1600's to 1980. Of them, more than 50% were published in the last twenty years. Unfortunately for the present study, the articles and books depict women on the reservation--as children, as participants in traditional rites, medical subjects, culture bearers, social or antisocial beings, their roles in tribal society as leaders in times of peace and stress and how the women's movement has heightened their awareness--nothing is cited concerning Indian women in cities. Green herself says "No study yet deals with the resilient intratribal and pan-Indian networks, formed largely by women on and off reservation, networks which keep migratory and urban Indians working, educated, and in touch with their Indian identities" (1980:266). A critical bibliography on Urbanization of American Indians (Thornton, et al. 1982) was helpful at a general
level on Indian migrant studies but also added little on studies of urban Indian women.

One book that touched on city life, but only peripherally, was the life history of a Micmac woman whose body was found on the Pine Ridge Reservation, *The Life and Death of Anna Mae Aquash* (Brand 1978). It traced her peripatetic life, from Nova Scotia to Boston to Wounded Knee to Oregon and back to South Dakota. As an active participant in the American Indian Movement (AIM) and dedicated to pan-Indian ideals, she lost her life in the militant struggle to maintain her ethnic identity, despite her years in urban environments—or perhaps because of them.

A study in which Indian women (and men) were included as a specifically identified group among Hispanic, Oriental and black groups is Almquist's *Minorities, Gender and Work* (1979). Indians generally have to compete for jobs against other minority group members and find prejudice standing in the way of hiring and promotion. Among all women Almquist found that Indians have the lowest work rates generally, due to lower educational levels, large family size, husbands' low income and because geographic locations, especially on or near reservations, limit job opportunities.

Guillemin's (1975) book on the cultural strategy of urban Indians provides some intimate portraits of male-female relationships among the Micmac in Boston. Her chapter on urban interactions gives details of battles on the sexual front, legal marriage, weddings and aspects of family and tribal life in an industrial environment, exposing attitudes of both women and men about these institutions. Earlier she (Guillemin 1974) had mentioned the accommodations made to survive in the city. The Micmac tribal network functioned through a system of mutual obligations resulting in shared transportation, room and board while an extended family network provided childcare and opportunities for parental mobility. While part of the "cheap labor" market, they provide one another sociability, a factor Guillemin feels even outweighs the economic motive in attracting the Micmac to the city.

A final study dealing with urban Indian women by Wagner (1976) examined the role of intermarriage on the degree of acculturation exhibited by Indian women residing in New York City. She utilized Vogt's (1957) suggestion that amalgamation (or intermarriage with non-Indian men) might be an index of assimilation. She found the Indians scattered throughout the metropolitan area rather than in ethnic enclaves. Few had more than one or two close Indian friends and tended not to be members of Indian organizations. Her informants were at least half-blood Indian women who currently or in the past were married. She categorized them as:
(1) Tradition oriented (those who adhere to traditional values, including a de-emphasis of material possessions, and seek to preserve or revitalize their culture); (2) Transitional (those who identify with their ancestral group but evidence more of the values of the dominant culture than of their traditional culture); and (3) American middle-class (those whose cultural identification is with the dominant society but who identify themselves as Indians) (1976:219).

Wagner found a number of indicators of acculturation. Those women who made frequent trips back to their homes, associated predominantly with other Indians and married Indian men tended to be identified as traditional. Those women whose husbands were white nearly all (but two) fell into the transitional or American middle-class categories. Their involvement with other Indians, material possessions, values and personal identification defined which of these two groups they best fit into.

Thus, from the preceding illustrations and studies it is apparent that the behavior patterns, identification as and with Indians, vary greatly among individual urban women. The purpose of the following data and discussion will be to examine the women in Central City to determine whether they exhibit the same or different patterns as their non-Indian neighbors.
III. Method

A number of decisions were necessary to implement this study. First, there was the matter of defining who should be included in the sample. Second was the necessity of delimiting an acceptable geographical area for study. Third, since there was material available on women living throughout the United States, the data gathered from the Indian women must be comparable to the women in the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience (NLS). Finally, there must be some sort of consistency underlying the questions asked so a questionnaire must be developed that would be used as the basis for gathering the desired information from the subjects.

Sample

Defining who is an Indian and was therefore eligible to be included in the sample was a first step and raised an old problem. Officer (1971) noted that in 1960 there were 165,922 urban Indians, nearly 30% of the total Indian population in the United States. However, the criteria used for identifying these Indians have been changed nearly every ten years. As a result figures for each ten-year period hardly reflect true population counts nor the same populations.

Current federal guidelines issued by the Office of Management and Budget are reflected in the Ohio State University's "Personal Data P~cord." It defines an American Indian or Alaskan Native as "A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North American, and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition" (Ohio State University, 1978).

Using this rather nebulous criterion and the Native American Indian Center (hereafter referred to as the Indian Center) a sample of 50 Indian woman was obtained. Each woman considered herself Indian and was referred or introduced to me as being Indian. Fifty-three women were interviewed but because three were only quarter-blood Indian, they were deleted from the analysis. The remaining women claimed a minimum of half Indian blood though few could prove it. Some had registration from the tribal rolls of their home reservations but none were requested to show it. Those who did offered such identification spontaneously, and proudly.

Family members and non-family sources referring other women as potential subjects provided several biological relationships between
respondents. There were a pair of sisters and five mother-and-daughter sets in the group. The daughters-in-law of two other women were also included.

If it were not for the Indian Center's presence and cooperation, finding the sample group would have been far more difficult. One of the reasons is the lack of visibility of Indians in this part of the country. Historically, the local tribes, such as Shawnee, Miami and Delaware, have long since been driven out of this region, leaving few traces of their existence since no lasting reservations were established in this state. "The Longest Walk" and "The Walk for Survival" pan-Indian operations were viewed by most residents of the target area as outside groups coming through the city for propaganda purposes. However, it dawned on almost no one that this city was included on their itineraries because a real local participation was expected and the foot-weary travellers were supported by local Indians with food and rest stops.

One minor problem arose after I had exhausted my supply of subjects from the women I had met at parties, smoke ceremonies and other events at the Indian Center. The director was most cooperative in making suggestions and asking if I had seen this person or that one. However, I finally realized that names were being "selected" -- subjects were being suggested who were highly verbal and well-educated. I challenged this and found surprise that I would even be interested in talking to less well-educated or downright ignorant women. I explained I was interested in everyone and the selectiveness lessened. By asking the interviewees for suggestions I also increased the diversity of backgrounds and discovered a number of women who were unfamiliar with, and to, the center because they'd never established contact with it.

Geographic Area

The problem of defining the geographical area from which the sample of Indian women would be drawn was resolved by my decision to interview women who lived in the target area's Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). This is defined as

...one or more contiguous counties containing at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more. Additional counties had to meet certain criteria of metropolitan character and of social and economic integration with the central city in order to be included....Further, SMSA's take into account places of industrial concentration (labor demands) and of population concentration (labor supply)...[and have]...been used extensively by numerous government agencies as a standard area for gathering, analysis, and publication of statistics" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1977:xvii).
For this study, a five-county SMSA was chosen in a northern midwestern state of the United States. All of the women living in this area then were within the working perimeters defined for the central city of the SMSA. The setting shall be hereafter referred to as Central City.

The Comparison Sample (NLS)

Because of the need to have data comparable with the national figures, many of the questions that were used in the final questionnaires were from the national surveys. The NLS data had been collected and utilized by the Center for Human Resource Research (CHRR), in Columbus, Ohio. The CHRR operates on grants from the U.S. Department of Labor and is associated with the Ohio State University’s College of Administrative Science (Center for Human Resource Research, 1982).

Their data set was based on a longitudinal series of interviews with two groups or cohorts of women. The first cohort was initially interviewed in 1967 and consisted of women aged 30 to 44. The second cohort was first interviewed in 1968 and included young women aged 14 to 24. In both cases the most recent data, which was used for comparisons in this study, were compiled 12 years after the initial interviews. Thus, the older women’s age range was 42 to 56 years in 1979; the younger women in 1980 were 26 to 36. The data from these years were chosen for comparison with the sample for this study because they were gathered during the same period that the interviews were being done with the Indian women.

In 1978 the CHRR sponsored training sessions for interviewers around the country who would be conducting the upcoming set of interviews. One series of these workshops was being held in Columbus. I was able to attend the workshops to observe procedures used for probing non-responsive answers by the Bureau of Census interviewers. I also anticipated illiterate subjects and wanted to ask professionals how to detect their inability to read without embarrassing them.1

Developing the Questionnaires

The final problem, that of developing the interview questionnaire itself, was largely resolved by reliance on the NLS style and format. In order to compare the Indian women's economic, historical family and

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1 It's simple. When handed a list of items or other written material, the non-reader will lay it down, usually without even glancing at it, and pay it no further attention. Most women who could not read, however, were not in the least bit reticent about telling me.
childhood backgrounds with those of the national cross-section, it was desirable to begin with the same questions. Two of the four sections of the questionnaire that finally evolved, therefore, borrowed heavily from the NLS materials. (See Appendix A for the final questionnaire set.)

The questions were divided into several sections, following the NLS model. The "Household Record Card" duplicated the NLS format. It was used to obtain basic information about the subject's place of residence and the permanent members of the household on the date of the interview. The "Survey of Work Experience (Of Urban Indian Women)" is a modification of the NLS questionnaires, shortened in some areas and expanded in others. For instance, there was more information gathered by NLS about current and past jobs and industries than it was deemed warranted for this study. On the other hand, additional questions seemed appropriate to gather information on the Indian women's backgrounds and possible ramifications on their current life styles as Indians in cities, e.g., types of schools attended and aid received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) or other federal or local agencies because they were Indians. The "Survey" consisted of nine sections labeled "Current Labor Force Status," "Work Experience," "Child Care," "Work Attitudes," "Retrospective Work History" (dealing with problems of discrimination), "Health," "Education and Training," "Assets and Income," and "Marital History, Fertility and Other Family Background."

The third section of the questionnaire, the "Sociocultural Field Schedule," was from a model developed by George and Louise Spindler for their studies of the Menominee Indians and acculturation (G. Spindler, 1955:224-227; L. Spindler, 1962), and further modified by McFee (1975) for his study of Blackfeet acculturation. New questions were added and modifications or expansions of those from their versions were made. Although their papers were among the major influences on the design of the study, this section was preceded by the NLS questions in the interview sequence because they tended to be either more personal or could be completed by the interviewer's own observations of the surroundings the subject lived in. The last section, the single page "Addendum," came about as the first three interviews were in progress and questions occurred that seemed important and relevant to the material being discussed or to the goals of the study.

Appendix A includes the introductory material, the "Oral Presentation to Respondents," read to all subjects and the "Receipt" signed after the interview was completed. When the questionnaires and dissertation proposal were first submitted to the Human Subject Office at the Ohio State University they were approved with the following conditions: the subjects were deemed not at risk but should be informed that they need not answer any objectionable questions and could withdraw participation at any time. However, this must be in a written
form of consent. When this stipulation was received, I requested a waiver to these conditions. Current events had too frequently focussed on broken Indian treaties, so that asking modern Indian women to sign any forms until they knew what and why they were signing them seemed much too forward. The Human Subjects Review Committee approved a waiver of consent with the proviso that the women be verbally apprised before the interview began of their right to withdraw at any time. This agreement resulted in the "Oral Presentation to Respondents" which was read before any questions were asked. A signature was then obtained (an 'X' in one case) at the end of the interview that signified that the woman had received $5 and that they understood that the information was confidential and that names would not be used.

Interviewing the Women

The interviews with the women were intensive and externally formal. They were begun with a rigid and business-like format. A tape recorder was present along with the pile of forms, pencils and other pertinent paraphernalia. This was done for two reasons. The first was to provide a certain degree of familiarity with the "idea" of being interviewed and taped. Those women who did not know me previously might have been more ill at ease without the external trappings of a formalized situation. In this way, with the attributes of a formal interview there was immediately an aura of respectability about the undertaking. The second reason was to provide uniformity via the interview guides, ensuring that all subjects would be asked the same questions in a similar order. (On the hidden agenda would be a third reason: it also reassured me in unknown situations to have a schedule of things to do while orienting myself to the respondent.)

The sample was not randomly selected because there was not available any list that even pretended to provide a complete representation of Indians residing in this area. Therefore, many of the first subjects were simply acquaintances or friends from the Indian Center. As time progressed, and those whom I knew or had met at the Center had been interviewed, subjects were increasingly drawn from previous respondents' suggestions or the Center's lists. While I may not have met the women previously, they frequently had a pretty good idea who I was because the source of their name usually had warned them I was going to call.2

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2One suggestion had been made that I might advertise in the local papers for subjects. This was rejected because I wanted to have at least the assurance that the subjects were regarded by others in the
Several calls to the women were often required before contact was made. Once a date was set, however, I headed out at the appointed time to the homes of the subjects. Of first importance among interview equipment, I realized immediately, was a good city map. The interviewees were scattered all over the city itself as well as the outlying counties. Assuming that the map wasn't misleading and that new roads didn't change access to old ones, I would arrive at the home to find any number of other things had gone awry. Sometimes no one was there. They had run down to the store but did not leave a note. They forgot I was coming. They were not sure they wanted to be interviewed so weren't around the first time I showed up. They had a doctor's appointment or had to pick up a child at school but it did not occur to them to call and cancel. And of course, the further away they lived, the more likely it was that they were not there and had no phone so I could have confirmed the appointment beforehand.

Usually, however, the subject was there--gracious, often quiet-voiced and quite happy to talk about herself. I was greeted with friendliness and curiosity, though some had misinterpreted my reason for being there. One older woman thought I was a visiting nurse sent by the Indian Center, but when she found out differently was still willing to let me ask my questions. The "Oral Presentation to Respondents" (Appendix B) generally was sufficient explanation, although with some of the women it was sometimes difficult to ascertain if they fully understood my reason for being there. (I must admit to sometimes being uncertain myself.) Nevertheless they always seemed to cooperate to the utmost.

Home settings were important for keeping the women relaxed on their own territory, as it were, and for giving me a glimpse of the immediate environment in which they spend their lives. There was also little pressure to hurry up and finish because of any time limits. One exception was a woman who had to pick up her mother to go to the doctor.

The interviews themselves lasted from a minimum of one hour to over three hours when an especially talkative and/or lonely subject was enchanted to have an audience. The shorter times were required for such women as those who had little or no recall about their backgrounds. One such instance is illustrated by the following exchange. "What is your birthdate?" "The 4th of July. But I don't know what date because I was born in a cotton field. I can't read and write. I was born on a hot day though." "Have you any idea of about when?" "Well, no, not exactly, I wouldn't know. Just put it's 30 or 40 or 50. It don't make no dif--, I ain't no 50 years old." (She looked about 60.) She gave a date of October 11, 1935 or '36 for her husband's birthdate which was disconfirmed when he arrived home and told me it was five months and two years earlier. A shorter interview time also occurred when no children were present, no jobs had been held or
when other sections of the interview were irrelevant. For many of the women, however, there was much to say and many of them were very verbal.

I began by feeling embarrassed and not a little reluctant to ask about income and other personal things but realized shortly that most people are more than pleased to answer such questions, once assured that responses will be kept anonymous. There were refusals on only two topics. Two women said their husbands didn't want them to discuss their incomes with other people. The other refusals centered around the marital histories of the subjects. In one case the woman opened up only after her teen-age son left the room and the reason was apparent--she had never been married. The other cases were two elderly women who lived together and who had originally been married to brothers. One had been deserted when her husband ran off with another woman leaving her with several children; the other's marriage had dissolved in divorce. They were unanimous in their refusals to discuss these marriages.

The interviews were nearly all taped because extraneous conversations, as they deviated from the questionnaire items, often provided important ethnographic data relating to or antedating life styles in the city. Sometimes it was of no importance to the immediate question, but simply allowed the respondent to vent steam--especially when the subject of welfare or social security came up and the older women always brought up their fear of cuts. Because of the free-flowing nature of these remarks and reminiscences it was difficult to write more than key-words or phrases, partially because of the need to be able to interact and respond to their comments or questions. And the more engrossing or scandalous the material, the fewer were the notes taken. Once transcribed, the recording provided a complete written record of the interview.

While taping thus preserved asides and other comments, however, it also contributed one of the most frustrating aspects of the interviews--equipment failure. The more important the material being taped, the more likely it was that the machine had come to the end of the reel and was no longer recording. Or it had never been turned on in the first place. If it was turned on, it had quit because I had forgotten to check the batteries. Or it was busily and quietly chewing up the tape and spewing it out in long curls, all unnoticed while I concentrated on the interview. Nevertheless, it was an invaluable tool.

Interviews were scheduled on a weekly basis whenever possible. The reason for this was that I tried to transcribe each interview immediately after it had taken place. It was necessary to have the material as fresh as possible, especially when the tapes were erratic. One machine developed a mechanical problem that caused the tape to
slow down making it nearly inaudible. On some tapes a hum developed and when the women's voices were soft or low their responses could barely be heard. Screaming children were also a hazard on several occasions and sharp noises that nearly ruined my auditory capacities were not as uncommon as could be wished. Well-meaning children and other relatives also provided interruptions as they offered drinks, delivered phone messages to mothers or needed to ask questions (often, I suspected, only to get a look at the strange woman with all of her questions).

At the conclusion of the interview, each woman was given five dollars for her cooperation and time. Those who insisted it wasn't necessary to pay them were told they could use it for their church, and one contributed hers to the Indian Center emergency fund. Most were glad of even that little bit of change, however. The payments were possible because of the Women's Studies Small Grant Program at the Ohio State University which awarded the money for this purpose. The small remuneration was given following the precedent set in other studies of Indian women. (See, for example, L. Spindler, 1962:7.)

It was quite apparent that most of the women enjoyed the experience of being interviewed. It was not always a new one. Some had been interviewed as part of the procedure for obtaining welfare or funds from other programs. But this one held no life-and-death consequences. It was just a chance to talk about themselves. Many of them offered coffee and other refreshments during the period; we sat at kitchen tables or in the living room and generally things became quite informal by the time the last of the questions had been asked and answered. Several women invited me back to visit again or to get greens from their gardens later in the season. Another offered to teach me how to freeze vegetables. One even enjoyed the experience so much she called her mother whom she had suggested be interviewed to tell her what fun it had been and to encourage her participation.

Processing the Material

The first thing that was done after the interview was completed was the transcribing of the tape. This usually required a minimum of five to six hours for each tape, and not infrequently up to fourteen. When the tape was especially unclear due to background noise, dialects frequent among the southern-born women, slurring or speech impediments, the time required increased.

The transcriptions were verbatim, but no attempt was made to indicate dialects by use of linguistic symbols nor could intonations be indicated. The few concessions were that I did try to spell some of the more obscure variants of words (which also necessitated a nota-
tion that this was indeed what the informant had said) and noted dropped 'g's with an apostrophe.

As the end of the time approached that I had allotted myself for obtaining the interviews, I adhered less rigidly to the concept of typing each one before the next interview was scheduled. This resulted in a backlog of typing that required nearly six months to complete.

As each transcription was completed it was xeroxed along with the four sections of the completed questionnaire. This prepared the way for the next step--coding. The codes for the NLS questionnaire items were identical to the ones used by the CHRR in its analyses of the data. McFee had included his coding for the Sociocultural Field Schedule in his 1972 article and these too were used to provide materials in a comparable form. Responses to the original or new questions that had been added were analyzed, and numeric codes were developed for them also. This then provided data that would be keypunched and analyzed on the computer. The number of variables resulting from the four parts totaled 1081, most of which will not be utilized for this study. Only the eighth chapter will be concerned with the data from the women and girls of the NLS, looking at major events in the women's lives. It is anticipated that later studies will deal in greater detail with work histories, sibling relationships and family contributions.

Analyzing the Data

Once the data were coded and keypunched for the 50 Indian women, data were pulled out from the NLS tapes for the comparison sample of American women. Several weeks of work were required to do this. Only women who lived in SMSAs were selected. This meant that they were urban or near-urban in residence; no rural or reservation people were included in the national or Indian women samples. Approximately 160 variables were chosen for possible comparisons with the Indian women's data.

Condescriptives were run on the continuous variables, such as income of the respondent and spouse, the amount of alimony, welfare payments, child support and miscellaneous income reported. For the rest, frequencies were run by category of response for each variable. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Nie, et al, 1975) was chosen to run these programs since the size of the NLS sample was large (over 5000 subjects in each cohort before the SMSA restriction was activated), but the number of variables was less than 500 (which is the limit the SPSS program can handle readily).
The NLS women's and girls' data were analyzed in several different groupings. The first was simply using the raw data to check that the correct variables had been extracted from the tapes. A second analysis was done using weighted figures that would make the sample analogous to the total U.S. urban population. This was necessary because the NLS sample was designed to interview disproportionately large minority group samples to ensure adequate representation. The weights then provided that the relative sizes of the oversampled groups were proportional to the rest to give a balanced picture of the total population. The last runs separately analyzed responses by race with the codes being 1 = White, 2 = Other. The latter group represented Blacks, Hispanics and other minority members.

For the sample of Indian women, the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) (SAS Institute, 1979) was more appropriate since the data were on cards. SAS permits up to 4000 variables to be entered and 1081 had been coded and punched, well over the 500 limit of SPSS. Again the condescriptive and univariate frequency programs were utilized to develop the data base for the comparisons with the NLS samples. For each variable this provided descriptive statistics including the name assigned to the variable, labels corresponding to the various possible responses, the number of observations on which the calculations are based, the sum of the answers, the mean, the standard deviation, the smallest and largest values and range, the lower and upper quartiles and the median, the difference between the upper and lower quartiles, the mode, Student's _t value, measures of skewness and kurtosis, the first, fifth, tenth, ninetieth, ninety-fifth and ninety-ninth percentiles and the five largest and five smallest values. In other words, the analysis package gave us far more information than we needed; much of it was not utilized here.

The Indian women were analyzed as total unit and then broken down into two segments. The first breakdown was by age to determine if there were real differences in the backgrounds of younger and older women who had been somehow attracted to the city. The second breakdown was based on the woman's region of origin (birth)--east or west of the Mississippi, because there seemed to be some basic differences in these backgrounds, impressions gained during the interview sessions.

The analyses comparing the study sample and the NLS samples required the use of nonparametric statistical tests. A major restriction on the choice of statistics was that much of the data was nominal or classificatory; the responses had been assigned numeric values, having no intrinsic arithmetic values of their own. Another restriction was that the only condition specified in the model for choosing subjects was that the women claim Indian ancestry or have it attributed to them. The Indian women could not be assumed to be a randomly selected group. They became members of the sample on the basis of
their involvement in the Indian Center activities or through refer-
ences from people who were known to the Center staff.

The chi-square test for goodness of fit was chosen for most of
the comparisons. "The chi-square ($\chi^2$) test is employed to test the
difference between an actual sample and another hypothetical or pre-
viously established distribution" (Popham and Sirotnik, 1973:284).
Because the NLS samples represented the broad spectrum of women's
experiences throughout the United States their responses were assumed
to represent the normal population of the "previously established
distribution." The Indian women, of course, provided the "actual
sample." The chi-square is more sensitive with increasing numbers of
categories so the standard chi-square test was used for those vari-
bles which had more than a dichotomous response. For instance, catego-
riorizing the women by their activity for the previous week provided
seven categories for each group: working, with a job but not at work,
looking for work, going to school, keeping house, unable to work, and
other.

When responses were dichotomous, resulting in only one degree of
freedom (df), the chi-square test was again used but with the Yates
correction for continuity. Dichotomous responses involved popula-
tions:

...conceived as consisting of only two classes. Examples
of such classes are: male and female, literate and illiter-
ate...For such cases, all the possible observations from
the population will fall into either one or the other of
the two discrete classifications (Siegel, 1956:36).

In this study, for example, the women who were looking for work
were asked if they were looking for full-time or part-time positions,
thus providing a dichotomous response grouping.

Each of the above procedures told us the same thing: whether the
samples are alike or different. Were the Indian women like other
women in the city? If not, on what variables did they differ? Were
the differences mitigated by the Indian woman's place of birth or age?
When the level of significance ($\alpha$) attained .05 or less, the differ-
ence between the groups being compared was considered significant.

Chapters four, five and six utilized the descriptive statistics
only in the simplest ways, for describing how many women were involved
in particular activities, who came from what region, educational back-
grounds and so on. These chapters form essentially an ethnographic
account of the lives of Indian women in a metropolitan atmosphere,
their backgrounds and how they got here. Chapters seven and eight
utilized the statistics more fully. In Chapter seven the sample of
Indian women was broken down into two groups based on the regions in
which they were born and raised, to determine whether the areas in
which they had grown up were influential in later urban lifestyles. Chapter eight examined how well or how poorly the Indian women had adapted or fit themselves into the urban setting, based on comparisons with the cross-section of American women who are SMSA residents.
IV. Growing Up Indian

When people were told about this study with Indian women probably the most frequently asked questions were "What are Indians doing here?" or "How did they get here?" This chapter will attempt to answer those questions and to explain who the women are. It will examine their backgrounds as Indians, with subsequent chapters examining the influence this ethnicity has had on their lives today.

This is a non-random sample of Indian women. Some of them were acquaintances from the Central City Indian Center. There we had engaged in prayer ceremonies and feasts together, as well as Tupperware parties and informal get-togethers during the day. Often one or another of us had dropped in to see what was happening or just to pass some time in friendly surroundings. Other women were referred to me by those who had already been interviewed. Not all of the subjects were familiar with or to the center staff, since many of those appearing at the center do so only in search of help in getting jobs, food, clothing and emergency or permanent low-rent shelter. Still other respondents were referrals from non-Indian friends who happened to work with or know Indian women and who had asked them if they would allow their names to be passed on to me. These people were often unaware of the existence of an Indian center in the community, and while they seemed to welcome any information they could be given about it, they probably did not follow up on making contact with the center.

A total of 53 women were interviewed. Three of the interviews were discarded, because it became clear that the sample could be restricted to those women who reported that they were at least half Indian. Each woman who was eliminated from the sample was quarter-blood Indian. Additionally, two of the three were interviewed at their places of work, rather than at their homes. They were too busy or, in one case, seemed unwilling to have me in their homes. Because observations on the home would be missing, it was decided to drop the cases. The third subject was referred by another informant, and it had not been ascertained beforehand what percentage her heritage was. Once the interview had been begun it seemed impolitic to break it off.

Who They Are and How They Got Here

There were 17 different tribes represented by the 50 women. Nearly half (48%) of the women claimed full-blooded Indian heritage. One was seven-eighths Indian, seven were three-quarter Indian, three were five-eighths and fifteen were half-bloods. Of those not full-
blooded, all but one claimed white heritage mingled with the Indian; two specified the nationality as French or Russian. The father of the single exception was Mexican. Even though many exhibited Black phenotypes, none acknowledged Black ties.

Table 1 gives a listing of the tribal groups, indicating that Cherokee subjects were the most numerous. Sioux respondents were the second most frequently interviewed, with many of the women mentioning not only the tribe but the division--Oglala, Santee or Lakota. Lumbees were represented by four individuals, but three others considered themselves combinations of Lumbee and Cherokee. There were two Pima women, and each of the rest of the tribes or combinations was represented by one individual.

The women ranged in age from 20 to 82 years, averaging 44.6 years. They had been living in the city for periods ranging from less than one week to 53 years. Their average length of residence in Central City, however, was almost 16 years although three had been in the city less than one year. One of these had been here for four months but could be classified as "transient." Her husband had moved on to a job in New York state, and she was waiting for him to get enough money together to send for her and the children.

The five oldest women, all Cherokees, were 66, 70, 74, 78 and 82 years of age. All but one had been in the city over 20 years. They were not included in the analyses of work situations and child care needs, but their backgrounds and family histories were incorporated with those of the rest of the women.

Birthplaces and Indian Reservations

The respondents were born in all regions of the United States. Three came from the same state they live in now; 12 were from the same north central region but different states. Twenty-eight were from the south, six from the western and mountain states, and one was foreign-born while her parents were stationed abroad with the Air Force. (See Appendix C for the list of states included within regions.) The specific states in which the women were born are illustrated in Table 2 below. The birthplaces of thirteen women who were born on reservations are indicated with the number in parentheses if more than one was born on a particular piece of Indian land.

Growing Up on Reservations and Elsewhere

Although thirteen women were born on Indian lands, fifteen have at some time lived on reservations in one of four states--Arizona, Minnesota, South Dakota or Nebraska. One of the women who was born on
Table 1

Tribes Represented by Indian Women in an Urban Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Tribe(s)</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbee</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Paiute</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pima</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tinneh (Athapascan)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cherokee/Lumbee</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choctaw</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cherokee/Blackfoot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creek</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Winnebago/Omaha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eskimo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Nineteen of the Cherokee women were from eastern states; one was a "western Cherokee" from Oklahoma.*
Table 2

Birthplaces of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Respondents Born in State</th>
<th>Number born on Reservations</th>
<th>Indian Reservations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gila River I.R. (2)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Fond du Lac I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Omaha I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Winnebago I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Walker River I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cheyenne River I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Pine Ridge I.R. (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Rosebud I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Sisseton-Whapeton I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Yankton I.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tennessee       1   0

N = 50  13

a Figure in parentheses following reservation name indicates number of respondents born there, if more than one.
reservation land never lived there. Her mother had returned home to have the child near relatives. In other cases, three women were born off-reservation while their fathers were stationed on military bases and returned later to reservation life.

Reasons for leaving the reservation or other home lands fell into two categories: those that were at the volition of the women themselves and those instigated by others. Some of the women chose marriage and life away from their natal families with their husbands, or they opted for schools or jobs of their own in other areas. Circumstances beyond their control included cases in which the search for jobs by one or both parents took them to nearby cities. Adoption by a non-Indian family and the death of parents resulted in the removal of two other young girls from their reservations.

The fifteen who at one time lived on reservation lands averaged twelve years there. Only three lived there beyond their teen years. One of them left to get married at age 28. A second woman went to a nearby city when she was 21 to look for a job while the third moved away to school when she was 20. Three remained on the reservation until age 18. At that time two went away to school; the third left when she got married.

The rest were all in their preteens when they moved off Indian lands, ranging from six months to twelve years old. They were all under the care of parents or guardians when they left. Two non-reservation-born sisters had returned to Indian lands when their father was stationed at a nearby air base, but left again after a few months when he was transferred abroad. The parents of the other girls also left for economic reasons—to go where the jobs were. The parents usually moved to settings not far from the reservation; frequently they moved in with relatives until they could get themselves established.

Of the 48 Indian mothers and 43 Indian fathers, only 20 and 13 respectively were reservation-born and reared. At least one grandparent of 17 respondents was reservation-born; for only seven subjects were all four grandparents born on reservations. An important reason for this can be seen by again looking at Table 2, "Birthplaces of Respondents." As the Alaskan women were both so quick to point out, there were few reservations in their state, or in many of the other states from which the women came. The eastern states are particularly lacking in Indian lands, and over half of the women (28) come from areas east of the Mississippi. Comparisons of birthplaces of respondents and their parents based on origins east or west of this river will also be made in a later chapter.
Residences at Age Fifteen

A series of questions was asked about the period when the subjects were 15 years old. At that time, only six of the fifteen women who had lived part of their lives on reservations were still there. One of them was there nine months of the year while the boarding school on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation was in session. She left in the summers to be with her parents who worked in Colorado. Three others also lived in small towns on the reservations, while two resided in the country—not on farms or ranches, but in isolated homesites.

For those not on reservations at age 15, twenty were rural residents living on farms. Two others lived in the country but not on farmsteads. Fourteen of the girls lived in towns of populations less than 25,000. Seven of them were in larger cities or their suburbs and one was already living in the same place where she resided at the time of the interview—already urban dwellers.

Home Life at Age Fifteen

Many of the girls seemed to experience unstable or changing home environments (see Table 3). Only one-third of the 15-year-olds were still living with both of their parents. Divorce or death left nearly another third (16) with one parent, three of whom had remarried so that a step-mother or step-father was present in the household.

Of the remaining 16 girls, eight lived with other adult relatives and eight had other living arrangements. Of those living with relatives, three were with older sisters, three with grandmothers two with both grandparents, and two with an aunt and uncle. The girls who had other arrangements included two who were married and on their own, and five living with foster parents. One of the respondents who was listed as living with her grandmother was institutionalized in an orphanage but got occasional reprieves to live with the grandmother for short periods.

Siblings

None of the girls grew up alone—each had several of brothers and sisters, from the six who had two siblings to the subject with 21. The latter situation took into the count one full brother, numerous half-brothers and -sisters (her natural father had sired 13 other children and her mother had produced two other daughters), and four adopted brothers and sisters, plus a deceased full sister. Other family groups were not quite so tangled; for the whole sample the average was 7.2 siblings per subject. Most of the brothers and
Table 3

With Whom the Respondent Was Living
At Age Fifteen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father and mother</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Older sisters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and step-mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Grandparents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and step-father</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aunt and uncle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Married, with husband</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Seven of the subjects attended boarding schools so were usually only with their families during the summer. Two respondents each spent that time with father and mother, father only or mother only; one lived with her maternal grandparents when she was on vacation.*
sisters had gone their own ways, and today only one pair of sisters lives together in the city. For the most part, they have drifted away from one another and many of the women had difficulty remembering more than names and relative age placements in the family. Half of the subjects had half-brothers and/or half-sisters.

Infant mortality is frequently mentioned as an important explanatory variable for higher death rates and lower life expectancies among the Indian population, as the Indian Advisory Council testified to the Senate Special Committee on Aging (Williams, 1978). Within this sample, the figures were not quite as dire as might be expected, when it is remembered that the ages of the subjects themselves range into the 80's. Twenty of the subjects have not been bereft of any siblings, although one Alaskan woman was the only child who had survived until adulthood in a family of twelve children. Most of the deaths of siblings in this sample did not occur in infancy or youth but late in the teen years or beyond. Only 15 of the 87 deceased were under 10 years of age (4% of the total of 360 siblings), although how many may have been forgotten and unreported is unknown.

Today, only eight of the respondents have brothers or sisters still residing on reservations. Five still have one sibling on Indian lands while the remainder have three, four or eight siblings on the home reservations.

Games Children Played

To try to ascertain what contact the subjects had had with their cultural heritage as children they were asked about games they had played with their siblings and friends. Few of the women understood what was meant by "traditional Indian games" -- the stick games and hand games so extensively described by Culin (1907). Forty-three of them denied any knowledge of or having played any Indian games. One of the women said they had played white games on the reservation on which she was raised. Another equated Indian games with riding horseback on her grandparents' farm. Two mentioned basketball and baseball and the list of children's games included horseshoes, marbles, darts and camping, obvious transplants from the culture around them.

The seven who said they had played Indian games frequently or occasionally as children were asked to describe them. Some could not remember details, but some memories usually surfaced. One game was similar to today's game of jacks, but instead of using metal implements the children used small stones. Stick ball was mentioned by four respondents, saying it was something like soccer. More likely it resembled field hockey, since soccer uses no bats or other sticks for moving the ball around the field. It was quite fast-paced and one woman commented that she "...just about got killed with it."
A student at a mission school was not allowed to play stick games or anything resembling Indian games, just as she was not allowed to speak Lakota. As she got older and attended powwows, however, she learned about the hand games where a feather or small bone or stone is hidden by one person in the group of players and the person who is "it" must guess who is hiding it. A fuller description of the hand games was given by another Sioux woman:

Everybody gets in a circle and sits down and they have, like a red and a black rock...and a feather. And then they give the feather to one of the people and what you do is you take the two rocks and you...try to hide 'em....And that person with the feather will either point to the right or left and if they catch you with the rocks you have to go and look for it next. Sometimes it takes a long time...Everybody takes their hands and puts 'em back...so this person, he can be goin' from person to person for an hour and might not find it.

An Oklahoma Cherokee woman described cornstalk shooting which was a totally homemade competitive sport. The children made their own arrows and bows, including preparing the string from animal gut. A pile of arranged cornstalks provided the target. She also described something like bowling:

They used a steel ball and they dug holes...you had your steel ball and you'd try to roll it. It was so much distance apart, your holes...and you'd try to roll it into the hole...if you got the first one it was like so many points...and if someone was right in front of the hole, you were allowed to kind of push him out of the way with your ball.

This woman was a member of a very resourceful crew of children. They also

...used to make our own pogo sticks...you'd go out in the woods...we'd find a good limb that had a fork in it...and you'd just cut the fork up so high and you'd put your feet in the fork...you could have games on those...in winter we always made our own sleds...a couples pieces of board...sanded them real smooth and get on a hill somewhere.

None of the women have passed on these games to their own children.
Education

A major influence while growing up is one's education. The kind of school, its location, the philosophy behind the education itself, peer groups, administrators and many other variables have a profound impact on the way one views and reacts to life and the occupations it offers. Table 4 shows the levels of education attained by the subjects. Comparing it with Table 6 (to be discussed in more detail later), it indicates that the daughters did surpass their parents in their overall educational attainments at well beyond the .01 level of significance on the chi-square test for two different samples.

Only three of the women could be said to have no formal schooling, although two of them admitted to having attended school for a short while. One went for 2 months as a 6-year-old and the other went for 18 days. Neither liked it, and both convinced their parents that it made them sick to go to school. Seventeen, however, managed to hold out and completed at least two to eight years of elementary schooling.

More than twice as many subjects as their parents attended high school—thirty of them compared with 9 of their fathers and 11 of their mothers. Twenty-two of the women graduated from high school (compared with three of their fathers and seven of their mothers). Fourteen women went on to some kind of college or business school. Educational attainments of husbands will be discussed in the next chapter.

The types of institutions that the women attended varied from government boarding schools to regular public schools (see Table 5). One woman went to both mission and BIA-sponsored boarding schools. She had been taken from her home at the age of eight months, along with five brothers and sisters, by the church which had only the permission of the BIA. Her mother was ill with tuberculosis and her father was in a veteran’s hospital, so it was decided that the children should be removed from the family home. The girl managed to get herself released at age 13 to go home to live with her father who had by then been furloughed from the hospital and needed help. From that time on she continued school locally at a BIA-sponsored school. She replied, when asked how she felt about all of this, that after all it had provided a good education. She does not consider herself a Christian, for she cannot forgive being whipped for speaking her own language or having "to sneak" to do so. She knows the Bible, chapter and verse, and says when Christians get after her she is more than equipped to argue with them on their own terms.

The category "Public 'Indian' Schools" is a phenomenon that existed for respondents who lived in North and South Carolina when they were growing up. Until the early 60's, public schools in these
Table 4
Educational Attainment of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Grade Completed</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College, Bachelor's degree earned</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years university or business college</td>
<td>13 (including four awarded the A.A. degree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduates (did not go on to college)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years high school</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-8 years elementary school</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal schooling</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>N = 51</strong>^a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a A discrepancy occurs because one student did not complete high school but attended college for a year so was included in both categories.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government-sponsored boarding school, on own reservation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-sponsored reservation boarding school</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-sponsored day school, on reservation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-sponsored boarding school, non-reservation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-sponsored boarding school, non-reservation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular local public schools</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public &quot;Indian&quot; schools&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Catholic schools</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Protestant schools</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No school at all</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N = 51<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See text for full description of "Indian" schools.

<sup>b</sup> Discrepancy occurs because one woman had gone to two different types of schools.
states were segregated. Long battles were carried on to prevent the Indian children being assigned to Black schools. The result was the establishment of publicly sponsored "Indian" schools for this group. Frequently the schools were one-room affairs, run by teachers only barely more literate than their students.

The women who went on for further education or training after high school attended a variety of types of schools. Two went to Haskell Junior College, an Indian school in Lawrence, Kansas, where one majored in business and the other in secretarial studies. The business major went from Haskell to a state university, where she began work on a degree in interior design. She switched back to business before leaving without graduating.

Eight of the women attended public facilities for higher education—a community college, a four-year college, universities or business colleges. There they majored in a variety of subjects including secretarial programs, social work, early childhood education and behavioral sciences. The student attending the community college had been granted early admission after the eleventh grade of high school. Although she had not yet completed a degree, another of the women had been in attendance at two public colleges and one private church school; her last affiliation was with a British public college.

The remainder of the students went to church-affiliated institutions of higher learning. Three of these colleges were general program Protestant schools where major fields were arts and science, psychology, and secondary and special education. One was a Catholic college where the subject earned a bachelor's degree in history. The final listing was a Bible college, offering a Christian Education program where the student earned an A.A. degree.

Financial aid and grants were readily available, most frequently through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Six subjects had received BIA grants. One enumerated the coverage provided. The grant paid for her tuition, baby-sitting expenses, books, clothing, cost-of-living and travel, all received on a quarterly basis. Two of those holding BIA grants also had been given other assistance. One had a Basic Educational Opportunity Grant (BEOG) and the other had a BIA-backed loan. Four students had only BEOG's, including one who had not been able to get assistance from her tribe "because it was a Christian college" she had chosen to attend. One student had been awarded a private scholarship earmarked for Indian students. Only two women had not received financial assistance from public or private agencies when they went into higher education programs.
Parental Education

Educational attainments of the parents (Table 6) often were surpassed by their daughters (Table 4). Fourteen of the subjects did not know the grade completed by their fathers, while only nine were unaware of the educational levels attained by their mothers. Most often this was due to death or divorce in the family, so the respondents knew little about the missing parents.

Parents without schooling were not uncommon—over a fifth of the fathers (22%) and nearly as many of the mothers (18%). Sixteen of the fathers and 21 of the mothers had had some elementary schooling, constituting grades one through eight. Four mothers and four fathers had one to three years of high school. However, the mothers seemed to be able to stay in school longer and to finish high school more frequently than the men; seven of these women had graduated from high school while only three of the fathers had been able to complete graduation requirements. The father of two sisters in the sample was the only parent, male or female, who had received any college-level training which he had obtained while in military service.

Types of schools attended by parents varied from the local rural one-room school labeled "Indian" in the Carolinas to government boarding schools. Most of those who attended reservation schools did so on home ground. However, both parents of one subject from South Dakota had been sent away to school. The mother was assigned to the Home of the Good Shepherd in Iowa. The father attended the Infamous Carlisle School in Pennsylvania where, he was in later years proud to relate, his roommate had been Jim Thorpe who had gained great renown as an athlete.

Occupations of Heads of Households

When the subjects were fifteen years old, nearly half (48%) of their mothers worked outside the home. Most of the biological or adoptive fathers (88%) were employed. Only sixteen of the mothers were unemployed; a high mortality rate on the maternal side had resulted in nine girls becoming motherless by this age. One woman did not know what her mother was doing during that period. Although the divorce rate among parents was a major factor for the father not being in the home, only two of the fathers were deceased by that time.

Educational attainment in many instances dictated the occupational levels of the parents. The occupations of the fathers, foster-fathers, uncles, husbands or grandfathers who headed the households when the subjects were 15 were mostly non-professional (see Table 7). Among the fields mentioned were farming (20), maintenance work, ownership of a cab company, mail carrier, mine laborer (2), meat-
Table 6
Educational Attainment of Parents of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two years college</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduates</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years high school</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-8 years elementary school</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal schooling</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know educational level of parent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50 50
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other if not parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Trades</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-driller and dowser</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail-carrier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Foster father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy equipment operator</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roofer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Proprietors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner of cab company</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Foster father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store manager</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Sales</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Step-mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesclerk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry, dry cleaning</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meatpacker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine worker (coal)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Household Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundress</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant cook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance (foreman)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and Farm Laborers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner or tenant farmer</td>
<td>19a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage laborer on farm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid family farm worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Laborers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouseman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer, unspecified</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other if not parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working, but job unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working outside home</td>
<td>4(^b)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 50)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Includes one husband, a foster father, a step-father and a grandfather.

\(^b\) One man had been crippled by a broken leg and was on welfare. Two were disabled veterans on pensions and the fourth was in prison.
packer, fisherman, warehouseman and a non-specific laborer (one parent each unless otherwise indicated).

Several fathers worked at skilled trades. Five were carpenters, one was a roofer and three operated heavy equipment for road work, construction or well-drilling. The latter was also (handily) a dows­
er. Three fathers were in the military during that period. Two of
the girls were married by the time they were fifteen. The husband of
one was an elementary school teacher with a 9th-grade education; the
husband of the other farmed.

The mothers or other relevant household women had a less varied
list of occupations (Table 7). While 24 of them were reported as
working outside the home, eleven of them were unpaid family farm work­
ers. This included one who continued working on the farm of the sub­ject's father even though the two parents had been divorced when the
respondent was about six years old. Two other mothers were also farm
laborers, but received wages by working for other local farmers. The
rest held traditional women's jobs--secretary, sales clerk in an
Indian jewelry store, seamstress in a dress shop, restaurant cook,
waitress, private housekeepers (2), laundry workers (2), clothing
department manager, bookkeeper for a farmer, and one grandmother who
took in washing and ironing to supplement her husband's income.

Unlike some of the fathers, the mothers who worked held only one
job outside the home. Three farming fathers had other part-time occu­
pations. One ran a store, another worked part-time on a Tennessee
parkland trimming trees. The third worked seasonally for the railroad
and also did some carpentry, mostly producing chairs for sale. Two
fathers were also part-time ministers. One held a pulpit of his own,
while the other filled in part-time on a circuit route. The fisherman
supplemented his catch by hunting when the season was appropriate, and
the road-equipment operator worked during the summer months but
trapped and hunted the rest of the year.

In the next chapter, which examines the current lives of the
Indian women in the sample, it will be noted that their occupational
levels exceed those of the models they had as teenagers, although not
by much. Many faced the same deprivations that their parents had, such as the rural poverty which defined their need to go to work
rather than giving them the option of going to school. Their school
districts also provided them with little more than barely adequate
schools. Economic considerations seem to be one of the major deter­
minants relating to the amount of schooling people can accumulate--and
the kind of lives they lead later on.
Moving to the City

How did the women, reservation-born or not, come to Central City where they were interviewed? Most of them came as adults. Only a few arrived as dependent children, with the motivation for the moves in those cases being jobs for the parents.

There were two major reasons for the adult women's moves to the city: 1) economic, i.e., jobs, and 2) marital or family reasons. Some said that friends had preceded them and had found jobs, which encouraged them and their husbands to try their luck. A couple of husbands had come up before their wives did, found jobs and sent for the family. One woman and her husband were in the sawmill business in Robeson County, North Carolina, where she had lived all her life, but competition in the lumber business was too severe for them to make a go of it.

Those seeking jobs in the north hoped "to make it better up here." A couple of women first arrived in the city because their husbands were transferred to the local air base. One of these subsequently moved away when her husband's tour of duty ended, but when it came time for him to retire they chose this city as their retirement home. One couple moved here after nearly 30 years in the southeast. They were tired of farming and were "looking for public work." "Public work" turned out to mean not government-related jobs, but any kind of work in which a person is not self-employed and for which anyone in the public sector could apply.

Several of the women are in the city because they married men from the area; others followed parents or brothers or sisters who had settled up here. These were often cases where parents or siblings had found jobs and assured them the job market was viable for them too. Another woman said she had come here with her husband "to be close to [a neighboring city] but not in it." She and her husband had friends and the husband's ex-wife living there so they wanted to be nearby but not too close.

Another woman had moved to the area because her son's father wanted him nearby. This was a frustration to her because once they arrived in the area the father paid no attention to the boy. In addition, she had given up a good-paying job she liked in Washington, D.C., to make the move.

An ironic situation emerged when one young couple moved to the city because it was the husband's hometown. Shortly afterwards his parents moved out to live near the wife's reservation. They had become enamored of the climate when they went out to attend their son's wedding. The couple were planning to return to Arizona as soon as their apartment lease expired.
There were only two other motives that brought the women to the area. Two came here because of school; one to attend a local university, another to go to a Bible school of a denomination which had been influential in her life at home. A final transferral to the city occurred when a young woman came with her husband and a group of other members of a Christian proselytizing sect "to help found a church."

The next chapter will examine the kinds of lives the women made for themselves in the city. Their marriages, families, jobs, training, assets and incomes were analyzed to help develop a picture of the lives they led as urban residents. The chapter following will look at distinctively Indian characteristics in an attempt to see how they deal with their culture and what parts of it are retained.
V. Today's Indian Women and Their Urban Ways

From the background information presented thus far it becomes quite apparent that the Indian women in Central City have, none of them, just come down from the farm or reservation. They have either been established in this or other urban settings for quite some time. This chapter will examine what their daily lives were like in the city--their family and homes, the jobs they held or aspired to, training taken in the last five years and types of discrimination encountered in the same period.

Marital Statuses

At the time of the interviews 32 of the women were married (see Table 8 below). All but one lived with their husbands. The one whose husband was absent was waiting for him to find a job and to send

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Marital and Parental Statuses of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married, no children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married, children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, no children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, with children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

money so she and the children could join him. Five of the women were widowed and 11 divorced.

All but two of the women had been married at some time. One, still single, was younger than most of the others. Another, mentioned earlier, had never married although she had taken full responsibility for raising her son.

Thirty-six women had been married one time; ten had had two husbands and two had had three. The twelve women who were married twice numbered eight husbands who were Indian. The men were Cherokees, Lumbees and Creek, but none were reservation-born. The other former husbands were white (3) or Hispanic (1). These marriages were ended by divorce for all but two wives who were widowed. The divorces occurred after an average of nearly six years, while the widows had been
married two and six years. Of the two women married three times, one's first husband was a reservation-born Indian; the other's first husband was white. Both of these marriages ended in divorce, one after two and the other after 11 years.

The backgrounds of the current husbands of the women were quite varied. Forty-four percent of the women were married to Indian men, a slightly higher percentage than that found by Wagner (1976) in New York City, where 35% of her informants were married to Indians. Most of the men belonged to the same tribes as their wives, giving a distribution of four Lumbees, and sixteen Cherokees. Intertribal marriages were with one Chickasaw and one Chippewa. Two of the men were reservation-born. The rest of the men were non-Indians who included twenty whites, five Blacks and one Hispanic.

A young Navajo woman explained the reasons for her marriage to a non-Indian. When she and her sisters were small they had been very observant.

When we lived on the reservation we knew a lot of people but it just seemed like everybody that got married, their husbands just drank and beat up on their wives so we swore among ourselves we'd never marry Navajos...It was kind of hard too, because...we have clans and...I swear, it seemed like you were related to everybody....If I met somebody, like a couple guys I went to school with,...I'd like 'em, we'll be maybe going together and then when they meet my mom and dad, my mom will ask, first thing..."What's your clan?" And they keep being like a brother or cousin or something ...and we couldn't never find a Navajo husband.

As a result, one sister married an Iranian national who had come to the United States for military training, the second married a Shoshone Indian, and the subject had married a red-haired young man she had met at Bible College.

Several of the women met their husbands when the men were stationed nearby while in service. When they were married, the couples often settled eventually near the homes of the husbands, thus bringing them into range for the sample. Others had grown up near the men they married, especially those from the most frequently recurring home area, Robeson County, North Carolina. Two of the women had met their husbands while both they and their husbands were attending school. Another had met her husband-to-be when she resided in a center for teenagers in trouble. She was a frequent runaway and had been on her own for years. Now a member of a charismatic church group, she seemed more settled and directed than many of the older women.
Household Composition

Household composition on the day of the interview included single member households, with respondents living by themselves, small nuclear families, subjects with assortments of children, grandchildren, parents and one family bolstered in size by a boarder.

The actual household size varied from the respondent alone to groups with eight members. Table 9 gives a breakdown of household size and composition. There were seventeen nuclear families consisting of mother, father, and one or more children. Various combinations accounted for the rest of the groupings.

Extended families resulted from economic necessity and/or age. In some cases, daughters returned home with grandchildren after the breakup of marriages. Grandmothers and other family members provided babysitting services so the young mothers could find jobs to help support themselves and their children. In other instances, elderly mothers-in-law could no longer fend for themselves or resided in unsafe neighborhoods, and their children feared for their safety. In both cases, economic considerations dictated the necessity for the women to join the household of the respondents rather than being sent to nursing homes.

A sister residing with another sister was a matter of both preference and economics. The older sister had plenty of room to accommodate the younger and welcomed the extra income and help with the children. The sisters had always been close and the warmth of their relationship was obvious to the observer. Ex-sons-in-law remained permanent members of two households. In neither instance was it ascertained how the situations had arisen resulting in the daughters leaving the family and their ex-husbands staying.

There were two households expanded by the inclusion of unrelated persons. An elderly boarder rounded out the household of one woman who already had an extended family and welcomed the additional income. In the second case, an elderly couple had taken in a friend of the wife when the woman had been evicted from her home by her son. She had turned over the deed to the property to her son in order to be eligible for welfare which limits the amount of assets allowed. Her other children were staying with friends at that point until she could get the tangle straightened out.

In addition to the enforced separation of the woman from her job-seeking husband, two other families had been split up. In both cases the children were living apart from their divorced mothers. In one family, in which the three older children were all over 21 and on their own, there were still five younger ones. Only the youngest of them is with his mother. The four others are on the reservation in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Breakdown by Composition</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Respondent only</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Respondent and husband</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent and one child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent and ex-son-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Respondent, husband, one child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, two children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, husband, one female friend</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, couple who took her in</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Respondent, husband, two children</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, three children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Respondent, husband, three children</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, four children (married, husband temporarily absent)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Respondent, husband, four children</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, five children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, husband, 2 sons, grandson, mother-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, husband, 3 sons, mother-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, son, daughter-in-law, 3 grandsons</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, husband, 3 daughters, sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, daughter, son, 2 grandsons, boarder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, sister, brother-in-law, 3 nieces</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Respondent, husband, five children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respondent, husband, son, 2 daughters,</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 grandsons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Respondent, husband, 2 daughters, son,</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 grandchildren, ex-son-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50
boarding school because their mother has no means to support them. There the children's educational and living expenses are covered by federal programs. The second family was split up because grandparents and ex-husbands did not feel the children were being cared for adequately. The two older girls were with their father in Arkansas while the three younger boys are with their father's parents. The mother has custody of the boys on alternate weekends, the girls in summer during their vacations from school.

Fertility and Children

Most of the women had had children, and many of the children were still at home. Among the fifty women were born a total of 168 children. The record for one woman was 11 children, while seven women had never borne children. The youngest child was nine months; the oldest was 62 years, born when her mother was 16. (Both mother and daughter were members of the sample.)

A total of seven women adopted or raised children that were the offspring of earlier marriages of their husbands. A number of others had taken in other children to raise for shorter periods. One case involved temporary legal guardianships as foster parents for seven children over the years. Two women raised their grandchildren, and another took in her husband's niece when his sister died. Help was extended by one respondent to various brothers- and sisters-in-law when needed to get the families over hard times. The situations were described by one woman as being "...for a short while. People would give 'em to us, then come back and get 'em."

Eleven children had died. Of them, all but three died in infancy. Exceptions were a 26-year-old daughter who had passed away less than six months before the interview and her brother who had died at the age of six. The other death was of a 2-year-old toddler, the only child of the woman who subsequently raised the three children of her husband's first marriage.

In the case of one infant daughter's death, the child was taken home to her mother's reservation for burial. A year afterward the traditional Sioux memorial service was held, for which the family returned. The ceremonies included a feast and gift-giving by the child's parents. Friends and family were their guests for the ceremonies and potluck supper.

As might be expected, few of the children remained with their parents much beyond the time of high school or college graduation. Fourteen respondents no longer had any children at home. Jobs and marriage most often helped the children establish lives on their own,
with enlistment for military service also an additional reason people left home.

For those whose children still live at home, most of the children are of school age. Of the fifteen preschoolers, only one was enrolled in a Head Start program. One child still at home was in college, and eight were in high school. All but five of the rest were elementary school pupils.

These five children were attending, or had in the past attended, special schools. Two teenaged boys and three adult children were enrolled in programs for the mentally or physically handicapped. The three older children (two daughters aged 24 and 30 and a son aged 25) remained with their mothers because they were incapable of establishing their own homes and required supervision. All were employed by local sheltered workships, but illness, inclement weather and disinclination frequently made their attendance irregular. The physical handicaps of one teenager were being evaluated by the Ohio Rehabilitation Center to determine what further training might be most beneficial for him. The other is blind and mildly retarded due to rubella complications during the pregnancy. He attends a special program for multiply handicapped students.

Children in only five families were reported to have tribal as well as Anglo names. One youngster received his name in a traditional Sioux naming ceremony when he was five years old. For the rest, their names or nicknames were conferred informally by grandparents. One of the women bemoaned the fact that her children had been born while her husband was in service so that "they were born far away from home" and hadn't had the opportunity to be given names ceremonially.

Current Employment Status

One of the best indices of integration into any milieu is employment. It requires the worker to interact with other people, to be able to manipulate the environment and to function well within different situations in order to obtain or keep a position.

Only one woman in the sample had never held down a job. She was married at age 19 and does not anticipate looking for work because she has her hands full with her husband. "He stays sick most of the time. He got heart trouble, arthritis and all that stuff." He was nearly 50 and she was 30.

When questioned about "what they had been doing most of last week," eighteen of the remaining forty-nine women were employed. All but two of the eighteen worked outside the home. The two were self-employed using the home as a workshop or base for a baby-sitting fa-
cility. Three of the women were not at their jobs last week because of illness or vacation. Two were looking for work, 22 kept house full time, and eight were unable to work either due to physical disability, age or a combination of the two. Although only two women reported that they were looking for work on a full-time basis, another fifteen were also looking but sporadically. One of the job-seekers was already employed; the rest had been keeping house and looking for work part-time. Despite their claims to be job hunting, two reported doing nothing concrete to facilitate the search. Others had tried a variety of methods including applying for jobs through state and private agencies, answering newspaper advertisements and going directly to prospective employers. They had started looking for work because they had left jobs and needed new ones, or wanted to help with family expenses. One woman, the sole support for her family, had a part-time job but needed more money. Two others were looking for work because one said she was "bored" and the other "needed something to do."

The 32 women not currently employed had been out of the labor force for periods ranging from one month to 55 years. The latter case was an 82-year-old Cherokee woman whose last regular job, lasting two weeks or more, had been held in the 20's. However, during the intervening years she had been self-employed, supporting herself and her children by renting out rooms in her house. She stopped having boarders in 1963 at age 65 in order to receive her Social Security benefits.

Working Women

The eighteen working women, nearly a third of the sample, held a variety of jobs in a variety of industries. The largest number of workers were employed by federal public administration services. They included a secretary, a clerical worker, the director of a local social services center for Indians and an Outreach worker for the same center. Miscellaneous personal services described the employment of three women. Two did janitorial work for a cleaning service and the third was self-employed, providing babysitting services in her home. The other self-employed woman pieced quilts in her home to provide extra income beyond her Social Security pension. Two women worked at state level public administration posts. One was a typist and the other a claims processor for employment services.

The other occupations included one working in nursing homes as a licensed practical nurse on assignment from a nursing registry. Another informant was a presswoman working at a novelty t-shirt factory pressing decals on the garments. Jobs as a receptionist, a cook at a country club, two laundry operatives working at the same laundry, and apartment manager rounded out the occupations held by the women.
Of these jobs, seven could be classified as being in private industry, two were in the self-employment category, and nine were under the aegis of federal or state government.

It must be noted that few of the jobs were at highly skilled levels. Few required more than a few hours training for their performance, and few required more than a high school education.

Occupational status has been a subject of research for many years by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The Bureau first defined and classified various jobs into "major occupation groups" in 1940. In the following decade a socioeconomic index of occupational status was developed. It was based on "...prestige ratings obtained from a sizable sample of the U.S. population in 1947 which were taken as the criterion" for 45 occupations (Blau and Duncan 1967:119-120). Education and income measures were found to be highly correlated with these ratings. Statistical analyses enabled the authors to expand the ratings by assigning scores to all occupations listed in the Census occupation groups, based on income and education distributions. The final ratings ranged from a high of 96 for osteopaths to a low of 03 for motormen at mine, logging camp or factory facilities.

The range of values of the occupations of the Indian women extended from a low of 07 for babysitting to 64 for three working for social service agencies. Cleaning women rank at 10, laundry employees at 15, clerical workers at 44 and typists at 61, with the rest somewhere in between these rankings. They averaged 34.7, well into the lower ranks of occupational prestige.

Most of the women worked on the regular day shift, 8 to 5. Three worked evenings--cleaning women whose jobs took them to government office buildings after the day shift had cleared out and the practical nurse who was often called for night duty. Hours varied for the woman who worked on her own cutting and piecing quilts and for the cook who worked some evenings and all day on the weekends.

The women's pay in 1979 ranged from the basic minimum of $3.00 per hour to $6.66 an hour, with an average of $4.75. None of them were union members, nor were their wages set by collective bargaining agreements. Fringe benefits such as medical insurance, life insurance, and paid sick leave were received by only half of the workers. Only seven were covered by a retirement program, had access to training or educational opportunities, or received paid vacations. Six of them received no fringe benefits at all. This included not only the self-employed women, but also the part-time practical nurse, the cook, one of the cleaning women who is still on probation as a newcomer to the company and one of the social service workers. (The other one who works with her receives only paid vacation and sick leave. It seems
relevant to know that this is a sub-contracted agency for which they
work and not a directly sponsored state or federal agency.)

Four of the eighteen employed women held second jobs at the time
of the interview. Both women who worked for the cleaning company
worked daytimes for private households, again doing cleaning. The
babysitter also made and sold quilts to members of her church, and
the older woman who quilted also babysat occasionally for neighbors.

Job Histories

As mentioned earlier, all but one of the women had at one time or
another in the past held jobs. These included wage laborers on farms,
a casket sander, packers in canneries, a potato inspector for a firm
that makes french fries for McDonald's, steak houses and other fast
food establishments, service workers, a printer, seamstresses in uni­
form manufacturing companies, sales clerks, housekeepers, babysitters,
typists, laundry workers (folders and pressers), nurse's aides, medi­
cal assistants, a parent-teacher coordinator for the public schools, a
teacher at a school for retarded adults, a library page, Salvation
Army clerks, charwomen and clerical workers. They represent a variety
of skill levels and training experiences.

They left their jobs for many different reasons. Most commonly
ill health or injuries on the job necessitated quitting. One woman
was still considered disabled because of injuries she had received at
work, but so far she had been unable to get training or therapy.
Although she was entitled to these benefits by Industrial Commission
regulations, red tape had kept final decisions pending for nearly five
years. (Incidentally, Indian office workers refer not to "red tape"
but call it "white tape.") Another subject was no longer physically
capable of lifting heavy carpets at a cleaning firm, so she left her
job.

Others complained of working conditions: their places of employ­
ment were too hot, too cold, too smoky or too damp. Three resigned
when their children were born. Three stopped working outside the home
when they got married and another quit her job because her husband
wanted her to. She now regrets the decision and is again looking for
work.

A few lost their jobs because of absenteeism, misunderstandings
with the boss or other trouble on the job. One spunky little lady had
left when the cook where she worked had given her warmed-over two-day-
old hamburgers which she refused to eat. She retaliated by chasing
him with a butcher knife. The manager finally got her calmed down but
she quit the job the next day. Two lost jobs when the firms for which
they were working closed down.
Six of the women had left their last or previous jobs when they moved to Central City. Another had come home for a visit with her family and still remained here in a new position. Others left their old jobs to take new ones with better pay, and a few still unemployed left because of the low pay they had been receiving. One complained that when she was reduced to 6 a half hours a day at $2.90 an hour, she was receiving less than she could get on welfare. Another reported that she had been babysitting for a woman who did not believe in disciplining her children herself nor in letting anyone else do it—the subject finally decided they were all too much trouble and refused to take them in any longer; she is now employed outside the home and much happier about it.

Child Care Needs

Sixteen of the women had children of ages that required supervision. Subjects already holding jobs were asked to describe their child care arrangements. Those not currently working were asked what child care arrangements would be preferred "if they were to take a job."

For two of the women the problem was a moot one. One subject gave a short lecture on her feelings—she had absolutely no intention of leaving her home and having anyone else take care of her children. She believed a mother should raise her children and she would not go to work until they were all in school, although in the past she had held part-time positions, especially around the Christmas holidays. The second woman, who was employed, had five children, none of whom were living with her. Because she had often left them alone and because of the condition of their physical surroundings, the children had been removed from her care by juvenile authorities; occasional weekend and vacation-time visits had limited the pattern of her interaction with them.

For the rest, various accommodations had been worked out by the mothers. One had her schedule set so she worked evening shifts and the child's father or older brother and sister were available to care for her. Another subject, a single parent, relied on her older son to care for his younger brother when school was out. A grandmother living at home took care of one mother's children and three other mothers had babysitters who came to their homes. Five women relied on child care at the homes of non-relatives, and three women had their young children enrolled in day care centers or kindergartens that provided all-day facilities.

Most of the mothers were satisfied with the way their arrangements had worked out, and only one had even occasional problems necessitating last minute arrangements. Although not all of these women
described were employed, it is apparent that none of them would have had any serious problems if they were to decide that they wanted to work outside the home.

Retrospective Work Histories

One section of the questionnaire reviewed the women's work histories over the last five years in an effort to determine whether they felt they had made progress in this period. Questions also covered the question of their feelings that they had experienced discrimination during this period.

Eighteen of the women had not worked during the last five years. Of those who had been employed, eight had worked for one employer. The remainder had worked for as few as two and as many as nine different employers during that time. (See Table 10.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Six</td>
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<td>Two</td>
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<td>Seven</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the women felt they had progressed in some way over the period. Only one said she had moved backward. Her husband had just been operated on; she was not currently working and was concerned because they were faced with "so many things to pay." Eight felt that they had at least held their own and were no worse off at that time than they had been five years previously.

Progress was cited in the form of better jobs, more pay, learning of new skills or performance of old ones more proficiently. One woman reported that she felt she received more respect and was looked to as a leader more frequently than she had been previously. She also had a better understanding of her own capabilities and limitations. Classes and on-the-job training provided by employers contributed to the progress of some of the women and the knowledge they were able to apply to their jobs.

One worker was pleased that she was working hours that she liked and that fit in with her schedule of classes as well as being able to
do the work she liked. Getting her "bills under control" was proof to
one woman of the progress she had made in the last five years, as were
other tangible effects—"a better home and better things." Increased
seniority was also mentioned. Having learned how to deal with people
was important to one woman while another felt that she had established
some important contacts with influential people that were helping her
acquire more jobs than ever before as a housekeeper in private homes.
She and a friend were hoping to establish themselves on a full-time
basis so they could quit cleaning offices in the evening for a janitorial service. One woman mentioned that she was happier working and
another felt that the jobs she had held had matured her, given her
more self-confidence and made her more secure in herself.

Despite their progress, several women mentioned that they were
just keeping one step ahead of their bills. One unemployed worker
felt she had moved backwards in that it was hard to find a desirable
job that paid well. She had not yet found one since moving to the
area two years previously.

Discrimination

Problems of discrimination were reported in several areas over
the last five years—age, sex, race, religion and state of health. Only one woman felt she had been the victim of age discrimination at
age 44. She was quite incensed because she had been refused even
interviews by firms with age restrictions for new employees: the
police department and the Greyhound bus company where she wanted a job
driving buses.

Sex discrimination was experienced by three women in the last
five years. Two of the women had been employed by firms traditionally
pictured as male domains and felt they had run into problems because
of it. One had been training male employees for supervisory positions
in a shipping firm. Having done so, she was replaced by one of them.
Another, working for a trucking firm, protested that no one spoke up
for the women employed in the offices, nor were they provided with an
area in which to take breaks and eat their lunches. The third in-
stance involved two cooks. The respondent claimed to have been the
better cook of the two, but the male received more pay for the same
job than she did.

The most frequently reported form of discrimination related to
race or nationality. Nine women had experienced difficulties they
attributed to these factors. One woman who was herself not discrimi-
nated against felt others were, however. She had applied for a job
with 15 other Indian women who had been sent to the Census Bureau with
referrals from the Indian Center's employment service. Her impression
was that the office was "very Black-oriented" as she was the only
Indian hired. Another fairly dark-skinned Indian woman was refused even the right to fill out an application for a job at a local restaurant. At the time both she and a Black woman were trying to apply and both were refused a chance to do so. This subject also referred to the discriminatory practices, even more common in cities near reservations, which denied jobs to Indians in those regions.

Attitudes encountered from co-workers were mentioned by several women. One said "They make me feel like I'm still wearing a buckskin dress." She also felt she had been denied interviews and promotions because of her heritage. Another elaborated that it was "the way they look at me, but when they get to know me they like me." "Talking down" to one subject and a director who "made me feel inferior and stupid" were other forms of harassment mentioned by employees who thought that their heritage was the basis for the maltreatment they had received.

One woman had been hired by a New Mexico motel that employed mostly Mexicans as cleaning women. She was asked by the supervisor if she spoke Spanish. She reported:

I said, 'No, I'm an Indian' and you know, everybody was in there, they were on their break and they just got quiet. You could have heard a pin drop and then she the supervisor said, 'Well, go ahead and come in anyway.'

Her co-workers made life rough for her for a while until she had proven herself to be a hard and capable worker.

One woman who spent a number of years in England reported discrimination in hiring because she was an American national which made her nearly unemployable since preference in hiring was given to British citizens. She had had to rely on friends to find jobs for her while she was there.

Three women felt their religious beliefs were the basis for harassment. One said she had "witnessed to another girl" and as a result the supervisor began "laying into her for not working enough." Another described her problems less moderately, claiming she was "persecuted" and didn't get favors or long breaks like the other women. She felt she was resented for trying "to approach things from a very high, Christian, ethical standpoint." The final problem arose over an incident when the employer would not let the worker take the evening off so she could play catcher for her church softball team, although they would let other women off for church. She quit that job and went into business on her own.

The one woman who felt she had been discriminated against on health grounds had been dismissed from her position after absenteeism
when she stayed home with a six-year-old daughter who had mumps. This was immediately followed by a death in the family. Other than that, her record had been good so that she was able to get a job with another firm when she explained to them the problem. Since then she said she had missed only one day of work.

Training Programs in the Last Five Years

Most of the women had been out of formal school for more than five years. (See discussion of educational attainments in Chapter IV.) All were asked if they had "taken any training courses or educational programs of any kind, either on the job or elsewhere" in the last five years.

Eleven of the fifty women had done so. Six were involved with technical or professional programs. These included a social work program taken at a local technical institute, a Title I in-service program using federal matching funds to provide training for working with elementary school children's needs, a program to train counselors for an alcoholism program, a work experience program geared at developing rudimentary library skills provided by the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), and a program for teaching English to non-native speakers. The sixth woman had received technical instruction in the handling of hazardous materials from her employer.

Three of the women involved in these programs had also been in other formal educational programs, either high school or college, within the five-year period. The only woman still enrolled in a training program was the university student in social work.

One woman had received clerical training in time-keeping and personnel work and had brushed up on her shorthand through courses sponsored by the agency for which she worked. Another took courses at a local vocational school adult program which provided skilled manual training in upholstering. Both she and a second woman in the sample had also participated in private lessons in ceramic glazing at local ceramic arts supply stores. A final enrollee had been in the Whip Inflation Now (WIN) program of President Ford's administration. This program was aimed at helping people learn how to fill out application forms and prepare for interviews so they would be able to apply for jobs.

The reasons given for being in the programs were nearly as numerous as the types of programs the subjects had enrolled in. Attendance at the in-service programs at the elementary school were required of all school employees, as were the programs on techniques for dealing with hazardous materials and alcoholism. The woman in the social work program had enrolled so that eventually she would have a skill that
would be useful to Indian people. The WIN enrollee had hoped that this would make her more employable, although she had not yet found work, nearly five years later. The clerical training was taken because it was offered as a free fringe benefit of the job.

Two of the women explained that they were bored staying home and wanted some outside interests. One found this in nurse's aide training. The other had already taken courses in upholstery and ceramics, and occasionally applied the resultant skills professionally. She then talked about the next program in which she intended to become involved—cake decorating—so she could get away from home and her three children. The other ceramics student took the lessons simply to develop skills for a hobby. She was also the only person who failed to complete her program. The woman who had participated in the CETA program anticipated that it would help her gain work experience during the summers while she attended college.

Only half of the women were using this previous training in their present jobs. Their programs had lasted from one week to three years, a fact that underscores the differences between in-service training and the program in social work. The social worker had not yet entered the labor market; those who received in-service training were already employed.

Only one of the in-service programs—the alcoholism counseling training provided to employees of the Indian Public Health Service on a South Dakota reservation—was designed especially for Indians. The rest of the programs were sponsored by company training schools for whom the subjects were already working, business or technical institutions, area vocational schools or private businesses offering special craft lessons.

Education and Occupations of Husbands

The educational levels and occupations of husbands are important factors in the lives of the women, often determining their own need or desire to work. They are also relevant to the assessment of family incomes and assets. The family income levels are quite different dependent on the women's marital status and age. (The influence of age on annual income will be dealt with in a later chapter.)

All of the men had attended school. Eight of the husbands had some elementary schooling and four had attended high school one to three years, while 20 had graduated from high school. Of the twenty, six had gone on to college for a few years, and one had graduated.

However, despite the minor differences in educational levels, there was no statistically significant difference in schooling attain-
ment between the women and their husbands. Most couples had little more than a few years difference in their scholastic accomplishments.

The woman and man who were college graduates were not married to one another, but in each case their spouse had had two years of college. For the most part, the educational levels were no more than three years different, and generally the wife was the spouse with more education. It is possible that this reflects the general tendency that if anyone must drop out to find a job, it is the men who do so. The women are more likely to stick it out until graduation.

When there was a large difference, it usually tended to be that the wife had less schooling than the husband. For instance, the one wife with no schooling was married to a high school graduate. Another had finished tenth grade, and her husband had two years of college. However, two women had six years more education than their husbands. In one case, neither partner had more than an elementary school education; in the other, the wife had attended a year of business college but her husband had completed only through the seventh grade.

The occupations of the men, like those of the women, reflected their educational levels except for those who had attended college. Only one man with any college education held a professional position, at a child welfare agency, but he had completed his degree. The others with college backgrounds included three security guards, a burglar alarm installer and a mattress assembler. One husband with college experience was still taking courses and working as a tax auditor for the government.

Three husbands were totally retired or disabled. In addition, two men were retired from the armed forces: one was among the security guards mentioned above, while the other worked as a clerk for the Post Office.

Many of the rest were skilled craftsmen, such as mechanics repairing heating and cooling systems, automobiles or trucks, a machinist, a carpenter, two welders (one was a foreman), a dry wall installer and an apparatus technician. Two of the men held managerial posts: one ran an auto parts store on franchise, and the other was in charge of a department for a large hardware supplier.

The other occupations included a concrete truck driver, the driver of a canteen service truck, a craneman, a warehouseman, a mailer for a newspaper, a cut-off man at a firm manufacturing plastic shower stalls, two laborers and a maintenance man who took care of the apartment complex his wife managed.

The socioeconomic index of the occupations of the employed husbands averaged only 27.28, barely above the lowest quartile of rat-
ings. Only ten of their wives were working and their average ratings were 33.9, more than the men, but not significantly higher. (The ratings of the eight unmarried employed women, with a mean of 34.5, were barely higher than the mean for the married women.)

Assets

What a family owns and has coming in on a regular basis constitutes the assets of that family. The Indian women, and/or their husbands, had a diverse range of assets in the year prior to the interviews.

Of the 34 women who lived in houses rather than apartments, 27 owned or were in the process of buying their homes. Several of the divorced and widowed women owned their homes, and were generally quite proud of themselves for having achieved ownership, often despite severe odds against them. Three of the four trailer dwellers owned their trailers and rented the space on which they were installed. One woman and her husband had made major improvements by adding an extra room and an attached porch, landscaping and a free-standing fireplace.

This left nineteen women paying rent for their houses, trailer, motel or apartments and four who paid no cash rent. These latter generally were living with friends or relatives, although the son of one woman was buying the house in which she and his father lived as his contribution to the upkeep of his elderly parents. In another case, the subject owned a home and extra lot which were rented out, and the money went to her son and daughter-in-law in whose home she lived. The couple had had their lower split-level home remodeled for her because of their concerns for her safety when she lived alone in the rundown and high-crime area where her home was located. A single woman lived with her sister and helped care for her three nieces. Another woman lived with a friend who shared what they considered a dubious distinction—they had been married to and divorced from brothers. During the interviews at which each was present while the other was responding, neither would discuss the earlier marriages or husbands.

Automobiles and two trucks were also assets in the households. Only six women did not have any vehicle at all. Four of these were the elderly women, over 65 years old. Only one of this group owned anything: she had a red truck and a car. She had turned the car over for the use of her son-in-law who lived with her. She was very proud of her truck, however, and refused to let him touch it.

The condition of four of the vehicles was reported by the respondents as poor. Only six of them were less than two years old. Most automobiles ranged from two to ten years, with ten of them older than
that, and were in fair or good condition, usually attributed to the ministrations of the husbands. One of the oldest cars was considered a "classic," and was due for renovation by the proud owner.

Other assets included six businesses owned by the subjects or their husbands. Three husbands operated viable businesses: a burglary alarm installation firm, an auto parts franchise and self-employment as a carpenter renovating and then renting out older houses. One wife ran a nursery in her home, and another had a housecleaning business in a partnership arrangement. A third woman's business was, by the time of the interview, defunct, but the subject owned a kiln and had been teaching techniques of glazing and firing preformed ceramic greenware in a shop set up in her garage.

Twelve women owned reservation lands. All of it was on Indian property on which they or their parents had lived and which had been passed on to them. Few of the women knew exactly how much land was involved or how much income they derived from it. As one woman explained, "It's all heirship land...I don't know where all. A lot of land." She went on to list seven reservations on which she held land titles. When asked why so many different places were involved, she replied, "Well, my grandmother lived one place and my grandfather from my father's side another place, and my, it's all heirship land." She also had no idea of how much income the land brought in.

I don't know. I never counted. I just go cash the checks...I hate to even guess 'cause you know what, I've never added it up. I don't pay tax on it so we don't keep a record of it. So I don't really know how much I get...Every time one of the farmers sell a crop...so when he sells a few bales, well, he'll send me a check...I just get a little bit here and there, you know. And it's gone, it's gone as soon as I get it. I always take all the kids shopping...my grandkids. The other day I took 'em all shopping and bought all their Easter clothes...I spent the whole thing, since I got it. I do that every time...as soon as I get the money I just spend it. I feel that's what it's for, it's for them.

In several cases, final settlements had yet to be made so the subjects would not know what they were entitled to for some time. Three women own land in both Nebraska and South Dakota. Four had title to property only in South Dakota and one only in Nebraska. Other landholdings were in Arizona (two respondents), Minnesota and North Dakota.

A Sioux woman was unsure of the amount of land belonging to her because of legal entanglements. Her father had remarried after her mother died. After his death the daughters discovered their step-
mother had forged their signatures to the land titles to obtain loans. More than ten years later, matters had still not been settled, although they had been told settlement would be made well before that time. They were receiving no income from the property because of the liens.

Among some Eskimo groups, corporate land belonging to them as members of their home village is the economic basis for landholdings. The Eskimo respondent belonged to one such village and had claim to profits from a parcel of village land which was being sold. She did not know how much land or money would be involved in the transaction, but she would receive her share. She also was getting a small amount yearly from the village as part of their profits from the local fishing and canning industry.

Other non-reservation land was owned by one woman who had a farm in North Carolina and some land from her husband's mother in South Carolina. Another respondent and her husband had resided for a time in Colorado where they loved the countryside; thinking they would be remaining in the area, they had bought a few acres for camping.

Income

Twenty-six of the women, over half of the sample, held jobs in the year preceding the interviews, in contrast to the eighteen who were employed at the time of the interviews. Sixteen of the working women were married and had joint incomes with their husbands. Six of the others employed the previous year were major sources of support for their families. Three women had only to care for themselves.

The average wages or salaries of the employed women was $6032.30, a little over $500 a month. These figures include only the incomes for 24 of the workers. Two did not know their incomes. One was receiving money from her home which was rented out. Her daughter-in-law took care of the details and that money went directly toward household expenses. Her spending money came from Social Security retirement income. The other case involved lax bookkeeping on the part of a self-employed cleaning woman who simply did not keep track of what her daily jobs brought in.

Thirteen women were totally reliant on the earnings of their husbands. Four said they didn't know how much their husbands earned, two refused to say, and several could only offer a guess as to what their spouses earned. Among those who did not know was a young woman whose husband had worked only seven months due to his need for surgery. They had no income other than for necessities which "his health insurance covered the five months he was out."
The remaining eleven women reported no wages or salaries on which to live. (This included one woman whose earnings totalled only $400 from quilting and occasional babysitting chores.) Included in this group are the five women over the age of 65, all of whom were widowed, and reported no earned income. Eight of these women, divorced or widowed, derived their livings from Social Security disability payments (1), survivor's benefits from black lung disability funds (1), Social Security retired worker or survivor's benefits (5) and welfare (1). Four of them also received food stamps. The woman on welfare was receiving her money from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) funds. One of the older women who was getting retired worker benefits also had income from ADC during the previous year for the period that her three granddaughters lived with her. The pensions and benefits for the eight women ranged from $216 to $417.30 per month.

The three married women who reported no income from wages and salaries for themselves or their husbands received Social Security disability income for their husbands (2) or for both of them (1). This latter couple collected Supplemental Security Income and food stamps for a grand total of $330 per month for the pair of them.

For the total sample, the women averaged incomes of $2899.32 in the year before they were interviewed. The income averages were based on a range of incomes wherein 24 of the subjects earned nothing and one had a top salary of $15,000. The husbands averaged $8946 for the same period. The range for the husbands went from nothing for three of the older and retired or disabled men to $29,900. A total of six subjects reported that their husbands had earned yearly salaries of over $20,000.; only two of these wives were also working.

During the last year two women had received unemployment benefits. One had gotten them for twelve weeks and the other for 16. Two other family members of the households had also been unemployed during the past year.

Two households had extra income because family members other than the husband or wife were employed and shared in household expenses and chores. One daughter living with her parents received child support from her separated husband and a couple of teenagers worked part-time during the summers.

Additional income came to two families through veteran's disability compensation for the husbands. There were nine families with children who received ADC when the parental income was insufficient to meet basic needs. A total of 16 out of the fifty families received food stamps for varying portions of the year, averaging 8 months; seven families received them all year. In addition to their incomes from wages, five husbands also received pensions from the Armed Services. Three others had government pensions, one from the federal government.
and two from local government funds. It was quite apparent that few of the families could be listed as affluent; most were at low middle-income levels with several in downright poverty as defined by the 1979-1980 guidelines.

Housing

It seemed important to see the immediate surroundings of the Indian women in Central City, so the interviews were scheduled at their homes. An imaginary line drawn through the middle of the city from east to west would place all but twelve of the homes in the southern half of the city, most of them in marginal areas of older and poorer residences. Nine homes were located in the northern half of the city and were generally in newer houses and apartments. Three women resided in other counties of the SMSA. Two lived in rural homes (one a duplex) and the third in a trailer. Five women were residents of the southern part of the county. One woman lived in a trailer court and the other four resided in the same large rural housing development of fairly new, well-kept tract homes ranging from five to twenty years old.

The homes of the subjects included 34 single-family houses, seven apartments, four trailers, one motel and four duplexes. The homes ranged from fairly new plat homes to old houses in the central city. As might be anticipated, the older homes were generally in the worse states of disrepair. Subjective evaluations classified 27 of the homes as being in "excellent" condition, twelve as "good," seven as "fair," and four "poor." The latter included two houses, one apartment and the motel room. The smallest residence was, of course, the one-room temporary shelter in the motel. The houses ranged up to ten rooms in size, not including bathrooms, but both houses and apartments averaged almost six rooms (5.8).

Nearly all of the homes were very neatly kept, even by the oldest women who could barely move around. However, the homes in the messiest conditions belong to the women whose occupations consisted of keeping the homes of other families clean. The home of a 74-year-old woman was also an exception. Once inside you were met by an overwhelming odor, rather like overripe garbage. To make matters worse the woman wanted to feed me, so excuses had to be made several times. It was difficult to keep from tossing everything aside to rush out of the house for a breath of fresh air. Only one other home provided such extreme physical discomfort. It was so overheated that suffocation seemed imminent. Other subjects, especially older women, also kept their houses warmer than average, but not so extremely hot that survival was threatened.
Trailer homes were mostly in suburban areas. One of the loveliest and largest trailer homes that I had ever seen or been in was the home of one very handy couple. They had built in a free-standing fireplace and the husband was erecting a room with northern windows as a work shop for his wife. The other trailers were less elaborate properties and ranged from almost new to an older, rather run-down one.

The four duplexes were all older homes and, except for one, in fairly good condition. The exception had wooden steps that were half eaten away by rot, ceilings falling down in big patches and leaky pipes in the kitchen. The apartment types ranged from old and new low-income rental units subsidized by the government to new private complexes stretching over several acres of well-landscaped property. One woman had moved to an apartment complex for students since she intended to enter college. Her neighbors were a mixture of nationalities from around the world.

Half of the residences were in well-integrated neighborhoods. Seventeen women lived in exclusively white neighborhoods, except for themselves, although the women generally were physically indistinguishable from their neighbors. Six homes were in predominantly Black areas and all but one (divorced) of the women living there were married to Black men.

None of the housing was so rundown that it lacked running water and indoor plumbing. Nevertheless, as noted above, the condition of some of these amenities and other parts of the buildings often bordered on dangerous.

Furnishings

All of the homes were furnished with overstuffed sofas and chairs, although in some of the more poverty-stricken homes they were in quite shabby condition. A few of the homes were literally jammed with furniture and knickknacks, making it nearly impossible to walk between things without hitting or tripping over some object. Tastes ranged from very simple arrangements of furniture and decorative objects to elaborate and complex displays in all available space. The spaces were usually filled with plastic flowers, travel souvenirs, family photographs and snapshots, Christian mementos and calendars, ceramic or glassware collections, door hangings of colorful plastic beads and so on.

There was little to suggest that these homes were residences of Indians. Decorative art relating to Indian culture could be found in only twelve of the homes. In some of them the objects were authentic, such as a small pot made by a Pueblo neighbor for a young woman's
wedding a year before. This respondent also had on display several of her mother's oil paintings of the southwestern desert near her home. Several homes boasted ojos de dios, most of them Indian-made. One, however, was a gift to the daughter of the house and had been made by a blind non-Indian woman at the home for the handicapped where the girl worked.

Reservation women were the ones generally who had authentic objects, including family relics and ceremonial objects. One woman had her father's medicine pouch and other implements used in the ceremonies he led. In contrast, another reservation Sioux woman had nothing but some beaded keychains she had made hanging in a colorful patch on her kitchen wall.

Paintings were frequently noticed among the effects of those who had anything Indian on display—all too often very romanticized reproductions. One such painting had been mounted on wood and lacquered to a shiny finish by the informant. Another woman cut her wall decorations from a newspaper. Plaster of Paris was the medium for a shield with brightly dyed war feathers dangling from it and an Indian chief's garish painted bust. One woman held strong feelings about Chief Seattle's plea to preserve the land and had a copy of the speech framed and hung on her wall.

A western Cherokee, new to the city, had a wide variety of relics from her Oklahoma home, including photographs of family members wearing dance costumes. There were also a number of commercial objects such as trays decorated with romanticized portraits of Indian chiefs and an pen-and-ink drawing of a chief bedecked with feathers and a bearclaw necklace. Another reservation woman had hung a tasteful arrangement of Indian corn in her living room. This was accompanied by fanciful pictures of Indian scenes that were more likely to be encountered in imaginings than in nature.

With regard to other facilities, Spindler (1955) had also asked about heating systems, cook stoves, radios and television sets in his inventory. Those questions were included here. However, the Spindler research was carried out on somewhat isolated reservations in the 1950's where few of his respondents had access to many amenities. In the city, in 1979 and 1980, all of the subjects had either gas or electric cooking stoves, except the one woman living with her three children in the motel. Fast food and snacks served as their diet.

Nearly all of the homes (92%) had central heating systems. Three homes (6%) had free-standing room heaters. One farm house had a central gas system which had not been used since the subject and her husband had installed a wood stove with a blower in the kitchen.
Most families, especially those with children, could count at least one radio per family member. The record went to a family with over 100 radios. Collecting antique radios was the hobby of the son—only three of those radios in the household actually worked. Two informants had no radios in their homes; one of them was also the only person without a television set.

Health and Medicine

When the subjects were asked about their health a long list of ills was aired. Fourteen (28%) of the women reported that they were completely unable to work because of health problems and had been disabled an average of eleven years, ranging from one to 25 years in duration. The youngest to be disabled was 21 when she developed mental problems that had kept her out of the labor force for 19 years. She blamed it on her marriage although the marriage was still intact.

Physical disabilities included arthritis (2), and degenerated or slipped spinal disks (2) that limited the amount of standing, stooping and bending that could be done. Torn muscles that necessitated surgery, casts and slings had kept one woman unemployed for several years. Operations on her hands because of injuries to the nerves kept another subject out of work. Combinations of ills plagued several of the women who numbered among their complaints diabetes, heart problems, "bad nerves," the injury to and subsequent loss of a knee cap, leukemia, asthma, "high blood" (pressure), hardening of the arteries, "bad stomach," and arthritis.

The five women who were over 65 years old described their physical conditions and were frequently more sanguine about their health than some of their younger Indian neighbors, although four of them considered themselves disabled. One subject had epilepsy and "high blood," both conditions under control with medications. Another informant combined "high blood" and diabetes although she admitted that her major reason for being out of the labor market was her age of 82 years. A third woman was taking gall bladder pills and had foot problems caused by fallen arches and spurs on the bones, but also did not consider herself disabled even at age 74. The 79-year-old subject had bone problems too, with a crumbled knee socket that kept her largely immobilized. The fifth woman had had a Pacemaker installed at age 65 and so had had to cope with the restrictions necessary in the activities she could pursue during the previous two years.

An additional eight women were limited in the amounts or kinds of work they could do rather than being totally disabled. The limitations were imposed by kidney and bladder disorders, asthma, diabetes, arthritis restricting the number of hours to be spent standing, and partial blindness in one eye. At the time of her interview, one woman
had just had an operation on her foot which had kept her off work for five weeks, but she expected to be back on the job by the following week. In a final instance, the woman described herself as being limited only because she cannot lift anything heavy, although she suffers from Bright's disease in the left kidney, the bones on her left side are deteriorating from arthritis, and she has "high blood."

All of the women are treated by Anglo (western) doctors. Some of them have visited or their families did in the past visit traditional medicine people. The responses to questions about traditional medicines and medicine people will be presented in the next chapter.
VI. Indian Ways in an Urban Setting

Maintaining identity as an Indian may be manifested in several ways. We obviously do not expect the women to be living in tepees, hogans or longhouses in an urban setting. Nor are their traditional occupations likely to be encountered in these surroundings—deerskins are rarely available to make clothing, land is not accessible for horticulture and suitable environments for foraging do not exist. Many of what are stereotypically defined "traditional" behaviors are impractical and undesired in an urban locale.

Some behaviors and beliefs, however, may lend themselves to continuance in the city. Strictly subjective judgments led to the choice of the variables to be discussed in this chapter. It seemed that practices that are highly personal and not necessarily public may provide areas in which traditional behaviors are retained, even in the city. This chapter will examine such characteristics to see if and how the women maintain their ethnic identity. The ways this might be manifested were explored with questions about such areas as medical practices, religious beliefs, contact with other Indians, crafts, knowledge of tribal language and lore, and attitudes about returning to reservation or other family homes.

Visibility

Being "noticeably" Indian depends on, usually, definable physical characteristics and stereotyping. Trying to rate the women on a scale of visibility from "high" to "moderate" to "low" to "none" required adherence to a stereotype that eventually outdid this observer. High cheekbones, wide foreheads, black straight hair, swarthy complexions—by themselves or in combination—ended up proving nothing. One of the most "Indian-looking" women turned out to be a quarter-blood. Her dark straight hair and swarthy complexion came from her Italian father. A few of the women do look like the Edward S. Curtis photographs (1972), now reissued. Most do not.

An illustration of this occurred because I had happened to be at the Center and was the only person not involved in some kind of business at the time. I was taught how to erect a tepee, single-handedly. The next time the Center was invited to participate in an "Indian Days" type of celebration, I went along since I was the only one available to put up the tent. Because of my dark hair, dozens of observers who had seen me struggling with the mound of canvas and
poles came up later and congratulated me on overcoming the inert mass. They also offered their sympathies for the inept help offered me--by Indian women as it turned out.

Frizzy, bleached red hair, straight blonde hair, pale skins, and numerous other physical characteristics had changed the picture of the stereotypical "squaw," making the women in the sample generally indistinguishable from the crowds with which they now interact. A few, in efforts to proclaim their identity, did wear turquoise and silver jewelry.

It had originally been judged, on the basis of physical characteristics, that seven of the women offered no observable Indian physiognomy; 21 were of low visibility, 12 were moderately recognizable as Indian and 10 were highly stereotypical. I no longer wish to give credence to these ratings, both for reasons mentioned above and because interaction with the women may have sharpened my perceptions. Recognition of less overt characteristics may have weakened the reliability of the ratings by over-recognition of Indianness compared with awareness by the general population.

Some of the women themselves seemed to acknowledge that they did not look very Indian. Several of them carefully pointed out their high cheekbones or dark hair as if to prove themselves to me in lieu of enrollment papers or reservation backgrounds. Others decked themselves out in Indian-style jewelry, and one ostentatiously wore a t-shirt with a decal of an Indian chief, feathered headdress and all, as if to reiterate her claim to being Indian.

In terms of dress, other than jewelry and a t-shirt, there was nothing to indicate the women's cultural heritage. Hairbone beads had given away to gold chains; glass beads woven into necklaces and bracelets were more widely recognized as "Indian" than hairbone. Much more frequent than any of the above were the polyester slacks with a flowered top, a cotton housedress, or other thoroughly typical middle America outfits. Moccasins might serve as houselippers, though none were observed; only four had ever made any as exercises in craft activities.

To outward appearance then, most of the women were as American as apple pie rather than pemmican. They usually affected no clothing nor had any physical characteristics that could not as often be interpreted as European, Hawaiian, Oriental, Jewish, Japanese, Italian, or Black.

Frequently they mentioned that people might observe them curiously and ask their background, expecting them to be any of the above groups. A few of the women from reservation areas had been identified as Indian in those nearby cities and had to struggle with the atten-
dant prejudices there, but for the most part, the women in the midwestern urban setting studied here are curiosities to be exclaimed over or are unrecognized as Indian.

Medical Practices

The four questions on traditional Indian cures were as follows:
"Do you ever use traditional Indian cures?" "Do you know a medicine man?" "Have you ever visited a medicine man?" "Has anyone in your family ever been treated by a traditional healer or medicine man?"
(After the first few interviews, the questions were amended to medicine "person" or included both medicine "man" and medicine "woman.") Only fifteen women answered "no" to all four questions. The rest had had some experience with some kind of traditional or Indian medicine.

A distinction must be made between using traditional Indian cures and having sought the curative powers of a medicine person. For many of the eastern women, medicine people were no longer available. As one woman from the southeast expressed it, "I don't think there were many medicine men in existence, even if they were interested in traditional treatment." Customs and vocations were lost with the removal, beginning in the 1830's, of most of the eastern Indians to Oklahoma. Those that remained behind used traditional medicines—mostly herbs and teas—the recipes for which had been handed down from generation to generation. It is sometimes not clear if the recipes were imported by the European settlers and adapted to the region's flora or if they were Indian treatments shared with the settlers, but the women considered them to be Indian cures and that was what was accepted.

Thirty-two women claimed no personal acquaintance with a medicine person, three knew someone reputed to be a healer by name only and fifteen knew one well. Although one Northern Plains woman claimed to have no contact with medicine people she was sufficiently aware of the yuwipi to ask if this was what was meant. She denied personally knowing any or having had contact with them, however. Another from the same region said, "I don't want to get into that, not in cities," but was willing to talk about her grandmother's work as a curer. A couple of the women claimed to know a "medicine man" who used to be a frequent visitor at the Indian Center. (The person in question was quite willing to let people regard him as a medicine man although he had been refused initiation at a Sun Dance in South Dakota a few years previously. The leaders considered him "impure" because he drank too

1 Two women were thinking of a different kind of "medicine man" because one of them responded, "We don't have them carny types" and the other described them as "they travel in wagons; we'd go listen to 'em."
much beer and had not prepared himself properly to take part in the rites.)

Ten of the 18 women who had some personal knowledge of medicine people were in fact related to them. Five of the ten relatives were grandmothers who had practiced medicine. One described her grandmother's duties as mostly delivering babies. The grandmother of another had treated the respondent when she was a child by bathing her in fire root juice for burns. Root medicines were used by one grandmother to treat colds and whooping cough and another, also in North Carolina, used mud packs for ridding her granddaughter of lice and nits.

A step-grandfather treated people for colds. One subject used to go out “picking roots” with her grandmother's cousin who was regarded as a medicine man, although he never treated the informant. Three uncles were named by the subjects. One uncle cured toothaches for his niece when she was small. He "...went out and got a powder and put it on the cavity and it was gone almost instantly." Another was from a family that had some time previously left the Navajo reservation and gave the practicing uncle less than undivided respect. The niece had never been treated by him for medical reasons and he was regarded by the family suspiciously. Her father was a Christian preacher and they felt that Navajo practices smacked of superstition. "They do witchcraft and all that stuff...along with curses...it's just like worshiping the devil." The final uncle mentioned is one who is quite well known. His name is Lame Deer and his autobiography, Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions (with Erdoes 1972), has enjoyed wide popularity. The same woman's father also worked with medicine, led meetings and was a roadman doing a great deal of travel around to various groups. She showed me a medicine staff with eagle feathers and beadwork that he had been given by grateful patients.

Twenty-three women knew that various other members of their families had been treated by medicine people--their mothers, fathers, grandmothers, sisters, aunts and uncles. Herbs were most frequently mentioned as being used (by all 23 subjects), while a few listed prayers (both Indian and Christian), songs, dances, sweat lodge ceremonies, fasting and smoking as part of the curative processes. One woman claimed that her sister was cured of cancer of the cervix by a medicine man after the Anglo doctors had given up on her. Others reported that family members had been treated for pneumonia, chronic headaches, fevers, toothaches, stomach cancers, epilepsy, colds and emotional as well as physical ills.

Among the cures used by the Indians, teas were a favorite remedy. Many of the herbs used were referred to by local names which cannot be found in books on herbs written for the general public but may be listed in regional books giving colloquial names. Cold remedies were
especially common and included sassafras tea (four mentions), mullen root tea, pine tar tea, rabbit tobacco (or white weed) tea (3), Eve 'n' Adam (ginseng) tea and a mixture of coal oil or turpentine with sugar. The sassafras tea was also claimed to be effective to "break out measles" and to help a person rest better. Rabbit tobacco, also called "Life Everlasting" was used for the bellyache as well as colds.

Three women mentioned pine top tea, one saying that "I made a tea and then take that for colds." Another explained that her

...daddy was the only medicine man...if he made some tea out of some of the herbs that he'd gather, an' tell you to drink it, ya' better drink it....He'd use pine top...for colds in the winter.

The third woman said that her mother had used a number of things for herbs and teas,

...and I'm telling you about the worst thing, I despised so bad was ol' pine top tea. It was awful....She'd brew that tea 'bout every night, espacially in the winter time, and oh, boy, I hated it.

However, none of the three specified what "pine top" was. All three of these women were quite elderly and still living in North Carolina during the times they've described. At that period, "pine top" referred to pure corn whisky, distilled locally and illegally (Dabney 1974).

Cuts, scratches and sores could be treated with a mixture of eggs and chimney soot, cleaned out with turpentine or packed with cobwebs (3) to stop the bleeding. An unknown kind of green leaf was made into a paste and also used for cuts. Turtle grease rubbed or cold water blown by the mouthful were claimed to be effective for burns. One woman swore that the burns she received on her leg were successfully treated with a combination of horse manure, spider webs and prayers from the Bible.

Toothaches had been treated by chewing unspecified roots and with a peyote poultice especially recommended for incoming wisdom teeth. Nettle briar roots made into beads and placed around the necks of babies to keep out the fever while they were teething. Putting a dime or chicken bone on the neck was said to be an aid in cutting teeth. Quinine pills and mustard poultice were helpful for fevers.

Other cold symptoms, such as coughs, can be treated with cherry root tea. Chimney soot placed on a flannel cloth was supposed to be helpful for sore throats and hoarseness. Bitter root helped mouth or throat irritations. Strep throat could be treated by peeling an onion, baking it under ashes, squeezing it and mixing with Vick's Vapo-
rub. When "the cold had gone into the chest," one recommendation was that hog foot or cow foot oil or goose tallow saved from butchering be used to grease the patient. One woman described the sensations experienced when being treated for pneumonia when she was about six years old. She had become delirious and was taken into a prepared room.

It's real dark in the room and they played these drums and they sang Indian and they danced. And he had this feather and I drank something. I don't know what it was. And he drank it. And he said prayers over me with this feather. And you could hear, you could hear birds flying around. In the room. And there weren't any birds.

After the ceremony she was taken to the hospital. "I got well and they both, the Indians claimed it and so did the hospital."

Some gynecological problems were treated using a tea made from raspberry leaves or peyote, both for menstrual cramps. Headaches were susceptible to ministrations of vinegar or homemade camphor which also was used for general soreness.

Unspecified aches and pains responded to a variety of teas—camomile, lemon balm, regular balm—while a combination of whisky and camphor was credited with clearing up the "hurting in your legs." Backaches disappeared with treatment using John the Worker bush. Earaches and even the loss of hearing were treated with hot smoke blown into the ear. In one case the hot smoke was blown through a piece of cane. In the other instance, the woman had been ill and lost her hearing so her grandmother took her out to the reservation after six months without being able to hear.

They used tobacco. They, believe it or not, they, my granny never smoked in her life and she smoked, I think it was a Camel cigarette, and blew cigarette smoke in my ear and packed it with cotton. And then I had a lot of drainage out of that ear and I was able to hear.

Miscellaneous problems mentioned included the use of low merkle bush roots for colitis, Jerusalem oak root tea (red stalk) for pellagra, raspberries for dysentery and the holding of scissors at the nape of the neck while the patient stood up to stop a bleeding nose. Several women were only aware that various but unknown roots were chewed and herbs were brewed when they were young, but did not know specific uses.

Two women themselves claimed to have effected cures. One said she used live minnows to cure whooping cough in the children she babysat for. They swallowed the minnows whole and the cough went away. The other informant described her power "to stop blood." "Not for
myself, but I can stop bleeding for others." When she was working at a local school sceptics were convinced of her ability after several incidents where she stopped the bleeding of even severe injuries. She explained that this is a "power" she can only pass on to a man. If she tried to teach it to another woman not only would that woman not be able to do it, but the subject herself would lose her power. "Males pass the secret to females and females have to pass it to males."

It becomes clear from the above that the variety of practices described ranged from readily available herbs and teas to more esoteric and ritualistic practices. Most of these were used and experienced when the subjects were youngsters. One reservation woman said she or her family would go to medicine people every month or two, most frequently for toothaches. Even those who knew people reputed to be curers were themselves rarely patients, but reported that their parents and grandparents had been.

A couple of women have returned in the last few years to their home reservations for help; another annually visits her family in the plateau region of North Carolina and restocks on roots and teas not available here. One woman lamented, after reeling off a long list of teas and herbs that "you can't get them bushes up here."

Where medicine and religion overlap or fuse into the same concept as ritual and healing process become one is usually impossible to pinpoint. Looking at the religious beliefs currently held by the respondents may help explain and indeed be the explanation for processes undergone as the women turn completely to Anglo medical practitioners for day-to-day care.

Current Religious Practices

There were few women who used traditional healers to affect medical cures; none any longer did so on a regular basis. This is reflected in their urban religious affiliations. Because traditional medicine people are religious figures, because existence of such people in the city is nil, because the pressures to conform are tremendous in order to be accepted and employed, and because traditional beliefs of most eastern Indians and many missionized western ones are Christian, there is little conflict for the women between being members of local churches and being Indian.

Table 11 illustrates the religious preferences of the respondents and their parents. It becomes apparent that for the last generations, at least, the models are largely Christian. And as a result, 28 respondents were currently church members. Eleven others were not enrolled in a specific congregation at the time of the interviews but
Table II
Religious Preferences of Respondents and Their Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Church</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Fathers</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Don't know</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thanks to Dr. Paul C. Bowers, Jr., of The Ohio State University Department of History faculty for his assistance in categorizing and labeling the sectarian groups. Any errors of interpretation are mine.
had been church members previously. Another eleven women were not church members, although nearly all identified themselves with some denomination whether they were actively involved or not.

The only religious sect mentioned that could be considered Indian is the Native American Church. No one belonged to Indian lodges or other religious bodies. Even the Native American Church is a syncretic institution comprised of both traditional Indian and Christian beliefs, producing something unique from either of the originals. However, only two subjects classified themselves as members of this church; both were reservation-born and -raised. There is no Native American Church in the city and until a few years ago the only services were infrequently held at the home of one of the women. The services would begin on Saturday evening with singing and dancing and praying, going through the night until Sunday morning when they were concluded with a big breakfast. Being the only person responsible and a general lack of interest on the part of other local Indians combined to bring the services to a halt by the subject except for rare special occasions when visitors from the reservations might merit such a meeting.

Both parents of one of the Native American Church members were also members; the father was a traveling medicine man for the tribe. Because this subject was herself the mother of two other respondents who were not members of the Native American Church, this accounted for the three mothers who were listed as members of the church. The other respondent who was a Native American Church member was the daughter of Presbyterians. It was this woman who had the traditional funeral and memorial services held for her infant daughter.

Twelve of the women (24%) belonged to mainstream Christian churches with Baptist and Catholic memberships predominant. This included one woman, who in her Native Alaska was Russian Orthodox, but found that Roman Catholicism was the closest match she could make in the midwest. The other Catholic women were, except for one, born of Catholic parents. The exception reported that she was "forced to be Catholic" when she was sent to a mission school. She and her brothers and sisters had been made wards of the court when her parents were divorced and the priest was made their legal guardian. Her father had been Protestant and she did not know what her mother's religion had been.

Only one woman was a member of a church in the American Evangelical Tradition, although the parents of two other subjects had been members of that group.

Twenty women (40%) were members of Evangelical Fundamentalist sects. Church of God and Holiness Pentecostal membership predominated with six other groups also being mentioned. The Evangelical Funda-
mental churches are frequently emotive, American traditional, and emphasize close family and social ties, providing support and a sense of closeness among members. It may be that this is very appealing to women who have moved away from traditional homelands and are seeking new identities and acceptance in the city.

Only three women claimed no religious affiliation, although nine fathers of subjects were not affiliated with any groups. One father was described as being a "hard-headed Indian with not too much belief," while another was simply passed off as "not a church man." Only one mother was not a church member. Several women did not know religious preferences of their parents due to early separation from them through death or divorce.

An elderly woman could not be classified as a member of any one denomination. She belonged to no one church but when she was in the mood to attend a religious service would attend "any church I take a notion to."

Church attendance for some women was quite regular and for others sporadic or nil. Nineteen attended regularly, fifteen others went occasionally. Sixteen claimed that they never went to church though most of them did identify themselves with a denomination. Reasons for not going regularly included most frequently illness or having not yet found the "right" congregation since moving to the city. Another woman went whenever she could get someone to take her.

The most zealous attendee went to church four times a week when she was well. She was a choir member of her home church but also sang in other churches when requested to do so. She was an unpaid gospel singer and was accompanied by a pianist from her church. She was rivaled in attendance by only one other woman who attended evening services on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday.

While her attendance is not as frequent as those mentioned above, one woman was found to repose fully in her religious beliefs. When interviewed, she had just received notice that her house was about to be repossessed after a period of unemployment and layoffs from which her husband had just returned to work. She was cheerful about the loss of their down payment and had applied for low income housing in a nearby apartment project. She attributed her attitude to the fact that

both of us are Christian and there's a scripture in the Bible which says He will clothe us, feed us and give us shelter. So that's where you got to live on faith.

Those who do not go to church at all provided a variety of excuses. Physical discomfort often played a role. One woman explained
that she had "...to go to the bathroom too often; causes a distur-
bance." Another was bothered by perfume and smoke but occasionally
held a prayer meeting at her home.

Several women gave reasons that were related to having moved to
the city. One woman stated that while she used to go with her parents
she did not "like the churches up here." Two women were unable to
find churches "of their own kind around," and another simply didn't
"know where to go here." Finding churches of their "own kind" gener-
ally referred to the fact that in the southern states the churches,
like the schools, were separate and Indian churches were defined as
"Indian Baptist," "Indian Holiness" and so on. One subject just has
not bothered to go since moving.

Philosophical differences are importantly related to attendance
too. Not surprisingly, those choosing not to belong to a religious
group do not attend any services. Those who did belong to a church
and had the most serious philosophical differences were three Catholic
women. One was a divorced Catholic who no longer felt welcome in the
church. Another was forced to be Catholic as a mission ward and to-
tally rejected the religion as she grew older. The third woman had
been

...taught at school not to believe in the religion of the
Indians, that it was the work of the devil because there
were things that happened that couldn't be explained.

She also spoke for many of the Indian women, Catholic or Protestant,
who are on the horns of a dilemma vis a vis religion:

See, that's one of the things that I, that we were raised
in the mission, a lot of us, a lot of the Indian people
down there and raised to be Catholic. And now the Indian
religion is coming back. And people are, just don't know,
they're caught in the middle. They don't know whether to
believe, I mean, I was raised Catholic. I believe it. But
yet, I can't...I'm an adult now. I'm not a little kid that
you can say "that's that" and..."You better believe it." A
lot of things that happen, I just don't feel there's no
explanation and I don't think it's bad. I don't think
something that is good could be, when good works come out
of it, could be bad, could be the work of the devil. They
were trying to convert us to the white man's ways and his
religion instead of letting them keep their culture and
their own religion.

It becomes easily understandable from the above that most of the
women of the city no longer carry traditional ties with them and
therefore have little access to traditional medical practices. Even
those who are members of the Native American Church can only occasion­ally reestablish contact when they return to their reservations and their medical needs are met in the city by the familiar M.D.'s.

Crafts

Craft work is often portable, books are available to teach the basics if traditional practitioners are not nearby to give instruction and such skills can be rewarding for the pleasure given by producing something tangible, even if not for sale. There is no problem getting the basic materials for most crafts in the city—in fact, cane is purchased locally and sent to basketmaking friends in North Carolina where it is not readily accessible. Leather shops, gun shops selling glass beads in many sizes and other craft shops supplying wools and other materials proliferate in the city.

To maintain or develop a skill in a craft requires interest in it as a reminder of old ways or for its own fun and pleasure or perhaps anticipation of turning the skill to profit. In this time and place it is not a functional necessity for providing daily needs but most women perceive craftwork as a technique for preserving the arts for decorative purposes.

Of the fifty women, 16 practiced traditional crafts, which here include beading, quilting, weaving, jewelry making, basketry and canning. Nine women did beading, producing articles for wear—necklaces, watch bands, belt buckles, hat bands, barrettes and bracelets—or decorative practical items such as key holders, cigarette lighter covers, glasses cases, and other miscellanea.

Beading has always been a decorative skill and has been a traditional craft of the Indians in this country since the advent of the traders who brought the beads in exchange for furs. The beads required no preparation and were more easily utilized than the quills which had been the main source material for decoration until then. In addition, the smaller beads increased design possibilities because of greater flexibility in arrangements.

The designs the women in the sample used were generally traditional. Beading design books are readily available from which to choose colors and patterns. Additionally, the books usually provide at least sketchy information about the designs giving tribal origins and showing the traditional color combinations in which they were worked. Non-traditional designs and colors were rarely used; Plains and Southwest patterns were generally favored. The northeastern Indian floral designs were not followed, at least by these women, none of whom are from that area. Two of the women mentioned that with the aid
of beading books they were self-taught craftswomen. Another woman was just learning.

Star quilting was a craft mentioned by two of the women. This is a favorite design of the Plains Indians, ever since its introduction by whites. It is used on baby quilts as well as on garments. One woman displayed a star quilt blouse she had been given. The stars were pieced and then appliqued on both the front and back of the blouse using vivid colors and beautiful workmanship. Two other women also mentioned quilting, but did not specify star quilting. They were both from rural North Carolina where quilt-making is an old and honored tradition. One of these two had had to stop the handsewing because of arthritis in her hands.

Four women did leatherwork, or had done it in the past. They all reported that they had made moccasins, and one also did armbands and keychains. She and another woman also beaded and so decorated the leather goods they had made with beadwork. One subject who had done leatherwork in the past had just ordered moccasin patterns so she could resume her activities.

The southwestern Navajo woman used to do silver work with turquoise inlay but had not done so since moving to the city where supplies were much too expensive. She had learned at a shop where her two sisters also worked.

I remember, we did piece work...we got paid like maybe a bracelet was $25 and a squash blossom maybe 50 or 75. And rings, maybe $5...so whatever we wanted to do we got paid or...I remember I made a lot of money that one time.

A southeastern woman practiced a craft that for all practical purposes is lost in the northern states and rarely seen even in her native region—using "corn shucks to bottom chairs." She described her craft as:

I could help 'em bottom chairs, you know, take shucks, corn shucks off'n corn...and put it in lye and let it get toughened...cook it and let it get tough. And take it and twist it and bottom chairs with it.

Two women did some basket weaving. One used white honeysuckle which provided a fine material for baskets which were then painted. Another had just been learning as she left her home to come to the city several months previously and planned to take it up again.

Some of the women combined non-Indian with traditional crafts; others "know how to do the white man's stuff, not the Indian" which included crocheting, embroidery, making crepe paper flowers, sewing
and ceramics. Ceramics must be distinguished from pottery making. "Ceramics," as the subjects referred to the process, involved glazing and firing greenware that had been commercially preformed. They chose the colors with which to paint the old-fashioned high-topped boots, cookie jars, frogs, Currier and Ives designs on jars. Non-traditional crafts could not be even called adaptations of new skills to satisfy Indian tastes since no use of traditional designs or colors occurred except in one case. In this instance, ceramics were not listed as a hobby, but a once-in-a-lifetime effort. The subject proudly exhibited a nicely shaped pot with southwestern designs; the colors, however, were decidedly not the traditional combinations associated with that region.

One woman who was unable for physical reasons to do craftwork herself was very appreciative of it, especially beadwork. She had a collection of beaded articles that had belonged to her mother and grandmother which included headdresses and bands. She also had, but did not use, her father's collection of beads.

Several of the women, although not then doing Indian crafts, planned to learn. One had already talked with the director of the Indian Center about learning to do beadwork. Another had a sister who did beading. Before she had moved away she and the sister had arranged a swap. "I was going to teach her typing and she was going to teach me beadwork." A third woman was planning to have her mother teach her beading and how to make "god's eyes" the following summer.

Interest was obvious and the examples above indicate that some crafts were being preserved and taught to one another by the Indian women. Many of those who knew no traditional craft wished that they did or expressed envy of those who did possess such skills.

Leisure Activities

The women were asked a series of questions about the kinds of things they did in their spare time. They were engaged in a number of different activities and organizations. Crafts, which might also have been included here, were discussed above.

Observations could be made and combined with questions about reading as a leisure activity. The questions was usually asked only when no reading materials were visible in the rooms in which the interviews took place. Sixteen of the women did little or no reading; by their own admission, several could not read and bad eyesight limited the amount that could be done by others. Four read newspapers only and 30 read books, newspapers and magazines. Those who did not read were, however, quite aware of current events because television viewing had replaced written materials as a source of information.
Recreational activities included participation in sports, dancing, card games and drinking. Hunting and fishing were frequently engaged in, with only 13 women never doing either. Fishing was by far the most popular sport with 33 women at least occasionally taking a line and hook down to local rivers. Eleven of these women also went on hunting trips now and then. Only four women claimed hunting as their only sport. Going back to reservation lands provided the best and favorite hunting sites. One woman who neither hunts or fishes said she's "not an Indian in that way."

Half of the women were actively involved in other sporting events. Most popular was bowling, followed by swimming, jogging or hiking, biking, basketball or softball, tennis and just exercising. Few women engaged in more than one sport although five were involved in from three to five different activities on a regular basis. Those who were not active generally cited ill health or age as the reason. One who does not engage in any activity said she wished she could as "I'm overweight and depressed so I eat."

Movie attendance was frequent for six women who loved to go to see films. Twenty-four went occasionally but twenty never attended the movies. High costs and free television were often cited as reasons for not going to movie theaters.

Card games as a leisure activity were fairly often participated in. Thirty-two of the women played at least occasionally. Fourteen of them engaged in friendly gambling with poker, pinochle, blackjack and so on. More played non-gambling games, frequently with their children when youngsters still resided in the home. Old Maid and rummy topped the list of preferences.

Drinking activities were not part of the lives of 27 of the women, nearly all of whom were non-drinkers because of religious principles. Nineteen acknowledged moderate intakes; especially often mentioned was wine. Some said their drinking was confined to parties and other social occasions. Two women were very heavy drinkers, often arriving at the Indian Center in states of intoxication. One of them has since died; the other frequently sported bruises or minor broken bones which she claimed where the result of unfriendly contact with local police officers.

Dancing was not a popular activity. Indian dances had not been within the scope of many of the women's home lives as they grew up or at the time of the interviews. Only 15 attend even occasionally since it usually requires a return to the reservation. Ten actually had participated in Indian dancing and knew the steps for various dances. One will do the '49'er "if I have a shawl." Another described the Rabbit Dance in which men and women dance side by side and the Women's Dance in which they form a circle moving sideways "bouncing up and
down." Occasionally parties at the Indian Center will provide an opportunity for novices to learn Plains dances and for the women to "kick their heels a time or two." Regional campouts, especially in the southwestern part of the state, sponsored by the Ohio-based Over-hill Band of the Cherokee Nation had also provided local opportunities to do or learn Indian dances and chanting. However, reservation women who were not involved in local Indian activities often had not danced since they had left their original homes.

Non-Indian dancing is not much more popular. Only two women go out frequently, especially to the Veterans of Foreign Wars clubs with their husbands on Fridays to jitterbug and waltz. Seventeen others sometimes go out to night clubs or discotheques but the majority (31) do not ever find themselves on a dance floor. One elderly lady described herself as "more of a watcher than a doer." Others said they had danced when they were young, but not any more. One elaborated saying that she liked "...square dancing but I haven't done that since school...I used to disco 'fore I got fat." Parental and religious objections also kept some women away from dances, both as youngsters and at the time they were interviewed.

Organizational Activities

Membership in organizations was fairly uncommon. Only thirteen women belonged to groups that had regular activities. Most frequently they were members of groups affiliated with their churches. Two women taught Sunday School while another was the church treasurer and another was the superintendent of junior church. One Sunday School teacher was also involved with the church bowling league, youth group and women's group. Another subject sang with a church group which also visited prisoners.

Family interests played a role in involving some women in organized activities. A woman pregnant with her fourth child was a member of the La Leche League. Two mothers were members of parent-teacher associations; one of these women also did volunteer work at school. Two other mothers were involved with Title IV programs which focussed on meeting the tutoring needs of Indian children. Discussions between school officials and parents were held at the Indian Center. Another mother, struggling to raise five children without their father, joined a family organization that provided her children with access to recreational activities and companionship with adults.

Four women were involved in civic or political groups. One had become a member of a local community action group when her neighborhood had organized to tell city officials that a stoplight was essential for a busy corner where children crossed to go to school. Another was a Red Cross volunteer and the third involved herself in activi-
ties of the auxiliary of a veteran's organization. The fourth woman
was a member of Amnesty International and Christian activist groups
such as Christians Against Racism and Fascism (CARAF).

However, when asked if they belonged to Indian groups or societ-
ties, few were actively involved in such organizations. Four men-
tioned that they were members of a Native American Cultural Center of
which the local Indian Center was a branch. Actually, if they had
ever had any dealings with the local center they were automatically
"enrolled" in the regional office which gave out membership cards to
all of the clients who came in seeking help. This "membership" vali-
dates their recognition and acceptance as American Indian members of
the community.

None of the women are members of national Indian organizations or
pan-Indian movements. The American Indian Movement (AIM) had no local
membership, although one woman admitted some involvement when she was
back on the reservation although she was no longer active. Another
subject's brother was an AIM member and she reported her distress that
one of the national leaders was getting such bad press. She felt he
was right in what he tried to do and that the media were not printing
what really was happening at Wounded Knee.

At the Indian Center, discussions rarely centered around Indian
politics, national or local. Occasional references were made to the
activities of the AIM leaders, especially at Wounded Knee, but gener-
ally only after it had become news on the national press. Locally,
the cry of an Oklahoma prisoner, an Indian man, for consultation with
a medicine man instead of a clergymen elicited comment and a sense of
triumph when arrangements were made to have a medicine man fly down
from South Dakota to counsel the prisoner.

Only ten women claimed any interest in local activities, most
specifically, what was happening at the Center. They were involved in
the tutorial program, mentioned above or volunteered help when they
could by folding donated clothing, helping prepare bags of food for
distribution and so on.

Local non-Indian politics were of interest for only three of the
women. One of the women who is frequently at the Indian Center said
she was not involved with local political issues. "I don't mess with
it, can't, I work for the government." The three women defined their
political activities as their work for Democratic party campaigns,
involvement in local issues or "praying about abortion."

When the women were asked if they kept up with current events
relating to their tribes, eight of them replied that they did. Three
readers cited specifically such newspapers as the North Carolina Indian
Voice published in Pembroke, Robeson County, Akwasasne Notes, a New
York pan-Indian publication, and Indian Life sent to the respondent by her mother from South Dakota. Another woman's father sends her the tribal newspaper but neither she nor another woman mentioned the names of the tribal papers they receive.

The woman who mentioned the Indian Voice brought it out to show me the comments on a recently published book on the Lumbee Indians. Two other Lumbee women were quite familiar with the struggles of their group for federal and state recognition as a tribe and with the current activities in Pembroke which included the staging of a Civil War saga about Indian participants and rebels and an annual powwow to capitalize on tourist trade.

Only one woman, a Chippewa from Minnesota, volunteered the information that she still votes in tribal elections. Frequent phone calls were mentioned by several informants as a means of keeping in touch and of course, the infrequent visits home help catch up on the latest gossip, political and otherwise.

Interaction patterns with other Indians in the city have been discussed by Wagner (1976) and others who have noted that many urban Indians are loners and not much involved with others of the same ethnic groups. Observations of women who were present at the Indian Center indicated that about a third of the women were very or fairly regular visitors. Most of the rest had had minimal contact with other Indians at the Center, usually only when emergencies arose and they applied for assistance. Six women had never had dealings with the Center at all and were not known to the Center staff.

Another index that might be indicative of their involvement with other Indians was the capacity to name other women who might serve as subjects for the study. All but fifteen, nearly a third, of the women were able to list at least one other Indian woman. As the last of the interviews neared, referrals were sought to check out the extent to which interaction was occurring. By that time, names being given were usually those of women already interviewed. The group of Indian women who interacted was generally small. Frequently faces were more familiar than names. Only occasionally would someone be mentioned who had no connections with the Indian Center as client, volunteer or friend. An interesting aside is that, while the women considered themselves Indian, they only rarely suggested names of their mothers or daughters as potential subjects. That the woman I was interviewing was related to another subject was only accidentally discovered on two occasions.

Language and Lore

Knowledge is a portable characteristic--language, lore, ethnic beliefs, stories, medicines--all fall into this category. This sec-
tion will examine these capabilities to see how much retention and use occurs of Indian ways in the urban setting.

All of the respondents spoke English, most of them very well. The least adept speaker was an Eskimo woman who may have had an impediment that rendered her speech more unintelligible than it would otherwise have been. Two other women were rated as having only a "fair" command of the language because of their grammar; both had been reared in the rural South and were older women. Eleven were considered to be at a "good" level of oral communication and the other thirty-six had excellent command of spoken English. In one instance, the spoken English of the respondent was flawless but her ability to read and write was limited and required great effort. For how many others this was the case was not known.

The women evaluated themselves on their command of their tribal language on a scale of "full knowledge," "some," or "very little or none." (See Table 12.) Thirty-six or 72% reported that they had little or no knowledge of their tribal tongue. Six evaluated themselves as having "some" knowledge and only eight said they spoke it fluently. Two Easterners pointed out that there was no Lumbee language.

The nine women who knew a little of their native language listed five different groups, Cherokee most frequently, followed by Sioux, Washoe, Winnebago and Pima. They said they "knew a few words" or had learned a song or had been taught a little by a grandmother. One woman had tried to teach herself from books and had in this way developed a small Cherokee vocabulary. Two women had known their native tongues when they were small children, but as the Winnebago speaker said, it had "faded out."

The six women who claimed "some" knowledge of their tribal languages included four Siouan speakers and one each of Eskimo and Omaha tongues. Those with full knowledge of their native languages were again predominantly Siouan speakers, with also one each speaking Cherokee, Pima, Chippewa and Navajo.

None of the women used their tribal languages for communicating in their urban homes. Few of their children knew more than a short list of words, usually commands. When the mothers used the language, "the kids know they are in trouble," as one mother put it. For most of those who still had some command of their languages, the only time they had a chance to speak was when they returned home. Then they had the opportunity to speak with the older people and family members.

The Siouan speakers were the only ones who had a chance to practice and keep up their skills locally. The director of the Indian Center was a fluent speaker, and encouraged her Sioux friends to come
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal Language</th>
<th>Full Knowledge</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Very Little</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eskimo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pima</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washoe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnebago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in and talk as much as possible. She also kept a tape recorder handy to play cassettes of Siouan chants and songs so a low drumbeat was usually in the background at the Center.

Few of the mothers who did have any language skills were doing much to try to teach their children. One woman mentioned that she was trying to teach Pima to her children but met with little success or enthusiasm on their part. The Indian Center director's daughters, both members of the sample, had been exposed to Lakota Sioux for many years. One listed herself as having "a little" and the other as having "some" knowledge of the language.

Closely tied in to this is the fact that only 12 of the women themselves have Indian names. Half of the names were ceremonially given; the other were informal or pet names used by grandmothers or other relatives. In turn, only five of the subjects had given tribal names to their own children.

The figures above are not very surprising when the parental level of knowledge of the tribal languages are examined. Table 12 shows that only 17 mothers and 15 fathers spoke a tribal language. For 33 mothers and 35 fathers the first language was English. Of the 17 mothers who spoke their native languages, 16 also had some command of English as a second language; all of the fathers who spoke their Indi­an tongue also knew English to some degree. However, of those who spoke English as a first language, only five mothers and three fathers had any knowledge of their tribal languages.

In keeping with the general lack of contact with and learning of native languages is the amount of information the urban women had about Indian beliefs--lore, myths, legends, magic and so on. Fifteen women said they knew nothing at all about their cultural backgrounds and ten said that they were aware that there was a lot to be learned but that they had never gotten around to learning anything about their ethnic identity. One eastern-born woman who claimed no expertise at all seemed rather upset about her lack of knowledge about her Indian background, saying that she wasn't "taught nothin' about Indians." The Washoe-Paiute woman from California "never learned much about my culture, the background" because, although her parents did know a little about their traditions they "just never did talk about them."

Twenty-two women claimed some knowledge about their tribes, both eastern and western, but only three felt entitled to claim a deep knowledge and ability to practice their beliefs. Table 13 gives a breakdown of the groups involved, and the level of knowledge claimed. All of the Sioux women had some, if minimal, awareness of their cultural heritage, and were the only tribal members with deep knowledge and practice of their customs.
Table 13
Knowledge of Tribal Culture and History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Aware of, Don't Know</th>
<th>Know Some</th>
<th>Deep Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athapascan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee/Lumbee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee/Blackfoot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choctaw</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creek</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eskimo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washoe/Paiute</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnebago/Omaha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sources for information were generally family members of the subjects. Grandparents were cited four times and the grandmother alone, five times. One woman was told stories by her great-grandfather on her mother's side. Parents were also frequent teachers of tribal lore with both parents mentioned four times; mothers were listed by five women and two had their fathers as teachers. Aunts, too, were frequent sources of information. Several subjects gave non-specific responses, such as "family" or "older people." One woman said she had learned by asking questions as things were noticed and puzzled over. Foster parents, a sister, friends and a step-father's stepfather were also instructive in learning about tribal ways. One woman had learned about a local heroic chief Logan in school, but her knowledge of Indian life extended no farther than Ohio history. Another had taken history courses in college about American Indians and a music seminar in which she did her research on American Indian music.

Returning "Home"

A number of investigators have suggested that an index of Indian ethnicity is the amount of time and effort Indians spend maintaining ties with their home tribes and reservations (Price 1968; Neog 1970; Wagner 1976, et al.) This was approached from two different angles in this study. The women were asked about their travel destinations. If reservations were listed they were asked to give their reasons for going there. In addition, a question was added after the first few interviews which inquired "Would you go back to a reservation to live if you had a chance?" For the non-reservation respondents, the question was amended to "Would you go back home..." which in most cases meant to the Carolinas.

Only 11 women said they did no travelling at all. Of those who travelled for pleasure, most frequently they did so to visit friends and relatives or to see the country. Only five did most of their travelling within the state.

Seven of the women said their destinations were usually to other Indian reservations or communities to attend Indian gatherings of one kind or another. Most often it was simply to see friends or relatives, but five combined attendance at ceremonies with their visits. These visits generally coincided with Sun Dance ceremonies in South Dakota. One woman travelled back home for hunting but none made trips back to the reservations for the purpose of visiting medicine people. One Sioux woman loved to make the trip back home because everyone came to see her when she visited. After returning from these trips she generally sported a new wardrobe and jewelry, gifts from friends and relatives on those occasions.
Others that went back to their home communities or reservations did not do it frequently. Some women went back home for funerals or when relatives were ill. It was often too far—in one case over 900 miles which took 13 hours to travel. For others, expense made it impossible to get back very often and only emergency situations justified the trip.

Asked if they would move back to the reservation or original homes if they had a chance, twenty-seven said they would. (Because the question was added after the interviewing was underway, five women were not included in the figures.) The most common reasons involved the people and simply the desire to be among Indians. Several of the younger women who had not been away for very long sounded rather wistful—"I know a lot of people there," "I haven't met or seen any Indians out here," or simply "It's home." The latter individual was planning to return with her husband as soon as the lease on their apartment expired.

Of the reservation-born or -raised women that would go back, other reasons cited for returning included free medical care, a chance to build on Indian lands they own (including one woman whose house had burned down and to whom the thought of rebuilding was enticing), and the possibility of regaining a lost heritage.

Others simply preferred being with other Indians. Two women expressed desires to help the Indians as social workers; another envisioned returning to the reservation as a Christian missionary to do community work and to get back to the earth doing agricultural work. One woman who wanted to go back to be with her people faced problems because her husband's attitude was that most Indians are drunkards, although he loved her parents and liked spending time with them.

Non-reservation Indians who wanted to return to their home communities also expressed preferences for being among Indians and their families. One woman spoke for many others as well when she explained that "home" was where she was born and raised and that while she does "get along all right up here,...there's no place like home." Several were interested in going back but held off for fear of being unable to find jobs and making a living. Owning a house which first must be disposed of up here held at least one woman back, and two others cited the need for finding desirable homes as reasons for procrastination, although they would like to return otherwise. Only one non-reservation woman said she wanted to go back so her children could learn about their heritage, ways and customs. An elderly subject clearly recalled life in the country and her love for it, but added, "I don't think I could make it down there right now, because I'm unable to carry the water that we did. I'd take my kettle to the hole, I enjoyed it though."
Two respondents didn't know if they would go home, given the chance, but one who had been working with school programs thought she might if she were able to use her skills to upgrade programs and help someone.

Seventeen women gave unequivocal "no's" to the question of going back to their birthplaces. The answers were accompanied by explanations ranging from the lack of jobs to family restrictions. One woman, married to a Black man, said she wouldn't go back to the reservation, "Not as long as my husband's with me," although she qualified this by adding

I think if times got hard, I do have land that I could make a living off...but a reservation now is, it's depressing. There the groceries are so high in the past that I can't imagine what they're like now. They have one grocery store, one service station. They are white-owned...And there's no liquor stores on the reservation. Liquor is prohibited and don't ask me why people are alcoholics, but they do have these bootleg things that just line the border of the reservation....They don't have very many things....I'd say 95% of the Indian people live off welfare and public assistance.

These sentiments were frequently echoed by women who claimed they would get along better in the city where doctors are closer and everything is more convenient. Other conditions cited included inadequate housing and lack of jobs, cultural events, zoos and parks on the homelands.

Others no longer had family back home, especially the older women. Still others would go back to visit but not to live. There was too little to go back to and because one couple already had purchased cemetery lots locally they were not interested in a return to their earlier homes.

One woman, who regularly went back to the reservation for visits and who might be regarded as quite traditional in her identity as an Indian would not return permanently for a number of reasons. She had adjusted to the comforts of life in the city and her lovely home. There was no industry out there so jobs were rare. But importantly, there is a different way of thinking which she no longer shared. Although her husband had offered her the chance to move back when he retired she said, "I couldn't live like that." Besides, "the winters are too cold," was her final comment on returning to South Dakota.
Effects of Being Indian on Day-to-Day Life

Two of the final questions dealt with being Indian and how much their heritage was felt to influence their lives. One of the questions inquired about the range of people who knew these women were Indian. It gave them choices from "most acquaintances know" to "only husband knows, children don't." Intermediate steps included "friends only," "family knowledge only," and a final category was added for the woman who "doesn't pay attention, emphasize or de-emphasize bloodedness."

Forty-one of the women (82%) said that most acquaintances were aware that they were Indian. Two added, however, that they don't pay much attention to their heritage themselves, but that it sometimes depended on the situation. A few restricted knowledge of their heritage to friends (4%) or family (4%). One of these latter subjects said that most people think she's Puerto Rican. Ten percent claimed to pay no attention to their Indian background. One said she just doesn't talk about it much and another said that back home, "In Kentucky, they do" know she's Indian but that up here, "I've never been around people talking about it...or nothin' like that...I've never met nobody else."

The second question asked "On the whole, how does being an Indian affect you in your day-to-day life or just in general?" Thirty-two (64%) of the women claimed that their heritage played no role in their daily lives. Six of these women then added, "But...." This was followed by noting that they were proud of it (2), that they didn't pay attention to it (2) or that they weren't ashamed of it (1). One of the subjects who paid no attention to being Indian said that she considered it "just another race in the world." While one of the women is not herself affected by her heritage she did mention that her granddaughter had been given some "trouble with colored people about being Indian."

Seventeen women did feel affected by their heritage on a day-to-day basis. The reasons ran the gamut from feeling other people were hostile toward them to feeling good about being Indian.

The effects of being Indian and the resultant hostility were reflected in the comments of one woman as follows:

It's very important because I feel like wherever I go I feel like I'm degraded. In Rapid City they called me names and I got the attitude that people disliked me because of what I am. I was turned down for jobs because of my color and being Indian...that's how I feel. I'm proud of it, but I feel like I don't belong, I don't belong anywhere. I
don't have no friends around here, I'm a loner. I stay alone.

Other effects of latent, if not overt hostility, were that "people look at us," and the feeling that being Indian was a hindrance. Like the woman quoted above, another subject was ambivalent about the effects:

I'm human, but being Indian, people perceive an Indian person as hostile, stupid, dumb. And I get, I don't have to know a person, I can just tell by their body vibrations and their actions how they feel about me. It bothers me. I think it's a hindrance to some point, but again I'm proud that I'm Indian because this is our country. We are being heard now. We're not the forgotten race anymore.

One woman said she perceived discrimination against her in the matter of rental housing, feeling that she was often turned down because of her background as a Native American.

Pride in their heritage was mentioned by those above and several others. One woman was trying to instill pride in her children also and was telling them what she had learned as an Indian child from her father. Another subject, proud of her heritage, bemoaned her lack of knowledge about her cultural background and expressed a desire to learn more.

For some of the women, being Indian provided a sense of identity that they cherished. One woman reported that

I'm happy to say that, knowing who I am, that I do know that I'm not in somebody else's country...I just feel...this is one thing that we actually have got a right to, that we was here and ...I don't feel like nobody else's got any more claim on it than we have.

Other women were affected by people who questioned them about their Indian backgrounds. One woman, speaking of her husband, said:

We'll go to church, like to a banquet...and he'll introduce me as being from Arizona, being a Indian...It's interesting to a lot of people...they'll ask me questions and I've spoken at elementary schools...but sometimes, you know,...at school, everybody just knew me as "the Indian girl"...

The same subject also mentioned people's surprise to find out that she too had lived in a town and even in a mobile home not unlike those in which many of the whites resided.
Another subject felt she had inherited some things because of her Indian heritage—

...a kind of concern and respect for the elderly....I had it even as a child so it hasn't anything to do with my Christianity. That came later. All I can attribute it to is being Indian. And love of nature, it's just something I never had to learn, that I've always had.

One woman, who claimed no effects on her day-to-day life is, nevertheless, the director of the Indian Center. Her activities have been mentioned above at various places so her denial that her life was affected by being Indian was ignored.

A final response to be included came from the Eskimo subject whose marriage, at the time of the interview, was in precarious straits with her husband soon due to move out. After two years in the city she was preparing to look for a job, even with her minimal work skills and language capabilities. She commented, very wistfully, that "...like sometimes I always want to be people like you guys." She seemed to think it might enhance her standing with her husband and smooth out some of the rough spots in her life.

For most of the subjects, being Indian really did little to affect their activities, thoughts, preferences or other aspects of their daily lives in the city. The next chapter will examine and compare some aspects of their urban existences with those on non-Indian women who live in similar settings. This will provide a method of comparing life styles to see how well the Indian women have assimilated into urban life, and to attempt to discover if being Indian has made an empirical difference in their lives. Short analyses will also be made comparing women originating in different parts of the United States and comparing women of younger and older age groupings.
VII. "East-West" Comparisons of the Indian Women

When this study was begun, focussing on Indian women living in urban settings, it seemed fairly straightforward. Women who identified themselves as Indian, or were so labeled by members of the community, would be included in the sample. Where they had emigrated from when they came to the city was not considered at that time.

The decision to do statistical analyses based on region of origin had no basis in theory, but came about gradually as the interviewing progressed. As more and more women responded to the questions, it became apparent that there were definite differences which seemed to be related to the region from which they had emigrated. A simple tabulation indicated that there was almost no overlap on educational attainment. Women from the eastern states had decidedly fewer years of schooling than those who had come from western states. Religious preferences and other variables too seemed to be distinctive. As a result, the sample of Indian women was divided for an analysis by region, using the Mississippi River as the boundary for defining "East" and "West."

This chapter will deal with analyses of the women based only on the distinction rendered by birth—they are "Easterners" or "Westerners." (The sample of eastern women consisted of a significantly older group of women who had been in the city longer than the western women as shown in Table 14.) The eastern sample numbered 27; the western

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Years in City</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>Less than 5</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td></td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 141.46 \quad \text{df} = 3 \quad \chi^2 = 460.35 \quad \text{df} = 4 \]

\[ 1s = .001 \quad 1s = .001 \]
group consisted of 22 women. The discrepancy from the total of fifty occurs due to the birth in England of one woman. One parent was Sioux, the other Cherokee from the east, so no resolution of assignment for her could be made on that basis. Her father's armed services career kept the family moving over the years so no one area or region figured predominantly in her maturation to adulthood. As a result, this subject was dropped from these comparisons.

The comparisons will be organized similarly to the previous chapters when all of the women were discussed. Detailed repetitions will, therefore, be curtailed since most of the material was covered earlier. The eastern group will be treated as the "observed" category and the western group as "expected" frequencies for the analyses. Unless otherwise noted, N's will be 27 for East and 22 for West in the tables. Because these are such small groups, all material is only suggestive and must be accounted thus despite the significant differences shown.

Growing Up Indian - East and West

The tribes which are represented by the East and West are strikingly different, as might be expected since tribal entities are usually local groups, except where artificial separations have occurred. The eastern respondents represented either Lumbee or Cherokee tribes, six of the former and 21 of the latter. (Of the total group, 16 were from Robeson County, North Carolina.) The western women included nine Sioux, two each Omaha and Pima, and one each Winnebago, Oklahoma Cherokee, Creek, Chippewa, Eskimo, Athapascan (Tinneah), Washoe, Choctaw and Navajo. Slightly more of the Western Indians were full-blooded, but all respondents were at least half Indian.

None of the Indians from the East were reservation-born, simply because there were no reservations there for them to be born on. Sixteen of the western women were born on Indian lands and had lived on reservations at some time. None of the parents of the eastern group were born on reservations either; three-quarters of the mothers and three-fifths of the fathers of the western respondents were reservation-born.

As shown in Table 15, when they were fifteen years old, over 80 percent of the eastern group lived on farms, in the country or in small towns. Half of the western group lived in small cities; a quarter were on reservations. The reservation residences were about evenly divided between being in the country and small towns or cities.

The largest number of subjects in each group lived with their parents, although for the western girls it was barely over a quarter. The families were much more scattered out living with only one parent
Table 15
Place of Residence and with Whom Living When Respondent was Fifteen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>With Whom Living</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm, ranch</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>Both parents</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>Father, step-mother</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (-25,000)</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>Mother, step-father</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (-100,000)</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger city</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>Other female rel.</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reservation</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>Other male rel.</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other arrangement</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1049.11 \]
\[ df = 6 \]
\[ Is = .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 72.14 \]
\[ df = 7 \]
\[ Is = .001 \]

or in adoptive situations than the eastern girls were at that time. Of the latter, 40 percent were living with both parents and nearly half with a mother and step-father. All of the women had siblings, with slightly larger family sizes reported in the West where half-brothers and -sisters figured largely in these frequencies.

None of the Eastern women had Indian names nor spoke any tribal languages. None of their parents knew any language but English, and the respondents often spoke dialects of English that would not be considered grammatically correct by school teachers in this region. Half of the western Indians had tribal names in addition to the Anglo names that they used in the city. Three-quarters of their mothers and nearly 70 percent of their fathers spoke the native tongue although all of them also knew English as a second language.

Education, too, showed significant differences based on region of origin of the respondents, as seen in Table 16. Parental education suffered greatly in the east where most of the parents were from the Carolinas, and the educational system still had not recovered from Reconstruction. Because the subjects themselves too were older, most of them also were victims of segregation and under-educated teachers in the one-room Indian schools. The western group of parents had significantly more years of education, much of which was sponsored by missions (Catholic and Protestant) or the BIA, both on and off the reservations.
Table 16
Comparisons of Educational Attainment of Eastern and Western Respondents and Their Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Education</th>
<th>Fathers</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = \begin{array}{c}
231.18 \\
287.40 \\
209.90
\end{array}$

df $= \begin{array}{c}
5 \\
4 \\
6
\end{array}$

The subjects showed significant differences in the amounts of education they had received. The women from the east averaged only 7.1 years of schooling compared with the 12.5 years attained by the western group. (82 percent earned high school diplomas in contrast to the 12 percent of easterners.) Only half of the western group attended regular public schools. The rest had been in reservation schools except for two who attended private, non-reservation Catholic institutions. The effects of this gap in education have already been seen in the occupational and income levels discussed in Chapter V; they were even more substantial when regional variations were taken into account.

Only one eastern woman had attended any college at all in contrast to the thirteen western-born women. The former had attended a Christian college while the others attended a variety of schools--public, private church and non-sectarian, and public Indian (Haskell) institutions. Six majored in business education or technologies (secretarial studies) and the rest were in social sciences.

There were differences in proportions of parents working for the East-West groups with the eastern mothers and fathers significantly more often employed. The unemployed western fathers were disabled. The occupations of the parents were significantly different. More often the fathers in the east were farming (62%) while the major occupations of the western fathers were more varied and included carpen-
ters (22%), military servicemen (17%) and farmers (17%). Mothers, when they worked in the east, were nearly all wage workers or unpaid family workers on farms (73%). The mothers in the west held clerical (33%) or service work (33%) jobs.

Current Family Status - East and West

Marital status of the women significantly differed. Because of the older age of the eastern sample, all of the widowed women were in this group. Divorces were more frequent in the eastern sample, but the women who had never been married were both from western states, thus reducing the potential divorce rate in that region.

Husbands were significantly more often Indian if the women were from the east. This may be ascribed to the fact that most of the eastern women married men from local communities and usually moved to the city as already established family groups. The western women often married non-local white or black men whose homes were in the urban setting. Subsequently the decisions were made to return to the man's home base where jobs were more plentiful and family could provide support if needed. Vogt (1957) suggested that intermarriage with non-Indians "...leads to profoundly different...kinds of reference groups that seem to provide a natural 'ladder of acculturation'" (1957:145) This may well be the case with the western respondents who were trying to fit into the families of their husbands and were more often employed and consequently more well-acculturated into the non-Indian society.

The educational attainments of the husbands were significantly different and closely reflected the levels of schooling of their wives. The eastern men had faced the same problems with school as the women they married while the husbands of the western women generally had been educated in urban settings and were more advanced in comparison.

In contrast, the occupational choices of the husbands were somewhat similar. The largest groupings for both eastern and western sectors were the craftsmen and operatives. Farming had attracted more eastern husbands while service workers, such as security guards, were more numerous among the husbands of the western women. (The guards were, coincidentally, all former service men.)

The household and family sizes were quite different statistically but two variables may have entered into this. Among the eastern women, because many were older and widowed, smaller households were apparent. Also, some of the younger women were still in their child-bearing years so the data are perhaps incomplete. They show more households of three or more individuals for the western group where children were younger and more often still at home. However, if the
numbers of children born to the women are compared, the eastern women had produced an average of 3.8 to the 2.9 born so far to the western women. Far more of the eastern women (25%) had adopted children (generally those of their husbands by earlier wives) than had the western women (4.5%).

Also contributing to household size were extended family members. In the eastern group were the only mothers-in-laws included in the home. One western woman had grandchildren living with her, as did several eastern families. This may be a function of the fact that the eastern women often came up to the city as members of family groups when more relatives already resided in the area and provided a network upon which support could be drawn, then and now. The western women were more isolated from their families and visits tended to occur when the women travelled back to the reservation areas rather than family coming east.

Current Employment Status - East and West

Table 17 gives a breakdown of employment status of the eastern and western women. Nearly half of the western group (10 women or 46%) were employed while less than a third of the eastern women (8 or 29%) held jobs. Nearly half of the eastern (and older) women were unable to work, 48% compared with 4.5% or one western individual. Limitations due to health were claimed by a total of 60% of the eastern women but affected only one western worker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With a job but not at work</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for work</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to school</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping house</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to work</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 44.21 \quad df = 4 \quad \text{Is} = .001 \)

The number of years since the women had last worked are tabulated in Table 18. These figures are included, of course, only for women not currently holding jobs. They show that all but one of the eastern women had at one time been in the labor force. The western women who
had been out of the labor market for less than three years had generally left their jobs with the birth of children.

Table 18
Years out of Labor Force - Comparing East and West

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>East (N=18)</th>
<th>West (N=12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 15</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One young woman in this group had never been employed outside the home.*

The industries for which the women were working differed drastically. The eastern women worked either at low-skill level jobs for manufacturing companies or provided personal services by baby-sitting or working for laundry or janitorial services. In contrast, 60% of the western women held typist or clerical positions with government agencies while positions as a cook, practical nurse, apartment house manager and receptionist for a trucking firm rounded out the list.

The statuses of these jobs were lower for the eastern contingent. The prestige levels ascribed to their positions ranged from 07 to 49, while the western women's jobs were rated in a range from 15 to 64. The mean status for the eastern group was 19.4 contrasted to a mean of 46.9 for the jobs of the western women. The major difference between the two groups was that the jobs of the eastern women were not white-collar office jobs but were perhaps better defined as blue-collar semi-skilled or manual positions.

The only women holding second jobs were from the east and were all self-employed. They cleaned private homes, baby-sat or pieced quilts to bring in supplemental income to support their families.

The working women all liked their jobs and did not significantly differ on whether they liked them very much or only fairly well.
Of the twelve eastern and 19 western women who had held jobs in the last five years, slightly more of the eastern women felt their work had progressed in the last five years. They had picked up new skills, were earning more or felt advancements of one kind or another had been made. The two groups were about evenly matched on the feeling that they had at least held their own during that period.

The western Indians showed greater frequency of job changes in the last five years with nearly 16% having had five or more employers during that time. More of them also had three or four different jobs, which may have contributed to the feeling that fewer of them had made progress over that same period.

Discriminatory practices against them were reported by a number of women, as shown in Table 19. Significant differences were found on the bases for discrimination. The eastern women reported more cases where their age had handicapped them. The western women reported no age discrimination but felt that their sex was detrimental to advancement or benefits on the job. Most frequently though, racial discrimination was felt by the western women. These women had often been made to feel inferior or otherwise degraded for being Indian, reporting incidents on the job or refusals to be granted interviews. Other cases of discrimination based on religion or health were undifferentiated between the regions.

Comparison of Income and Assets - East and West

As seen in Table 20, there were large discrepancies in the income of the respondents and their husbands when eastern and western groups were compared. Nearly twice as many of the eastern women had no incomes and those who did earned generally less from wages and salaries than the western employees.

Husbands too earned significantly different incomes, with all husbands in the western group having incomes over at least $1000. Because of their greater proportions at the high end of the scale, the western families had larger incomes than the ones originating in the east. Educational backgrounds and age probably figured prominently as explanatory variables.

For the many families with little or low earned incomes, other resources were necessary. Seven members of the eastern group had income from Social Security disability benefits and ten received other Social Security monies. Two were eligible for and received worker's compensation. Welfare or public assistance, especially Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) helped three of the western group; six of the eastern families received ADC. Food stamps too were important, with
Table 19

Discriminatory Practices Reported

Over the Last Five Years - East and West

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basis for Discrimination</th>
<th>East (N=12)</th>
<th>West (N=19)</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>18.76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24.05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type of other discrimination (one mention each):

Nationality
Religion
Health
37% of the eastern families and 27% of the western families receiving
them.

Table 20
Incomes from Wages and Salary for Respondents
and their Husbands - East-West Comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R's Income</th>
<th>East (N=26)</th>
<th>West (N=22)</th>
<th>Hu's Income</th>
<th>East (N=11)</th>
<th>West (N=12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $1,000</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>Less than $1000</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 - 999</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>$1 - 999</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1000-4999</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>$1000-4999</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5000-9999</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>$5000-9999</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10-15000</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>$10-15000</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $15,000</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>Over $20,000</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 78.38 \)  \( \chi^2 = 95.10 \)

\( df = 5 \)  \( df = 6 \)

\( p = .001 \)  \( p = .001 \)

Reservation incomes figured only in the totals for the western
women; none of the eastern women had inherited reservation land.

Other tangible assets of the women are shown in Table 21 and
included their homes, automobiles and property. There was no signifi­
cant difference in the percentages of women owning or renting their
homes, despite the longer residence in the city of the eastern women
and their age. The sizes of the homes were also no different. The
homes of the women from the east, however, were far more often in poor
or only fair condition with strips of wallpaper hanging down, water-
stained ceilings, primitive kitchens, rotting steps or problems with
the plumbing. This reflects, perhaps, the lower general standard of
living found among the women from the eastern region—their lower
incomes playing an important role in lifestyles.

The eastern group was also much less likely to own other land.
They did not have an inheritance from their parents and grandparents
of the Indian lands that over half of the women from the western
states could claim. One eastern woman did have access to reservation
land through her husband, a full-blooded Chippewa from North Dakota.
Two of the women and their husbands had homes in which they were not
living, thus indicating that the easterners owned significantly more
Table 21
Assets Compared - East and West

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Asset</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>ls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owned</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>( \chi^2 = 3.46 )</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>df = 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No cash rent</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Is = .20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size of Home:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 rooms</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>( \chi^2 = 4.04 )</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 rooms</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>df = 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8 rooms</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>Is = .30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Condition of Home:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>( \chi^2 = 49.1 )</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>df = 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>Is = .001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Land:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>df = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>ls = .001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Real Estate:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 = 8.67 )</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>df = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>ls = .01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Automobile Owned:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \chi^2 = 42.4 )</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>df = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>ls = .001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
other real estate—actually the numbers involved were so small that the significance was more statistical than real.

Automobile ownership differed significantly from east to west, favoring the latter. Only one western woman did not own a car, but the number of autos owned by members of the two groups who did own cars were not significantly different. The lack of cars among the eastern women was accounted for by the older women who either had never learned to or no longer could drive.

In summary, then, income levels for the groups differed markedly. Several families of the eastern group were dependent on Social Security and disability pensions to make up for lack of earned income. None of them owned reservation lands from which they might hope to acquire small additional incomes. The homes were in poorer condition though no less frequently owned by them than by the western families. The better kept up homes of the latter group probably reflect the increased disposable incomes of the generally younger and better educated western women and their husbands.

Retention of Indian Ways - East and West

Ways of the Indian people—traditional religion and medicine, the languages, crafts, ties to the homeland, and so on—were still reflected in the lives of the Indian women living in the cities. However, because of the history, recounted previously, of the regions from which they had come, there were significant differences in the specific knowledges of which they were cognizant and the retention of the traditional ways.

Half of both groups, from the east and west, had at one time used traditional cures, although all of the women were dependent on allopathic medical doctors. The eastern women were familiar with mountain and Indian herbal medicines and most of them had been treated at some time or another by a family member who was knowledgeable about herbs and roots.

With regard to the traditional medicine people who were part of the religious ways of the tribe, however, the eastern women knew very few (and then usually people they had met in the city), while nearly 60% of the western women knew one well. Of those thirteen, nine were related by blood to the person mentioned. Their families had more often been visitors to the medicine people than the subjects themselves, especially the next older generations—mothers and fathers, aunts and uncles and grandparents.

Like the eastern group, most of the western women (93%) who had been attended by medicine people had been treated with herbs. Less
than half of them had been treated by prayers, songs or dances and less than a quarter had ever been in a sweat lodge. The easterners had been treated with prayer, but these were prayers from Biblical rather than tribal rites.

Traditional religions for both of the groups did not mean Indian tribal beliefs. Religious preferences of the eastern group were for predominantly three groups: Baptist, Church of God (Pentecostal) and Holiness Pentecostal; each is the choice of 25% of the women. The remaining quarter of the eastern women were divided among the Methodists, Zionist Pentecostal (2 members), Church of Christ, Bible Church and "any church I take a notion to."

A third of the western women, in contrast, are Catholic; no members of this church are found among the eastern women. Other church groups claiming allegiance of the women from the west included (in descending order of preference) Episcopal, Church of Christ, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Nazarene and Charismatic. Only two women belonged to the Native American Church, with a syncratic belief system composed of traditional tribal and Christian elements. The major difference that might be described between the belief systems is that the easterners more frequently belonged to Evangelical or Fundamentalist sects while the western Indians who had been missionized were more frequently members of the mainstream churches.

These preferences are but reflections of the parental religious practices. The proportions were nearly the same as those of the daughters. In fact, when the women were asked about the churches they attended with their parents, they often referred to them as Indian churches--the local Baptist or Holiness church whose membership was only Indian. As a result, for both eastern and western Indian women, traditional religions, in the strict sense, are not to them Indian, but usually Christian.

In keeping with the frequent membership in the Catholic church, the western women more often said they considered themselves members from birth. Eighty-four percent of the eastern women, however, described themselves as converts. The ages at which they joined the churches indicated that they did make conscious choices about membership, rather than having been "brought up" in the church. These women were also the more faithful attendees at religious services, and because of their fundamentalist belief systems, 77% did not drink alcoholic beverages.

Among the various activities discussed in earlier chapters were traditional Indian children's games. None of the eastern women had ever played the hand games or stick games that were occasionally played by nearly a third of the western-based women.
Dancing was another activity that seemed to be nearly limited to the western women who returned home for powwows and Indian dances. Only two of the eastern women had ever learned any Indian dance steps, in recent years, at local meetings at the Indian Center. Nearly 60% of the western women knew and at least occasionally attended Indian dances.

Hunting and fishing were popular among both groups of women and neither significantly preferred hunting or fishing. The women all participated in the activities at the same rates also.

The western Indian women more frequently traveled for pleasure with all but 9% returning home for visits or touring. One-third of the eastern women did little or no traveling, often blaming the lack on their age, disablement or lack of money. All who did travel principally did so to visit friends and relatives, although a third of the women returned to their western homes to attend Indian gatherings and ceremonies.

Craftwork was done by 22% of the eastern women and 42% of the western respondents. Most popular of the traditional crafts was beading and both groups included beaders. Members of both groups also did weaving or basketry, leatherwork and star-quilting. Only one western woman did silver and turquoise jewelry-making and only one eastern woman knew the old-timey craft of caning with corn shucks.

The final question asking if they would go back home—to the reservation or wherever they called "home"—received the response that nearly two-thirds of both groups would do so if given the opportunity. The reasons too were similar. Presence of family, a chance to regain a lost or nearly-lost heritage, liking to be among other Indians were frequently given explanations. Only the western Indians mentioned wanting to go back because of the land or houses they owned there. The third who were not inclined to leave the city said they husbands weren't interested, that they enjoyed the conveniences and services available and that because their children and families were here they did not want to leave. Those who had come from reservation areas who preferred to remain mentioned that there was nothing on the reservation to return to--no jobs, housing or recreation.

The foregoing points up the lack of accessibility to and reinforcement of traditional Indian beliefs and other aspects of culture. Non-Indian beliefs have for so long been a part of their lifestyles that these have come to be accepted as "Indian." While the church groups differ, nearly all (but two) of the women are fully Christian, and even those two subscribe partially to Christian ideals. Return to the places they grew up is seen as desirable in order to help regain a heritage that the women often feel is in danger of being lost.
History and Regionalism Among Indian Women

Historical factors seem likely to have played a role in the results that follow. The women raised in the eastern U.S. were exposed to very little of any culture that could be labeled "Indian" as they were growing up. Their families had been living side by side with the European settlers and Blacks for over two hundred years, and were often indistinguishable from their non-Indian neighbors. Ancestors of many of the eastern women had remained in hiding for many years after the "removal" to Oklahoma. When they surfaced again, still in the east, it was to try to blend inconspicuously into the local populations. Frequently this was accomplished by intermarriage. Whether by this method or another, it was essential to stay quietly in the background until the policies of removal and confiscation of Indian property had been laid to rest, so that those who had escaped the Trail of Tears could be assured that their drain-tiled farms and orchards were safe from further encroachment by white settlers.

This separation from other Indians and enforced conformity to the eastern lifestyles resulted in the loss of Indian contacts, culture and reinforcement of the old ways. For instance, the Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, had to fight for official status as Indians. Those who had been resettled in Oklahoma were on official rolls maintained by the federal government in an attempt to ensure that non-Indians would not siphon off benefits. The Oklahoma Indians were also surrounded by others who maintained and taught traditional ways, despite other problems. The Indians still in the east had no such federal watchdogs to register them and protect their interests as Indians.

Plains Indians and southwestern tribal representatives, born or raised near reservations, had less difficulty in learning about their heritages. Despite the well-meaning attempts of missionaries to teach the Indians the white man's ways so that they would become integrated into the dominant society, resistance to the teachings continued. While many cultural beliefs and customs were almost totally eliminated, stories remained and were passed down. Resurgence of pride in tribal identities and pan-Indian movements to implement knowledge of, if not able to facilitate the return to the old ways, have kept interest alive in tribal heritages.
In order to determine how well the Indian women had adapted to city life, it was decided that an index for adjustment would be comparisons with other women, non-Indian, living in SMSA's throughout the country. The data for these women were obtained from the Center for Human Resource Research (CHRR) at The Ohio State University. The U.S. Department of Labor is the contracting body with which the CHRR agreed to conduct "...longitudinal studies of the labor market experience of four groups in the United States population" (CHRR 1962:1).

Relevant to this study were two of the current groups of women utilized in the National Longitudinal Studies (NLS) as the research came to be known. The first sample, the women's cohort, was composed of women aged 42 to 56 years in 1979 when most of the comparison data on the group were collected. Those interview materials were collected by telephone surveys. Further materials came from face-to-face interviews in 1977. The material on their teen years and family background was gathered in the first interviews in 1967. The women of this age group were chosen for longitudinal study because their lives were deemed to be approaching a state of flux at that time--it was hypothesized that since their children were generally older they would soon be leaving home and the women would be facing the "empty nest" stage of life. They were thus presented with the choice of re-entering the labor market or adopting other types of lifestyles.

The second group which this study utilized was composed of younger women. Their original interviews took place in 1968 and because their ages ranged from 14 to 24, they became familiarly known as "the girls' cohort." They were the focus of attention because this was a period of transition for them too--for making career and education choices as the end of high school and compulsory education drew near. Comparison data was drawn principally from the 1980 telephone interviews with some reliance on the fuller face-to-face interviews in 1978. Again, background materials for their youth, which were gathered in 1968, were also utilized. At the time of the 1980 interviews this group of women was aged 26 to 36 years.

The original interviewees were heavily skewed in order to obtain adequate information about minorities, especially Blacks and Hispanics, so the raw data itself were not representative. Statisticians developed weights by which the samples would be adjusted proportionately to represent the actual makeup of the U.S. population. The sizes of these samples, with the adjusted frequencies, were 12,061,117 and 12,662,924 for the urban women and girls, respectively. These
figures, simply because of size, will not be incorporated in the tables that follow, although the number of Indian women will be noted when it differs from the full group figures designated.

It was from these weighted figures that the percentages were calculated with which the Indian sample was compared. These figures are "expected" frequencies provided by this "previously established" distribution.

The sample of Indian women, the "observed" sample, was broken down into three groups for the comparisons. The first group, the NLS comparison group, consisted of 43 women, who were matched with the total NLS sample on age, with a range of 24 to 64 years. This eliminated two very young Indian women and five who were in their late 60's or older. The NLS sample had consisted of women ranging from 26 to 56 years, numbering over 24 million in the adjusted frequencies.

There were further breakdowns by age to see if this factor contributed to adjustment to urban life when significant differences occurred between the Indian and urban populations. In these comparisons, the girls' cohort and the women's cohort were compared with two groups of Indian women, aged 23 to 39 and 41 to 64 respectively. The younger group of Indian women numbered 20; the older group consisted of 23 women.

Because of these small sample sizes, almost all of the comparisons resulted in statistically significant differences. Therefore, the figures will be discussed as indicating or suggesting directions, but will not be considered fully supportive of such trends.

The null hypothesis for these comparisons was that the Indian women, because of their years lived in urban settings and marriages to urban men, would not be different from the general U.S. population. The use of the chi-square "goodness of fit" test would determine how closely the groups were, or were not, similar on a series of selected variables.

Indian and Non-Indian Backgrounds

Table 22 provides comparisons of the types of places in which the respondents lived when they were aged 15. They were residing in significantly different types of environments with the Indians more frequently living on farms, in the country not on farms or in small cities or towns. More of the urban women were living already in large cities. Age breakdowns indicated that the preponderance of the Indian women living on farms were the older women; the younger ones were more like other women their age although fewer were in the larger cities.
### Table 22

Residences at Age Fifteen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian</th>
<th>Women Urban Indian</th>
<th>Girls Urban Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm, ranch</td>
<td>12.2% 34.9%</td>
<td>17.0% 47.8%</td>
<td>7.4% 20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>7.2 11.7</td>
<td>5.0 13.0</td>
<td>9.3 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (-25,000)</td>
<td>28.4 34.9</td>
<td>28.8 26.1</td>
<td>28.0 45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>8.0 4.7</td>
<td>5.2 0.0</td>
<td>10.7 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (-100,000)</td>
<td>16.0 11.6</td>
<td>17.0 13.0</td>
<td>16.8 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (100,000+)</td>
<td>27.4 2.3</td>
<td>27.1 0.0</td>
<td>27.8 5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 72.6 \]
\[ df = 5 \]
\[ P = .001 \]

### Table 23

With Whom Living at Age Fifteen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian</th>
<th>Women Urban Indian</th>
<th>Girls Urban Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father &amp; mother</td>
<td>77.8% 32.6%</td>
<td>74.4% 21.7%</td>
<td>81.2% 45.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father, step-mom</td>
<td>1.0 2.3</td>
<td>1.3 0.0</td>
<td>6.7 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother, step-fa</td>
<td>3.6 4.7</td>
<td>3.3 4.3</td>
<td>3.8 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>1.8 11.6</td>
<td>2.5 21.7</td>
<td>1.0 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>10.9 14.0</td>
<td>11.7 17.4</td>
<td>10.1 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other female rel.</td>
<td>1.6 2.3</td>
<td>2.0 4.3</td>
<td>1.1 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other male rel.</td>
<td>2.2 14.0</td>
<td>3.1 13.0</td>
<td>1.3 15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On my own</td>
<td>0.5 0.0</td>
<td>0.3 0.0</td>
<td>0.6 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some other arrangement</td>
<td>0.7 18.6</td>
<td>1.4 17.4</td>
<td>0.0 20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 494.26 \]
\[ df = 8 \]
\[ P = .001 \]
Only the older Indian women were living on reservations; none of the younger ones were there when they were 15.

When they were 14 or 15 years old, again significant differences were observed when respondents were asked with whom they were living. Table 23 demonstrates that there seemed to be a pattern with far fewer Indian women living with both parents than the general population. More of the Indian girls were with either only their father or mother or were in foster homes or with other adult relatives. Age did not seem to change the proportions.

The models for the Indian women, their parents or other heads of their households when they were 15, were also substantially different from those of the urban population. Educational attainments of their parents were significantly lower, as shown in Tables 24 and 25, regardless of the age group to which the women belonged although the parents of the younger Indian women had attended school longer than those of the older women.

As Table 26 indicates, and like their parents, the Indian women had not completed as many years of schooling as their non-Indian counterparts. However, although showing significantly less attainment than the NLS groups, the group of Indian girls was observably more well-educated than the Indian women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Total Urban</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Women Urban</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Girls Urban</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No school</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 7</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 11</td>
<td>14.45</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>45.20</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 15</td>
<td>17.05</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>17.50</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\chi^2 = 320.43 \quad 963.87 \quad 135.36

df = 6 \quad 6 \quad 6

1s = .001 \quad .001 \quad .001
Table 24
Educational Attainment of Fathers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Schooling</th>
<th>Totals (N=36) Urban Indian</th>
<th>Women (N=16) Urban Indian</th>
<th>Girls (N=19) Urban Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 507.80 \text{ df = 6} \text{ Is } = .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 540.58 \text{ df = 6} \text{ Is } = .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 101.67 \text{ df = 6} \text{ Is } = .001 \]

\(^a\) Seven women and three girls did not know the number of years their fathers had attended.

Table 25
Educational Attainment of Mothers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Schooling</th>
<th>Totals (N=36) Urban Indian</th>
<th>Women (N=16) Urban Indian</th>
<th>Girls (N=19) Urban Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 364.77 \text{ df = 6} \text{ Is } = .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 630.99 \text{ df = 6} \text{ Is } = .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 39.15 \text{ df = 6} \text{ Is } = .001 \]

\(^a\) Six women and one girl didn't know the educational attainment of their mothers.
Table 27
Percentage of Fathers Working When Subjects Were Fifteen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fathers</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Indian</td>
<td>Urban Indian</td>
<td>Urban Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=40)\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>(N=21)</td>
<td>(N=19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>94.5%</td>
<td>94.4%</td>
<td>94.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Working</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>4.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$I_s$</td>
<td>.999</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} One father was deceased; respondents did not know whereabouts of occupations of two other fathers.

Table 28
Percentages of Mothers Holding Jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Indian</td>
<td>Urban Indian</td>
<td>Urban Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=35)\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>(N=17)</td>
<td>(N=18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Working</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>30.12</td>
<td>13.31</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$I_s$</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{b} Seven mothers were deceased by the time the subjects were fifteen.
There was no significant difference, as seen in Table 27, in the percentages of fathers working. The fathers of the Indian girls were even more frequently employed than the fathers of the younger urban sample, although the small sample size undoubtedly skews the percentages, showing as it does that all of the Indian fathers were working. However, for all three groups, significantly more mothers of Indian women were working outside of the home (see Table 28).

For both the fathers and the mothers the occupation types were different from the general population, partly due to sample size and partly because the lower educational levels led the Indian parents more frequently to unskilled or low-skill level jobs. Significantly more Indian fathers were farming and more Indian mothers worked as farm laborers than parents of the urban populations.

The Indian women came from significantly larger families than did the non-Indian urban women (Table 29). The size differential was especially noticeable between the Indian groups, since the older women seemed to be from larger families than the younger ones. However, there was no difference in the number of siblings currently residing with either the non-Indian urban population or the urban Indians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 29</th>
<th>Numbers of Siblings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12+</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 292.03 \quad \chi^2 = 345.47 \quad \chi^2 = 318.59 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>df</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Current Family Status of Indians and Non-Indians

The size of the families and households (which may include non-related individuals), the marital status of the women and information about their husbands will form the basis of the comparisons in this section. Some of these variables are related to income and assets which will be examined later.

In a comparison of marital status, significant differences appeared between the non-Indian and urban Indian women. This seemed to occur because of the greater percentage of divorced Indian women and the larger group of non-Indian women who had never married, since the groups were very similar on percentages who were married (see Table 30). In the breakdowns by age, the Indian women were significantly more often divorced, thus lowering their number of surviving marriages. The girls were more closely matched with their non-Indian counterparts, although more were married, resulting in significantly fewer single women in the Indian sample. (The Indian sample included no widows because the only women who had been widowed were in the group over 65 years of age who were too old to justify being included in the NLS comparisons; all five of those women were widows.)

The actual number of marriages in which the total cohorts had engaged were not significantly different, as shown in Table 31. However, the breakdowns by age indicate that both the older and younger Indian women had been married more frequently than the non-Indians and that the younger Indian women were more rarely single than the non-Indian women. This may have been due in part because it was those
### Table 31

**Actual Number of Marriages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Totals Urban</th>
<th>Women Urban</th>
<th>Girls Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = \begin{array}{c} 9.79 \quad 16.73 \quad 15.03 \\ \text{df} = 4 \quad 4 \quad 4 \\ \text{Is} = .10 \quad .001 \quad .01 \end{array} \]

very marriages that were responsible for bringing them to the city and thus making them available to participate in the study. (The cohort of the older women of the NLS showed no women who had never been married because of the design of the longitudinal study.)

Table 32 indicates that household sizes were significantly different in the samples, with the Indian respondents having higher pro-

### Table 32

**Household Size**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Residing in Household</th>
<th>Totals Urban</th>
<th>Women Urban</th>
<th>Girls Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8+</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = \begin{array}{c} 107.09 \quad 81.91 \quad 192.36 \\ \text{df} = 7 \quad 7 \quad 7 \\ \text{Is} = .001 \quad .001 \quad .001 \end{array} \]
Table 33
Number of Children Ever Born to Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 65.56$  
$df = 11$  
$P = .001$

Table 34
Adoption of Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Were Any Adopted?</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>94.9%</td>
<td>88.4%</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 7.63$  
$df = 1$  
$P = .01$
portions of households consisting of six or more individuals. Age groupings did not substantially change the ratios.

As might be expected, household size can usually be explained by the number of children in a family and this was verified by the numbers of children born to the non-Indian and Indian women, shown in Table 33. Fewer of the Indian women were childless and they averaged significantly higher levels of childbirth, especially the younger Indian women, than the expected levels in the urban populations. Adoption levels (Table 34) were virtually identical for the groups of girls, although significantly more of the older women had adopted children (usually from an earlier marriage of their husbands), which in turn affected the total group figures. In no case had the Indian women adopted more than two children and with the small sample size this skewed the significance levels so badly that they were unusable.

Examining the educational attainment of the current or last husbands (from whom the women were now divorced), Table 35 shows significant differences between the husbands of non-Indian and Indian women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Grade Completed</th>
<th>Totals Urban (N=41)</th>
<th>Women Urban Indian (N=21)</th>
<th>Girls Urban Indian (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.2% 2.4%</td>
<td>0.4% 4.8%</td>
<td>0.1% 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>4.9 21.6</td>
<td>7.4 33.3</td>
<td>2.3 10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.1 7.3</td>
<td>7.8 14.3</td>
<td>2.3 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>12.6 9.8</td>
<td>15.5 14.3</td>
<td>9.7 5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>32.7 39.0</td>
<td>34.7 23.8</td>
<td>30.8 57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>18.3 12.4</td>
<td>12.6 9.5</td>
<td>24.0 15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>26.4 4.9</td>
<td>21.8 0.0</td>
<td>31.1 10.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\chi^2 = \begin{array}{ccc} 110.52 & 170.55 & 74.64 \\ 6 & 6 & 6 \\ 0.001 & 0.001 & 0.001 \end{array}\]

The husbands of the latter groups, regardless of age, showed lower levels of attainment, as did their wives. The husbands of the younger Indian women, however, did include greater proportions who had completed high school and some college than the husbands of the older Indian women.
Occupational levels (Table 36) reflected those educational levels. The husbands of the Indian women did not encompass as wide a range of occupations as the husbands of the non-Indian women, and were concentrated in two major categories—craftsmen and operatives. A second common pair of occupational groupings was comprised of service workers and farmers, most of the latter long since retired to the city. Because of the small number in the breakdowns by age, many of the occupational areas were not represented at all by the husbands of the Indian women, but the figures serve to suggest that highly skilled job levels are more rare among this population. The husbands of the younger Indian women did occasionally possess higher qualifications and held more highly trained positions than those of the older women, but they still were employed in significantly less skilled or technical jobs than the general population.

Current Employment Status of Indian and Non-Indian Women

When the women were asked what they were doing most of last week they provided an index of employment status. As seen in Table 37, there were significant differences in their activities. For the totals, fewer Indian women held jobs and more of them were unable to work because of health limitations. However, when broken down by age, the older Indian women were more likely to be working than were the girls, half of whom were keeping house. Not unexpectedly, many more of the older women were disabled than the younger.

Many of these disabled Indian women were prevented from working altogether and greatly outnumbered the urban non-Indian population in this category (see Table 38). The younger Indian women, or girls, who suffered no more disablement than their urban non-Indian counterparts, did seem to suffer significantly more limitations on the amount or kinds of work they could perform in terms of lifting, standing for long hours and so on.

In the following comparisons, the data will only be discussed for the total groups for most variables. Because there were only ten women employed in the older group and five in the cohort of girls, the figures were badly skewed and not even reliable enough to suggest trends.

Table 39 indicates the type of employment the women had found in terms of class of worker. Over twice as many of the Indian women were employed by federal, state, county or local government agencies as were non-Indian women, who favored private enterprises. This may be accounted for, at least in part, by government support for employment of minorities which provides compliance with federal laws on hiring practices.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Area</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian (N=41)</th>
<th>Women Urban Indian (N=22)</th>
<th>Girls Urban Indian (N=19)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, etc.</td>
<td>20.4% 2.4%</td>
<td>17.2% 0.0%</td>
<td>23.6% 5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, proprietors, etc.</td>
<td>15.3 4.9</td>
<td>16.3 0.0</td>
<td>14.2 10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; kindred</td>
<td>5.6 7.3</td>
<td>4.8 4.5</td>
<td>6.4 10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>6.2 0.0</td>
<td>5.4 0.0</td>
<td>7.0 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen, etc.</td>
<td>21.7 34.1</td>
<td>21.0 31.8</td>
<td>22.5 36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives (incl. mine laborers)</td>
<td>13.8 26.8</td>
<td>14.3 27.3</td>
<td>13.3 26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household workers</td>
<td>0.0 0.0</td>
<td>0.0 0.0</td>
<td>0.0 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers (exc. private household)</td>
<td>4.1 7.3</td>
<td>3.6 13.6</td>
<td>4.7 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and farm managers</td>
<td>0.9 7.3</td>
<td>1.3 13.6</td>
<td>0.6 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers and foremen</td>
<td>0.4 2.4</td>
<td>0.5 4.5</td>
<td>0.3 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers (exc. farm and mine)</td>
<td>4.5 2.4</td>
<td>5.1 4.5</td>
<td>3.8 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Armed Forces</td>
<td>1.4 2.4</td>
<td>1.1 0.0</td>
<td>1.6 5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \]
\[ df = \text{degrees of freedom} \]
\[ p = \text{probability} \]

\[ \chi^2 = 105.47 \quad 233.42 \quad 69.41 \]
\[ df = 11 \quad 11 \quad 11 \]
\[ p = .001 \quad .001 \quad .001 \]
### Table 37
#### Employment Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Last Week</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian</th>
<th>Women Urban Indian</th>
<th>Girls Urban Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>58.4% 32.5%</td>
<td>55.4% 39.1%</td>
<td>61.3% 25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has job, not at work</td>
<td>3.8 7.0</td>
<td>3.4 4.3</td>
<td>4.1 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed and looking for work</td>
<td>2.6 4.7</td>
<td>2.2 0.0</td>
<td>2.9 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In school</td>
<td>0.7 0.0</td>
<td>0.2 0.0</td>
<td>1.2 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping house</td>
<td>30.9 39.5</td>
<td>33.5 30.4</td>
<td>28.4 50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to work</td>
<td>1.9 16.3</td>
<td>3.2 26.1</td>
<td>0.7 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.7 0.0</td>
<td>2.0 0.0</td>
<td>1.4 0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\chi^2 = 126.35 \\
df = 6 \\
ls = .001
\]

### Table 38
#### Effects of Health on Working

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health Status</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian</th>
<th>Women Urban Indian</th>
<th>Girls Urban Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health prevents working altogether:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>98.1% 76.7%</td>
<td>96.8% 56.6%</td>
<td>99.3% 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1.9 23.3 3.2 43.5 0.7</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\chi^2 = 227.37 \\
df = 1 \\
ls = .001
\]

| Health limits work capacity:   |                |                    |                   |
| No                             | 88.8% 75.8%    | 84.0% 69.2%        | 93.6% 80.0%       |
| Yes                            | 11.2 24.2 16.0 30.8 | 6.4 20.0 | 28.65 |

\[
\chi^2 = 15.71 \\
df = 1 \\
ls = .001
\]
The industries and occupations of the women are compared in Tables 40 and 41. The Indian women were not involved at all in the more technical or professional positions. Public administration posts were generally clerical and personal services (such as janitorial work) and these categories accounted for nearly two-thirds of the occupations of the urban Indian women in contrast to the one-seventh of the non-Indian women. Far more of the non-Indian women were found working in sales positions and professional and related services.

The lower status of the jobs held by Indians was confirmed by an inspection of the Socioeconomic Index ratings of the jobs held. The range for the non-Indian women was 2 to 92 with a mean of 40.45. For urban girls there was a range of 2 to 91 with a mean of 45.21. The ratings for the group of urban Indian women were truncated with a range of 7 to 64, well below the status attainments of non-Indians. Their mean of 35.35 was also significantly lower than for other urban women.

Despite the lower status and skill levels of the jobs held by the Indian women, as seen in Table 42, they all liked their jobs to some degree, while the urban non-Indians gave evidence of some dislike for their employment. This may be explained by a tendency for the Indian women to be less tolerant of jobs they did not like. One said she had quit because her co-workers were uncongenial and another explained that the pay was less than she could get on welfare so she left.

The Indian women put in significantly more forty-hour work weeks than did the non-Indian city-dwellers, as shown in Table 43. However, this was quite often due to the fact that second jobs were held, especially by the workers for janitorial services and the self-employed who could not make ends meet on one part-time job alone (Table 44).

The foregoing indicates that employment did differ between the Indian and non-Indian women. Fewer Indians worked and of those who

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employee of:</th>
<th>Total Urban</th>
<th>Indian (N=17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private company or business</td>
<td>69.9%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fed'l, local,etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\chi^2 = 61.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work without pay in family business</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| \(\chi^2 = 61.18\) | 
| df = 3 |

| Is = .001 |
### Table 40
*Industry Categories of Jobs Held by Women*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Indian (N=17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry &amp; Fishing</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, Communication &amp; Other Public Utilities</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 242.46$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, Insurance &amp; Real Estate</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>df = 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business &amp; Repair Services</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>$\lambda = .001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Services</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional &amp; Related Services</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 41
*Occupation Categories of Jobs Held by Women*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Indian (N=17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Technical</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Officials &amp; Proprietors</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, Foremen</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 57.93$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives (incl. mine laborers)</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>df = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Household Workers</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>$\lambda = .001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers (exc. household)</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers, Managers, &amp; Laborers</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers (exc. farm and mine)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Armed Forces</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 42
Attitudes Toward Current Jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it very much</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it fairly well</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislike it somewhat</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislike it very much</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it very much</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like it fairly well</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislike it somewhat</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislike it very much</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 43
Hours Worked per Week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than full-time (1-39 hours)</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>df = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time or more</td>
<td>58.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 44
If Employed, Was a Second Job Held at the Same Time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Job?</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>95.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>df = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
did, their jobs were less prestigious and less varied. They worked longer hours and more frequently had to hold more than one position to support themselves and their families. Those Indian women not working were more frequently unemployed because of physical incapacity than their urban counterparts although many of them expressed desires to work if they could.

Work Histories and Discrimination in the Last Five Years

When the numbers of employers for whom they had worked were contrasted it was found that the Indian women had worked at significantly more places in the last five years than the non-Indian workers (see Table 45). Although only 17 of the Indian sample were working at the time of the interviews, 30 of them had held jobs sometime during the five-year period. Low pay and heavy work often contributed to the high attrition rates among the Indian women.

When asked if, as far as their work was concerned, they felt they had made progress over the last five years, nearly three-quarters of the thirty Indian women who had held jobs felt they had progressed (Table 46). Monetary increments and increased job skills were frequently cited as reasons. They were significantly more positive about their advancement than the non-Indian women, of whom more than a third felt they had only held their own over the same period. None of the Indian women felt they had lost ground.

Another area which was included dealt with discriminatory practices that the women had had to face. The bases for which it was asked included sex, age, race or heritage, religion, nationality, marital status and health. Table 47 indicates the percentages of women who felt they had suffered the effects of such discrimination in the last five years.

There were no differences in terms of discrimination based on sex or age, even on breakdowns by age. However, racial discrimination was reported by significantly more Indian women who cited complaints that prospective employers refused to even interview them. Those who had been in the western U.S. were often victims of harassment on the job, if they were able to obtain work. Other discriminatory practices were significantly more often reported by the Indian women also and included charges that religion, health and national origins were used against them as reasons for discomfort on the job or for not being hired in the first place.
### Table 45
**Number of Employers in the Last Five Years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Indian (N=43)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 45.02$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>df = 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>$\chi = .001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 46
**Progress of Work in the Last Five Years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Has:</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Indian (N=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressed</td>
<td>57.4%</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved Backward</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 13.74$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held Own</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>df = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>$\chi = .001$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 47
Form and Amount of Discriminatory Practice In Last Five Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Indian (N=30)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>91.1%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 0.05$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>$\psi = 0.90$, $df = 1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 0.04$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>$\psi = 0.99$, $df = 1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 118.56$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>$\psi = 0.001$, $df = 1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>$\chi^2 = 57.35$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>$\psi = 0.001$, $df = 1$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparisons of Assets and Incomes

How well city dwellers had done economically could be ascertained by examination of their assets such as home and automobile ownership, other land and real estate acquisitions as well as by income levels. Those who had come upon hard times could be recognized by unemployment compensation received, welfare benefits and food stamps obtained and other measures of supplemental income. Tangible assets and incomes were compared for all three groups of the urban Indian and non-Indian women. Because samples were small even for the totals on supplemental income sources, only the total group figures will be discussed.

Table 48 indicates that there were significant differences in the proportions of women who owned or were buying their homes in favor of the non-Indian women. The Indian women were more frequently found in situations where no cash rent changed hands for one reason or another, as discussed in Chapter V. Breakdowns by age, however, indicated that the younger Indian women were not different from their urban counterparts in the kinds of housing arrangements they had made.

For all three groups--the totals, the women and the girls--there were highly significant differences in the percentages who owned other land or farms as investments, this time in favor of the Indian groups. This is due to the fact that much of the land is inherited--the North Carolina farm of one woman and the reservation land of eleven others. Because of this inheritance factor, the non-Indian women are no match for them in terms of land ownership. As Table 48 indicates, however, other real estate in addition to their homes is owned by significantly more non-Indian women.

Automobile ownership also showed significant differences in favor of the Indian women who more frequently owned at least one automobile than did other urban dwellers. In the case of the girls' cohort, all of the Indian women owned cars, and they possessed the same numbers of cars as did their non-Indian neighbors. It is only the older women (who thereby skew the total group percentages) who were at a disadvantage, owning fewer cars than the comparison group. The ownership of an automobile may be deemed essential by the Indian women, nearly all of whom had migrated to the city, to keep in touch with relatives by providing transportation back to the Dakotas or Carolinas when necessary. Kinship ties and visits play an important role in the lives of the Indian women and visiting for ceremonies, sickness and funerals was considered to be vital.

Table 49 provides tabulations of income levels of respondents and their husbands. Yearly earnings of the Indian women were lower for all groups than for the NLS comparison groups. More had no income or earned less than $10,000 per year than the national sample.
Table 48  
Tangible Assets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owned</td>
<td>61.6%</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No cash</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 ) = 18.82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is = .001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other land, farm investment:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96.5%</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
<td>95.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 ) = 208.39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is = .001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other real estate:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>82.7%</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>78.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 ) = 3.89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is = .05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>89.7%</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
<td>89.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 ) = 2.82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is = .10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cars:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>53.7%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 ) = 6.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is = .05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 49
Incomes of Respondents and their Husbands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R's Income</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian (N=42)</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian (N=22)</th>
<th>Totals Urban Indian (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>35.5% 47.6%</td>
<td>40.9% 54.5%</td>
<td>30.1% 40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- $5000</td>
<td>19.0 19.1</td>
<td>18.4 13.6</td>
<td>19.7 25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000-9999</td>
<td>20.2 23.8</td>
<td>20.2 18.1</td>
<td>20.2 30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000-19999</td>
<td>22.2 9.5</td>
<td>21.5 13.6</td>
<td>26.4 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20000</td>
<td>3.3 0.0</td>
<td>0.0 0.0</td>
<td>3.5 0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 15.17$  $\chi^2 = 8.90$  $\chi^2 = 30.28$

$df = 4$  $df = 3$  $df = 4$

$Is = .01$  $Is = .05$  $Is = .001$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Girls R's Income Urban Indian (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000-9999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000-19999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 56.66$  $\chi^2 = 314.58$  $\chi^2 = 5.76$

$df = 4$  $df = 4$  $df = 4$

$Is = .001$  $Is = .001$  $Is = .30$

---

*a* One woman, self-employed, claimed she had not kept track of what she had earned the previous year.

*b* Seven cases are not included. Four women did not know and one would not say what the incomes of their husbands were, and three girls did not know how much their husbands had earned in the last year.
The wages and salaries of the husbands of Indian women were also significantly lower, especially for the older cohorts. The income levels of the husbands of the Indian girls, however, matched those of their urban counterparts. Despite their higher earnings, they were not high enough to overcome the depressed incomes of the older group when incomes for the total sample were analyzed, so a lower income level is indicated for the total group as well.

Income levels, especially low ones, were often supplemented through federally-funded, locally administered programs. Some of these resources were tabulated in Table 50, which examined several types of supplemental income. (As mentioned earlier, because of small sample sizes, the breakdowns by age were too small to be useful.)

There were no significant differences between the two groups on the numbers of both respondents and their husbands who had received unemployment compensation over the last year. Child support and alimony payments were also insignificantly different among the city women.

There were significant differences in the numbers who received public assistance or welfare and food stamp recipients. The Indian women received more in both categories. The public assistance was most often from the program for Aid to Dependent Children and supplemented by the receipt of the food stamps. The higher proportions of Indian women who received these kinds of help may perhaps be explained by the higher proportions who were divorced and trying to raise their families on their own. (While the Indian women significantly more often required assistance through food stamps, they needed or received that help for no more of the year than other women.)

In summary, the city-dwelling Indian women were different from their urban non-Indian neighbors. The Indians generally had less income, less education and fewer assets (except for reservation land ownership). When exceptions occurred, they occurred among the younger women who were more similar to their urban counterparts in housing arrangements, numbers of automobiles owned and incomes brought in by their husbands.

The Indian women were substantially more often raised in rural areas, on farms or reservations, and this resulted in less adequate schooling arrangements for many, with lowered educational attainments. This then carried through to the types of occupations they obtained when they moved to the cities, with far more of them working as unskilled labor or in positions requiring only low-level skills.

They are more frequently married than the other women residing in the cities, but this may be a function of the fact that it is often because of the husbands that they find themselves living in urban
### Table 50
Sources from Which Other Income Was Received

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>( \eta )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Compensation by R's:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Compensation by Hu:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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settings. Their husbands, on the whole, had lower educational achievement levels, lower status jobs and lower incomes than did other urban men.

The combination of factors seemed then to have provided the urban Indian woman with lower standards of living than the general population. Their income levels and dependence on government-sponsored aid placed most of the families in lower-middle and lower income brackets. Housing descriptions and other facets of their lives were discussed in Chapter V, but comparison statistics for the national sample were not available through the National Longitudinal Survey materials.
IX. Conclusions

The Indian women who were participants in this study had generally accommodated themselves quite well to living in the city. Their orientation was to the city and its attractions—the jobs it offered, the social services provided and the entertainment, schooling and other advantages not found in the isolated reservation or rural areas from which they came. Going back to these regions was, for some an enticing possibility, but few will make the move.

Being "Indian" was not a high priority. Survival in the society of the city was For most of the women this meant securing a living, residing in an urban neighborhood with non-Indian neighbors, raising their families and developing life styles that accommodated themselves to their urban surroundings.

Accommodations to the City

The respondents in this survey seem to have made very satisfactory adjustments to living in the city. For many of them these adaptations began long before they ever moved to this particular setting. Not many had the experience of living in large cities or towns before their arrival, but they had some fairly definite expectations of what it would entail. Some of these were learned from television, a major tool in our society for exposure to other life styles. Other subjects, even though they may have grown up in rural areas remote from urban settings, had friends and relatives who had lived or visited in cities. Those people provided information that would be useful when it came time for the women to move to the city.

Once in the city, families had to find housing and jobs and settle in. This they did, and ended up integrating themselves in areas all over the city. The areas had an important aspect in common—they were all lower-middle or low income sections of the city. This reflects the fact that while jobs were found, they were in the lower eschelons of skill and pay. Incomes were thus low, so that the Indian families were generally less well off financially than the average urban family.

Comparisons with the NLS subjects in Chapter VIII indicated that educational levels were significantly lower for the Indian women and their husbands than for other urban dwellers. This, in turn, held the Indians back in terms of the types of jobs and the status they could attain. The Indians from the western United States, both younger and
better educated, compared more favorably with the national samples than the women who had emigrated from the southeastern states, especially the Carolinas.

In the process of becoming urbanized, the women had become sophisticated in the use of social services offered in the city. They had a great deal of help in this from the Indian Center staff. As several of the women pointed out, they would not want to return to the south because they wouldn't have access to equivalent facilities and therefore couldn't get help as they got older. The areas from which they had come were predominantly rural and poor, with far less extensive welfare, ADC, and other programs than are available in the urban setting.

Retention of Indian Ways

Many of the traditional Indian ways had long been displaced by European or Anglo ideals and beliefs. Few of the women had ever known any but Christian religious customs. The two who considered themselves members of the Native American Church no longer held meetings, and the others all considered themselves Christian even if not holding active membership in any church. There were significantly different types of church memberships among the women of eastern and western origins. The easterners had maintained their ties with the fundamentalist and evangelical groups that had been traditional in the south; the westerners usually belonged to mainstream church groups which had established missions churches and schools to help the Indians adjust to Euro-American society.

Indian medicine had given way to modern allopathic doctors, hypodermic syringes and hospitals. Those who knew the herbal and root medicines no longer had access to the ingredients and were not too certain that they still knew the methods involved in their application.

The fragments of culture that have remained have often done so because they did not conflict with Christian beliefs. This frequently caused rejection of what were labeled "superstitions." The practices of medicine people being called the work of the devil was such an instance. Acceptance continues of those areas which did not conflict --arts and crafts especially. Even so, not many still practiced the crafts. Beadworking was the most popular and those who were interested had learned something about traditional designs and colors. Interest in Indian dances and music was also acceptable. Paintings of Indians, ceramics and other art work were the focus of a few collections and displays on walls and shelves. For the most part, however, family photos, Christian calendars, Avon bottle collections and other non-Indian items decorated the homes of the subjects.
The Indian Center was an important force in motivating and reminding the women about Indian traditions. Besides functioning as a valuable liaison between the women and social services, the center was the only gathering place especially oriented to Indians in the city. The director, a woman of extensive traditional knowledge and beliefs, encouraged the remembrance of the old ways. Tapes of Indian music drummed softly in the background as the women came in for emergency clothing or groceries. The walls were covered with pictures, posters, feathered war sticks, a horsetail and other items considered traditional. For many, it probably served as an introduction to much about their heritage.

Visits "back home," pan-Indian or tribal newspapers and talking to others on visits to the Indian Center provided slight attempts at keeping up on current events. During the last few years a number of books had been published about the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina and this contributed to a renewal of interest in their backgrounds in a few families. One of the books provided the basis for a pageant in Robeson County that had become a regional attraction that was gaining much favorable attention for this group.

For many of the women there was probably never any conscious thought or choice in giving up their culture. They came from areas in which there was little comment on or knowledge of the old ways. Coming to the city provided a retreat from oppressive conditions--whether escaping from reservations lives which were seen as bleak, alcoholic and unrewarding, or from the south where jobs and food were in short supply.

Comparisons with Indians in Other Cities

Other studies dealing with Indians in cities point up some of the same kinds of adaptations as those found here. Dosman (1972) in Saskatchewan and Wagner (1976) in New York discovered that the families were scattered throughout low-incomes areas of the city. There were no concentrations or enclaves of Indians because they had come in with little money or resources and had to take whatever housing they could afford wherever they could find it. The same procedures seem to have operated here. Some of these women were in areas composed of others like themselves who had moved from Appalachian areas. Other lived in Black neighborhoods with their Black husbands.

Contrary to Dosman's findings, however, the Indian Center in this city was managed and staffed by Indians. It operated under no policy-making bodies other than that of the major personnel. This was at the insistence of the director. After an experience in which a church group offered free quarters for the center but then attempted to set policies and procedures, she had rejected all such offers of aid and
succor. Renting an old rundown first-floor duplex provided the Center with freedom from interferences by non-Indian outsiders.

Stanbury (1975) found that hope of employment was a major attractive feature for Indians who had moved off-reservation to the cities. As noted earlier, this ranked first among the motivations of the women and their husbands in this sample. His findings, too, confirmed the levels of income at or near poverty levels for the majority of families. The Indians of British Columbia, however, were more involved in maintaining their identity as Indian than this group seemed to be, perhaps because of the geographical proximity of the Canadian tribes. Both samples showed wide social and economic gaps between themselves and the non-Indians in the city.

As the Indian Center staff would have been able to verify, the Indians of this city were not unlike those who were the focus of a report in Chicago (Neog 1970). Urban migration frequently precipitated emergency situations, and social services were a major reason for visits to the Chicago agency under study.

Unlike the San Francisco study by Ablon (1964) or the work in Los Angeles by Price (1968), the Indians in this area did not seem to have the high numbers of ties with other Indians for the sake of maintaining identity as Indian. For most of the women, relationships with other Indians were confined to an occasional social or emergency visit to the Indian Center. The Center did not have facilities or staff to provide evening or weekend social activities. Because it was essentially a one-woman operation with occasional services provided by CETA workers and volunteers, there was simply no one available to oversee social events. There was definitely no budget for such activities. A monthly potluck dinner had been established to commemorate the death of one of the women in the sample. After about three months the illness of the director required cancellation of one of the monthly dinners. They were never resumed, partly because of lack of participation by the Indians themselves.

Vogt (1957) and Thomas (1968) discussed pan-Indian movements as vehicles for expression of disillusion with assimilation into the mainstream of American society. Members thus could identify themselves as Indian and provide a sense of solidarity. In this city, unless an issue received national media coverage, there was little discussion of Indian issues and organizations. No one claimed membership in the American Indian Movement (AIM), although those from reservations mentioned that they had relatives back home who were members.

A study of minority groups by Almquist (1979) might almost have been identified as this sample because of similarities in employment characteristics. She established that Indian women had the lowest work rates of all the minority groups. She attributed this to lower
educational levels, large family size, low incomes of husbands, and limitations of job availability imposed by geographic locations near reservations. With the exception of the location, all of the other variables are in substantial agreement with the findings of this study as described in the body of the text.

A study on the effects of marriage on acculturation by Wagner (1976) described three categories of married women: tradition-oriented, transitional and American middle-class. Most of the women of this study would have to be classified as "American middle-class." They identified with the dominant society at the same time they classified themselves as Indian. Those who continued to identify themselves strongly with their tribal values, nevertheless could not be called "tradition-oriented" under the terms of her definition. This is because the few who might come close to the description were at the same time very much tied to their comforts and homes in the city. (Wagner's definition of tradition-oriented included a de-emphasis of material possessions.) However, these were also the women who were doing the most to preserve the culture and to instill pride and interest in the Indian heritage (e.g. the director of the Indian Center).

The "East-West" Study

All of the above results were based on comparisons of the Indian with the non-Indian women. The second major analysis which broke down the sample of Indian women on the basis of regional origins provided some surprises. The fact that there were so many differences between the two groups, "East" and "West," was unexpected.

In recent years much emphasis has been placed on pan-Indian movements and the idea that Indians have had to organize on a national level to survive as an identifiable people. This has resulted in national media attention to "Indian problems" and has tended to produce, even among social scientists, a concept of the melting-pot Indian who shares the same characteristics regardless of tribal origins. Though historically we accept the regional differences upon which so many textbooks base their discussions (see Spencer 1977; Newcomb 1974; the Handbook of North American Indians series, Smithsonian Institution 1978 and ongoing), today we talk about Indians as if they had become one entity.

The analysis based on the regions in which the women had been born and raised indicated that regional variations still remained. Instead of being ecologically based on flora and fauna, they are now based on historical factors. Often the differences are a result of prolonged and intense interaction with non-Indians. This contact occurred much sooner for the eastern-based groups than it did for
western natives. Adoption of white ways was often the only basis for survival in the east—that or enforced migration westward.

The eastern Indians, especially the Cherokee and Lumbee who comprised the eastern sample in this study, developed a syllabary, became expert farmers utilizing European farming methods, and adopted the clothing, religion and lifestyles of their neighbors several generations ago.

Some of the western Indians still are struggling in their resistance to complete adaptation to the white man's ways. They felt the full impact of hunters and settlers later than eastern Indians who lived on the continent's borders and experienced earlier contact. The influence of organized religion was more broadly felt in the west, with the attempts of the missionaries to force the Indians into white patterns of life. For many of the Indians there was little resistance; others fought the encroachment onto their lands and into their lives. Despite this, and because of victories by the U.S. militias, the western Indians were forced onto reserved lands, into federal or mission schools for education, vocational training (often for jobs that didn't exist on the reservations), and into new and often uncomfortable life styles.

The reflection of these historical factors can be seen in the two samples. The Indian women from western states were more well-educated, had accepted mainstream religions, held better jobs, and were slightly more like the urban non-Indian women. Most had extensive contact with small town or city life before moving to their present residences. They married men who were non-Indian urban dwellers and followed them to their urban hometowns.

Despite the greater number of years of contact with white society, the eastern Indian women were less well-educated, held low status jobs, earned less and were more conservative in their choices of church affiliation. However, this is a reflection of the region from which they had come—these are characteristics of the plateau and mountain areas of the Carolinas. They married local Indian men like themselves and migrated to the cities in search of jobs and better lives than the dirt-grubbing existence led in the south.

As a result, calling both of the groups "Indian" may require that we continue to label them regionally. Regional variations were very apparent in this sample, and seemed to produce two different populations. The differences were not based on locally available plants and animals or current climatic conditions, but on local political, economic and social factors that operated to develop customs and patterns of behavior typical of those regions. The kinds and intensity of contacts with the European settlers, traders and U.S. government offi-
cials has influenced their lives today and the ways in which they perceive being Indian.

Further Research

One of the major findings of this research, dealing with urban Indian women, was the difference between the groups when the sample was divided on the basis of place of birth and residence during childhood years. The historical factors that were mentioned above seemed to play a definite role in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of the Indian women.

Among the directions further research could take are comparison studies between the eastern-born Indian women and other southeastern U.S. rural migrants to the city. Further studies in which attitudes, beliefs, family histories, motivating factors of the moves to the city and the like could be evaluated and comparisons could be made that might provide deeper insights into processes of migration and acculturation that have taken place among the Cherokees and Lumbees of the eastern part of the country.

The development of the Lumbee of North Carolina also has potential for study. The story of the search for a name by which to call themselves, an identity as a people, has been dealt with historically, but not through individual case studies. To look at the motivating factors that led to the current revival of interest in the past in pageant and books, and individual Lumbee participation in that surge of interest, may provide some information about the process of identification and the various factors lying behind the need to belong to a readily identifiable people. Many of the women from the same region still cling to the older identification as Cherokee. Why they do so rather than adopting the newer label, Lumbee, might also prove interesting.

In the comparisons with the National Longitudinal Survey urban samples, it was found that the respondents in this study were significantly different in their backgrounds, education, work rates, occupations, income levels and so on. This may have been because the comparisons were with the total range of urban populations. Continued analyses might well be continued with further breakdowns in income levels. It might prove worthwhile to compare the Indian women with other urban women of the same low income levels to see if socio-economic differences were still so drastic. Age and regional variations may prove to be a significant factor in the readiness with which Indian women enter the job market and compete for the more highly paid jobs.
Larger samples could also be profitably obtained. There were numerous categories in occupations, industries, educational attainment and other areas in which no Indians were represented. With the small sample of this study it is impossible to determine if the difference is real or if the gaps, as a result of the sample size, are artificial.

It might prove interesting to work with the Indian men who have moved into the setting of the city to see why they have done so. There seemed to be many who had migrated from the southeastern states, but few who were from western states. Based on the reasons that have already been reported for the movement of the women to the city, we may verify that the eastern men came for jobs, bringing their families with them. The western women had settled here because of marriages to non-Indian men they had met while the men had been stationed at military bases near the homes of the women. The few western men who had been observed were generally unmarried and usually seemed to be "drifting through" the city. Their life styles and backgrounds might provide material on survival skills and attitudes about "being Indian" that contrast strongly with those of the western women and eastern respondents.

Regression analyses could be done on some of the variables that seem to be strongly explanatory at this time—the oft-mentioned education, regions of origin, and age. This might provide more powerful explanations of the factors that are operating to keep the women at lower economic and status levels.

In the setting of this study, it might be instructive to do further research on patterns of friendship in the city. This was not included in the design of this study and conclusions that were drawn were based on observations of the women and their activities rather than on their own reports of the extent and depth of contacts with other Indian women.

In a study of the Hupa Indians, Bushnell (1968) suggested that their identity had undergone such a degree of change that they might better be called Indian Americans than American Indians. Like many immigrants to America, perhaps the Indians who have moved away from reservations or Indian communities have found it easier to survive in the cities by sloughing off the outer accouterments of their culture and adopting those of the dominant society. Studies dealing only with Indian children who have been raised in cities might be instructive. Questions could deal with their knowledge of and interest in their heritage. We have been able to observe the process of rediscovery for Polish-Americans, Greek-Americans and other groups of second- and third-generation immigrants. Many of them have made much of their backgrounds and reinstituted pride and interest in learning about the heritage of their homelands. This is generally done as an overlay and
enrichment of their American ways, however, not as a replacement. Perhaps it is too soon to learn whether this resurgence will occur among the Indians.

Final Comments

The women of this sample are well-integrated into life in the city. They have similar problems to other urban women, although perhaps the Indian women have difficulties more frequently than non-Indians. They have access to the same facilities and resources as any other urban women and make use of most of them. It was hard to tell by observing the women personally or by looking at their homes and lifestyles that they were Indian. Many of them came from communities where traditions had long been lost so moving to the city and adopting urban rather than rural lifestyles did nothing to make them lose Indian ways.

Those who came with stronger traditional backgrounds found little reinforcement here in the city. There was little available social activity geared toward the Indians. There is no community that is strictly Indian. Interest by acquaintances or strangers in their ethnic identity is usually limited to a few questions and surprise that they are Indian. It is not enough to provide incentives to keep up deep commitments to their heritage.

Reinforcement to become urbanized often comes from the family rather than the community. Desire for acceptance by the families of their husbands who have chosen to come back to their hometowns is often of prime importance. This requires an expenditure of energy by the Indian women toward assimilation rather than maintenance of a separate identity as Indian. There may also be attitudinal and motivational factors involved that made the Indian women choose urban men as husbands, rather than local Indian men near hometowns.

If this sample is representative, however, the women will find it necessary to make a more conscious and concerted effort to maintain their ethnicity than they have done so far. For most of the women, being Indian is an interesting biological fact and they might express interest in knowing more about their heritage, but there seemed to be no great rush or reason to do so. Some do keep up ties and contacts with home, and most express their pride in their heritage, however little they may know about it.

For the greater number, as they expend their energies to fit into their adoptive society, they slough off the remaining traditions. They replace the old systems with the current urban lifestyles. Like so many other immigrants, they have changed the emphasis from remain-
ing members of the Indian society to becoming part of the American mainstream culture.
Appendix A
Questionnaire Set
HOUSEHOLD RECORD CARD
National Longitudinal Surveys

All information which would permit identification of the individual will be strictly confidential, will be used only by persons engaged in and for the purposes of the survey, and will not be disclosed or released to others for any other purpose.

Name:
Address:

1a. Year ___________ Month ___________ Day ___________

1b. Address where respondent is living at time of interview

_____ Same as above

_____ New address - enter below
House No., Street, Apt. No.,
Place, State, ZIP Code

1c. Is this address permanent or temporary?

_____ Permanent - SKIP to - in other side of record card.

_____ Temporary - ASK 11

1d. Is this address a college address?

_____ Yes

_____ No

1e. What is your permanent address?

House No., Street, Apt. No.,
Place, State, ZIP Code

1f. What is your telephone number?

[ ] Area code [ ] Number

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SECTION II
SURVEY OF WORK EXPERIENCE (OF URBAN INDIAN WOMEN)
Adapted from National Longitudinal Surveys

1. Name ___________________________ A.M. __________ P.M. __________

2. Date completed ________________ J. Interview time: Begun __________ End ed __________ P.M.

3. How respondent became part of sample: __________________________
   - thru work at Columbus Center
   - thru referral by ________________
   - male center referral by ________________
   - other (Specify) ________________

1. CURRENT LABOR FORCE STATUS

   1. What were you doing most of LAST WEEK at work, keeping house, or something else?
      - Working ________________
      - Hunting ________________
      - Working ________________
      - Fishing ________________
      - Taking care of family ________________
      - Taking care of school ________________
      - Taking care of house ________________
      - Helping with house ________________
      - Working ________________
      - Other (Specify) ________________

   2. How many hours did you work LAST WEEK at all monthly jobs, _____ hours

   3. Did you have a job for business from which you were temporarily absent or on layoff LAST WEEK?
      - Yes __________
      - No __________

   4. Have you been looking for work during the past 4 weeks? __________
      - Yes __________
      - No __________

   5. What have you been doing in the past 4 weeks to find work?
      - Nothing __________
      - State employment agency __________
      - Private employment agency __________
      - Employer directly __________
      - Friends or relatives __________
      - Other (Specify) __________

   6. Why did you start looking for work? Was it because you lost or quit a job at that time (cause) or was there some other reason?
      - List job __________
      - List job __________
      - Ended temporary work __________
      - Other (Specify) __________

   7. How many weeks have you been looking for work? __________

   8. Is there any reason why you cannot take a job LAST WEEK?
      - Yes __________
      - No __________
      - Temporary illness __________
      - Other (Specify) __________

2. TEMPORARY LAYOFFS

   1. Were you absent from work LAST WEEK at all?
      - Yes __________
      - No __________
      - Illness __________
      - Illness if family member __________
      - Vacation __________
      - Bad weather __________
      - New job to begin within 30 days __________
      - Temporary layoff (under 30 days) __________
      - Indefinite layoff (30 days or more) __________
      - Other (Specify) __________

   2. How many weeks have you been absent from work? __________

   3. When did you last work at a regular job or business lasting 2 consecutive weeks or more, either full- or part-time?
      - Full-time __________
      - Part-time __________
      - Other (Specify) __________

   4. How many weeks have you been laid off? __________

   5. When did you last work at a regular job or business lasting 2 consecutive weeks or more, either full- or part-time?
      - Full-time __________
      - Part-time __________
      - Other (Specify) __________
5a. You work for (name of company, business, or organization or other employer)

5b. About how many people are employed in the whole company?
   - Less than 10
   - 10-24
   - 25-49
   - 50-99
   - 100-249
   - 250-499
   - 500 or more

5c. What kind of business or industry is this?
   (For example: TV and radio manufacturer, retail shoe store, State Labor Dept., etc.)

5d. Were you --
   - An employee of a FEDERAL company, business, or individual for wages, salary, or commissions?
   - A GOVERNMENT employee (Federal, State, County or Local)
   - Self-employed in your own business, professional practice or farm?
   - If not a farm, in this business interested?
   - Work WITHOUT PAY in family business or farm?

5e. What kind of work were you doing?
   (For example, electrical engineer, receptionist, high school English teacher, waitress)

5f. What were your two important activities or duties? For example, typing, keeping current books, selling shoes, etc.

5g. When did you first start working for.......
The year ________ the ear

5h. How did you find out about the job you now have the
   - State employment agency
   - Private employment agency
   - Employee referral
   - Friends or relatives
   - Newspaper ad
   - Other (specify, e.g., ETA, union or professional union)

5i. Altogether, how much in you usually earn at this job before deductions?
   $ ________ per hour OR
   $ ________ per week OR
   $ ________ per month OR
   $ ________ per year

5j. How many hours per week do you usually work at this job ________

5k. Are your wages (salary) on this job set by a collective bargaining agreement between your employer and a union or employee association?

5l. What is the name of the union or employee association?

5m. Are you a member of that union or employee association?

5n. What training, education, opportunities, profit sharing, etc. are available to you?

5o. What fringe benefits in this card does your employer make available to you?
   - Medical, surgical or hospital insurance
   - Life insurance
   - Disability insurance
   - Retirement plan
   - Profit sharing
   - Sick leave
   - Maternity leave
   - Paid vacations

5p. What hours do you usually work?
   - Regular day shift
   - Regular afternoon shift
   - Regular night shift
   - Overtime
   - Hours vary

---

For who all did you work for company, business or organization or other employer.

---

About how many people are employed in the whole company?

---

What kind of business or industry is this?

---

Were you --

---

What kind of work were you doing?

---

When did you first start working for.......

---

How did you find out about the job you now have the

---

Altogether, how much in you usually earn at this job before deductions?

---

How many hours per week do you usually work at this job ________

---

Are your wages (salary) on this job set by a collective bargaining agreement between your employer and a union or employee association?

---

What is the name of the union or employee association?

---

Are you a member of that union or employee association?

---

What training, education, opportunities, profit sharing, etc. are available to you?

---

What fringe benefits in this card does your employer make available to you?

---

What hours do you usually work?

---
II-3

46. How long does it usually take you to get to work?  

   Hours AND Minutes

47. What means of transportation do you usually use to get to work?  

   Own auto  
   Ride with someone else  
   Bus or streetcar  
   Subway or elevated  
   Taxi  
   Walk only  
   Other (Specify):

48. Did you have any other job at all last week?  

   Yes   No

49. For whom did you work in addition to......?  

50. What kind of business or industry is this?  

51. Were you:

   a. An employee of a PRIVATE company, business, or individual for wages, salary, or commission?  
   b. A FEDERAL employee (Federal, State, County or Local)  
   c. Self-employed in your OWN business, profession, practice or farm? (If not a farm, is this business incorporated?)  
   d. Enrolled in a college or trade school?  
   e. Working WITHOUT PAY in family business or farm?

52. What were your most important activities or duties?  

53. Can it you start working for ......?  

   Month   Day   Year
## II. WORK EXPERIENCE

Let's talk about the job you worked at, or the type of work you did before you started to work as a (entry in 5a) for (entry in 5a).

- The last job you worked at, that is, the one which ended.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. For whom did you work?</th>
<th>Next previous job...</th>
<th>Next previous job...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. In what city and state is...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>located?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. What kind of business or industry is this?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Class of worker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Together, how much did you usually earn at this job before all deductions?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. How many hours per week did you usually work on this job?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. When did you start working as a...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>month</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. When did you stop working there?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>month</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Why did you leave this job?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Did you see a new job lined up before you left this one?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. While you were working (for entry in 5a) were you also working for someone else?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Do the next column: Record information about this job!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**If more than 4 previous jobs...**

13. How many other jobs have you had?

14. About how long did you work at each?

15. Why did you leave the job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Do you intend to look for work of any kind (or a different job) in the next 12 months?</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>what else depends on?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. When do you intend to start looking for work?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14c. What will you do to find work?

Check

convention

with

Private employment agency

Employer directly

Friends or relatives

Place of answer ad

Other (Specify)

14d. Are there any restrictions, such as hours or location of job that would be a factor in your taking a job?

Yes

No

14e. What are those restrictions?


### III. Child Care

#### 16a. (If you were to take a job) who usually takes (will take) care of your (youngest) child while you are working and the child is not in school? For all that apply:

- [ ] a. Parent
- [ ] b. Other brother or sister of children
- [ ] c. Other relative
- [ ] d. In own home by nonrelative
- [ ] e. In relative's home
- [ ] f. In nonrelative's home

#### 16b. In the past 12 months, have you been unable to look for work or take a job due to a lack of child care arrangement(s)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrangement(s)</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child care center - such as nursery school or settlement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-2 years</td>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>5+ years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Public</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Private</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 16c. If a child care center or day care home were available for your children at no cost to you, do you think you might look for a job right now?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

#### 16d. How dependable are these arrangements? For instance, during the past two months, how often have you had to make last minute plans for the care of your children in:

- [ ] a. Frequently
- [ ] b. Occasionally
- [ ] c. Rarely
- [ ] d. Very rarely
- [ ] e. Depends on identity

#### 16e. What is the total cost of your arrangements for your children per week?

- [ ] 0-2 years
- [ ] 3-5 years
- [ ] 5+ years

#### 16f. How many hours per week are those services required?

- [ ] a. 0-2 years
- [ ] b. 3-5 years
- [ ] c. 5+ years

#### 16g. How many days per week do you work?

- [ ] a. Yes
- [ ] b. No

#### 16h. Does any of this last cover housekeeping or other services not related to supervision of your children?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No
161. In all the ways your children could be cared for while you are working, is there any one way that you would prefer to your current arrangement(s)?

1. In your own home by relative
   a. Father
   b. Other brother or sister of child(ren) or child(ren) themselves
   c. Other relative
   d. In relative's home
   e. In nonrelative's home
   f. Child care center, such as nursery school or settlement house other than regular school or formal kindergarten
   g. Public
   h. Private
   i. Child cares for self without supervision
   j. Other

As if yes, specify

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YOUNGEST CHILD IN EACH COLUMN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-2 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

162. You have not mentioned a child care center at all. If such a child care center were available at no higher cost than the arrangement you currently use, would you use it?

Yes . . . . . . . . . . . .

No . . . . . . . . . . . .

May not
IV. WORK ATTITUDES

17. We would like to find out whether people's outlook on life has any effect on the kind of jobs they have, the way they look for work, how much they work, and matters of that kind. On each of these cards is a pair of statements numbered 1 and 2. For each pair, please select the One statement which is closer to your opinion. In addition, tell me whether the statement you select is MUCH CLOSER to your opinion or SLIGHTLY CLOSER.

In some cases you may find that you believe both statements. In other cases you may believe neither one. Even when you feel this way about a pair of statements, select the one statement which is more nearly true in your opinion.

Try to consider each pair of statements separately when making your choices. Do not be influenced by your previous choices.

a. ______1. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck. ______2. People's misfortunes result from the choices they make.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly

b. ______1. In the long run, people get the respect they deserve in this world. ______2. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly

c. ______1. Without the right breaks, one cannot become an effective leader. ______2. Fable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly

1. ______1. Reaching a success is a matter of hard work: luck has little to do with it. ______2. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly

e. ______1. What happens to me is my own doing. ______2. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly

f. ______1. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work. ______2. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead, because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly

g. ______1. In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck. ______2. Many times we get just as well as we deserve, what we deserve by flipping a coin.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? ______Much ______Slightly
I. группа

1. Who gets to be boss often depends on who is lucky enough to be in the right place first.

2. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? Much Slightly

1. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.

2. There is really no such thing as 'luck.'

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? Much Slightly

1. In the long run, the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.

2. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, illness, or all three.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? Much Slightly

1. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

2. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

Is this statement much closer or slightly closer to your opinion? Much Slightly

II. оценка

18. In the past 5 years, for how many different employers have you worked? Employers

1(a). All in all, so far as your work is concerned would you say that you've progressed during the last 5 years, moved backward or just about held your position?

Progressed Slightly

1(b). In what ways would you say you have progressed? Record up to two responses.

Progressed

1(c). In what ways would you say you have moved backward? Record up to two responses.

1(a). During the last 5 years, do you feel that so far as work is concerned, you have been in any way discriminated against because of your sex?

Yes No

1(b). In what ways? "Record up to two responses.

Yes No

20c. Were this a job for whom you worked of an employer for whom you did not work

Employer for whom respondent worked

Employer for whom respondent did not work

Other
21a. During the past five years, do you feel that as far as work is concerned, you have been in any way discriminated against because of your age?

   a. Yes
   b. No

b. In what ways? (Record up to two responses.)

22a. During the past 5 years, do you feel that so far as work is concerned, you have been in any way discriminated against because of your race or marriage?

b. In what ways? (Record up to two responses.)

1. Was this by an employer for whom you worked or an employer for whom you did not work?

23a. During that period, do you feel that so far as work is concerned, you have been in any way discriminated against because of religion, nationality, marital status, health, or for any other reason?

3. For what reason(s)?

   a. Yes
   b. No

24a. Has this by an employer for whom you worked or an employer for whom you did not work?

   a. Employer worked for both
   b. Did not work for ______

   c. Other

2. In what ways have you been discriminated against? (Record up to two responses.)

   a. Employer worked for both
   b. Did not work for ______

   c. Other

25a. Has this by an employer for whom you worked or an employer for whom you did not work?
VI. HEALTH

24A. Does your health or physical condition prevent you from working altogether? Yes __ No __

b. When did you become unable to work altogether? Month __ Year __

2. Do you have any health problem or condition that limits in any way the amount or kind of work you can do? Yes __ No __

3. How long have you been limited in this way? Month __ Year __

4. In what way are you limited? ________________________________

24A. Do you ever use traditional Indian herbs? Yes __ No __

b. Do you know a medicine man? Yes __ No __

i. Why? ________________________________

2. Have you ever visited a medicine man? Yes __ No __

i. How often? More than once a year __ Once in the past five years __ Once in my life __ Never __

a. Has anyone in your family ever been treated by a traditional healer or medicine man? Yes __ No __

b. Who was it? ________________________________

2. For what were you treated? ________________________________

What procedures were involved? ____________

i. Prayers ____________

ii. Incense ____________

iii. Dance ____________

iv. Sweat lodge ceremony ____________

v. Other ceremonies (specify) ____________

Notes: ____________________________________
II. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

26a. What is the highest year of regular school you have completed? [ ] Never attended school [ ] Currently enrolled

26b. When were you enrolled? [ ] Never attended school [ ] Currently enrolled

26c. What kind of school was it? [ ] Regular public school

26d. Where was this? [ ] Indicate city and state

26e. Did you receive a high school diploma? [ ] Yes

26f. Have you ever attended a college or university? [ ] Yes

26g. What is the name of the college or university? [ ] Specify

26h. Where is it located? [ ] Indicate city and state

26i. By whom is it sponsored? [ ] Public, private, specify

26j. What is the highest college or university degree you have received? [ ] Specify below and here

26k. What was the field of study of that degree? [ ] Specify

26l. When did you receive this degree? [ ] Specify

26m. Are you able to obtain any financial assistance in lieu of your Indian tribal membership? [ ] Specify

27a. In the last 5 years, have you taken any training courses or educational programs of any kind, either in this job or elsewhere? [ ] Yes

27b. Are you still enrolled in this program? [ ] Yes

27c. What kind of training or education program did you take? Specify below and indicate in box

27d. What kind of training or education program did you take? Specify below and indicate in box

27e. What kind of training or education program did you take? Specify below and indicate in box

27f. What kind of training or education program did you take? Specify below and indicate in box
274. Where did you take this training course? (Specify, then mark)

- Business college, technical institute
- Company training school
- Correspondence course
- High school (including night school)
- Area vocational school
- Junior, Community or 2-year College or University
- Other (Specify, e.g., Indian-sponsored or reservation school)

- Yes
- No

Who sponsored it? (e.g., Federal, state, local, religious organization, specify), or other?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Yes - When? (Month 19) Year
- No - When? (Month 19) Year

Why didn't you complete this program? (Main reason only.)

- Found a job
- Too much "now involved"
- Lost interest
- Too difficult
- Marriage
- Pregnancy
- Too far to travel for children
- Other family reason
- Other (Specify)

- To obtain work
- To improve current job situation
- To get a better job
- Had extra time
- Lacked starting home
- Education, interest, general knowledge
- Other (Specify)

- Before
- After

- Yes
- No
26. How I have a few questions about the education and work experience of the other family members living here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last living (full household bound?)</th>
<th>[Parents 14 years old and younger]</th>
<th>[Parents 14 years old and older]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last below all persons living here who are related to R.</td>
<td>[Education] (years old and younger)</td>
<td>[Education] (years old and older)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Last grade attended?</td>
<td>Did ... finish grade or school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Last grade finished</td>
<td>Last grade finished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level</td>
<td>Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b. Did any of the schooling, training or work be on reservations or in &quot;Indian&quot; programs? (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
29. Is this house (apartment) owned or being bought by you or your husband, or is it rented? (If other, specify):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owned or being bought</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>No cash rent</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

30a. Do you (or your husband) own or have an investment in a farm or other land? Any claim on reservation land?

| Yes, farm where | Yes, other land (Specify) |

30b. Do you (or your husband) own or have an investment in a business or professional practice?

| Yes, what kind | No |

30c. Do you (or your husband) own any other real estate - not counting the property in which you are living?

| Yes, what kind | No |

31. Do you (or your husband) own an automobile?

| Yes, what kind | No, year |

I'd like to ask a few questions about your income last year.

31a. Last year, how much did you receive from wages, salary, commissions, or tips from all jobs before deductions for taxes or anything else?

| $ | 30 |

31b. If married: Last year, how much did your husband receive from wages, salary, commissions, or tips from all jobs, before deductions for taxes or anything else?

| $ | 30 |

31c. Last year, how much did all other family members living here receive from wages, salary, commissions, or tips from all jobs, before deductions for taxes or anything else?

| $ | 30 |

31d. Last year did you receive any income from land being leased or rented from you on the reservation?

| Yes, how much | 30 |

32a. Did you receive any unemployment compensation last year?

| Yes, how many weeks | |

32b. Did any other family members living here receive any unemployment compensation last year?

| Yes | |

33a. Last year, did you receive any supplemental unemployment benefits (due from your employer)

| Yes, how many weeks | |

33b. Did any other family members living here receive any supplemental unemployment benefits?

| Yes | |

34. Last year, did anyone in this family receive income as a result of disability or illness such as from Social Security or temporary disability payments? (If yes, indicate the source, and the amount received.)

| Veteran's compensation or pension | Social Security |
| Social Security | Other disability payment (Specify) |
35a. In 1978, did you or anyone in this family living here receive any other Social Security payments such as retired worker, spouse, or survivor's benefits?  
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Husband
   $__________30
   Other
   $__________00

35b. In 1978, did anyone in this family living here receive any Supplemental Security Income checks from the local, state, or Federal Government?  
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Husband
   $__________30
   Other
   $__________00

35c. In 1978, did anyone in this family living here receive any welfare payments? (ADC, etc.)  
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Husband
   $__________30
   Other
   $__________00

35d. Last year, did anyone in this family buy any food stamps under the Government's Food Stamp Plan?  
   **No**
   **Yes**

35e. Last year, did anyone in this family receive any income from child support payments?  
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Other
   $__________00

35f. Last year, did anyone in this family receive any pensions from local, state, or Federal Government employment?   
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Husband
   $__________30
   Other
   $__________00

35g. In 1974, did anyone in this family living here receive any other retirement pensions, such as private employment or personal retirement benefits?  
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Husband
   $__________30
   Other
   $__________00

35h. In 1974, did anyone in this family living here receive any other type of income? (For example, earnings, royalties, contributions from family members living elsewhere, etc)  
   **No**
   **Yes**
   Respondent
   $__________00
   Husband
   $__________30
   Other
   $__________00
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39. Do you have any questions about your family background? (If appropriate) Is this on a reservation?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. How long have you been living in this area?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Where did you live before moving to Columbus?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Have you ever lived on a reservation?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Why did you leave?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. How would you like to ask about your parents?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Are your parents living?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. What about your husband's parents -- are his mother and father living?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Where were your parents born? (If appropriate) Is this a reservation?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Are your grandparents born? Reservation?</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Is . . . Indian? What tribes? Percentage</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4a. Do any of your parents or grandparents live with you?  
Yes No  

4b. When did they move in?  

4c. Do any of your husband's parents or grandparents live with you?  
Yes No  

4d. When did they move in?  

4e. When you were 15 years old, were you living...  

5. With whom were you living when you were 15 years old?  

5a. What was the highest grade of school completed by your father?  

5b. What was the highest grade of school completed by your mother?  

6. Did either of your parent's attend reservation schools or other Indian schools?  

Yes No  

What was it's name?  

Who was it run by?
64a. How many times have you been married or lived with a man (including current marriage)? ______Marriages

b. What was the date of your present (most recent) marriage? (or what was the date you began living with . . . .) ______Month ______Year

c. What is the date of birth of your present (most recent) husband? (partner) ______Month ______Year

d. What is the highest grade of regular school completed by him? Did not attend school ______Grade

65a. Is he Indian?

65b. Was he reservation-born? No _______ Yes _______Where?

Was he educated on reservation? No _______ Yes _______ Where?

67. What kind of work does he do? ______

(If more than one occupation, indicate longest type of employment.)

Previous Marriages: (See questions above for previous husbands or live-in partners.)

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<th>Date of marriage</th>
<th>First previous</th>
<th>Second previous</th>
<th>Third previous</th>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's name</td>
<td>Indian or other</td>
<td>Grad date completed</td>
<td>Indian or other</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>Where educated</td>
<td>When ended</td>
<td>Indian or other</td>
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<td>Residence</td>
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70a. How many children have ever been born to you? ______Number ______Time

70b. How many of these children are now living? ______Number ______All of the above

70c. How many of these children are currently living with you in your home? ______None ______All in "a" ______Number
49. How have a few questions about any adopted children or children of your husband who came to live with you when you were married (not living with him).

- Have you ever adopted any children or did your husband have children who came to live with you? Yes No

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Is ... in current living in your home?</th>
<th>Is ... currently living in your home?</th>
<th>Grade?</th>
<th>Other educational activities?</th>
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</table>

1. Have you ever taken in other children to raise? Yes No

Please fill in spaces above, indicating relationship if any to H.
51. Do any of your children or adopted children have Indian names? _Yes_  _No_

What are the names? (Go down the list. Write in name beside child's Anglo name. If Indian name originally given, check to be sure the child doesn't also have an Anglo name, write it down.)

How were these names given? __Informally__

Native ceremony
Christian baptism
Other (Specify)

52a. How many brothers and sisters have you ever had? __None__  _Number_

b. Do any of them live with you in your home now? _No_  _Yes_

c. How many live with you in your home now? _Number_  _All of them_

52d. How I have a few questions about each of your brothers and sisters not living in your home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What are their names?</th>
<th>Indian name*</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Birth-</th>
<th>Full brother</th>
<th>M or W</th>
<th>Living?</th>
<th>Highest</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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</table>

10. Indicate whether any of your brothers or sisters were born on the reservation.

11n. Do any of them still live in a reservation? _No_  _Yes_

Which ones?  Where*
SECTION III
AGRICULTURAL FIELD SCHEDULE

1. Name ____________________________________________
   Indian name: ________________________________________
   if different
   Was Indian name heretofore given? Yes __ No __
   How many Indian names do you have? ____________ List ________________________________________________

2. Age ________

3. Degree Indian ________________

4. Tree location ____________________

5. Marital status ________________

6. Number of children ____________

7. Source of subsistence
   __ Income per year $ _____________

   __ Type of occupation ______________________________

   __ Land holdings: __
   __ Reservation __
   __ Location __
   __ How many? __________

   __ Land and mineral income: __________
   __ Land leased __
   __ Minerals leased __
   __ Other ____________________________

8. Home
   __tee: __________
   __ House owned by others __________
   __ Lives with relatives __________

9. Type __ Single __ Double __ Apartment __ Other __________

10. Number of rooms ______________

11. Number of persons living in house __________

12. Condition: __ Excellent __ Good __ Fair __ Poor

13. Source of water: __ Running water __ Lake __ River __ Springs __ Carried

14. Limitation: __ Bathroom __ Toilets __ Privy __ Utter, but no Privy

15. Furnishings
   __ Furnished __ Unfurnished
   __ House bought __ Reconstructed __________
   __ Home __________
   __ Furniture. __________
   __ House bought __ Reconstructed __________
   __ Home __________
   __ Furniture. __________
   __ Drawing room __ Living room __ Dining room __ Kitchen __ Other __________

16. Radio: __ Yes __ No __ Number __________

17. TV: __ Yes __ No __ Color __ Black and White __ Number color sets __________

18. Telephone: __ Yes __ No __________
9. Automobile
   Year: ________ Make: ________ Condition: ________ Hand
   ________ Poor

10. Political activity
   4. Expressed interest in local political affairs
   ________
   5. Active politically
   ________
   6. Expressed interest in "tribal" political affairs, current events
   ________

11. Language
   1. Level of English: ________ Excellent ________ Good ________ Fair ________ Poor ________ Little or none
   ________
   ________ Used predominantly in home? ________ Yes ________ No
   ________
   2. Level of tribal language: ________ Full knowledge ________ Some ________ Very little or none
   ________ Predominant in home ________ Rarely spoken in home ________ Never spoken in home
   ________
   ________ Which language(s)?
   ________

12. Type of reading
   ________ Books, magazines, newspapers
   ________ Newspapers and magazines
   ________ Only magazines, comics
   ________ Little or none

13. Parental status
   ________ Mother ________ Father
   ________
   ________ Degree Indian
   ________
   ________ Education
   ________
   ________ Occupation
   ________
   ________ Language - First
   ________
   ________ Language - Second
   ________
   ________ Religion
   ________
   ________ From birth or converted?
   ________
   ________

14. "Religion"
   ________ Museum member ________ Yes ________ No ________ What are joined?
   ________
   ________ Member for a while, but quit ________ Reason
   ________
   ________ Attendance ________ Regular ________ Occasional ________ Never
   ________
   ________ Denomination
   ________
   ________
D. Indian religion(s)_________________________________________ Age joined____

lodges, etc._________________________________________ Age joined____

E. Commitment

______Full practice

______Some participation and belief

______Know if but no belief or participation

______Know little or nothing

F. Description of initiation into groups

15. Shaam, mesa, myth

_____Exhibit some knowledge of native lore and belief systems and practice some native rituals.

medicine bundles (not as serious)

_____Know some

_____The aware of but not to know

_____Know nothing of

Learned about these

15. Utilization of medical services

_____Use Anglo medical facilities exclusively

_____Use regular medical service, but occasionally use native medicines or medicines people present largely when native medicines can or cannot

Frequent: (for utilized)

17. Recreation

A. Drinks

_____None

_____Moderately

_____Exclusively

B. Athletics

List

C. Dance

1. Indian dance

_____Participate

_____Regularly attends to watch

_____Attends occasionally

_____Attends or never attend

2. Western dance (square, fox trot, waltz, lindy, etc.)

_____Dance frequently

_____Dances

_____Attend to watch

_____Never attend

D. Hunting and finding

_____Often

_____Sometimes

_____Never

E. Movies

_____Attend often

_____Attend occasionally

_____Never attend

7. Traveling for pleasure

A. Frequency

_____Often

_____Sometimes

_____Never

B. Destination

_____Attend Indian satel-lin'es

_____Visit friends and relatives

_____See the country

_____Visit other Indian reservations or communities

_____Attend other than above

_____Outside of state

_____Within the state mainly
3. If destination is reservation, give reason(s):
   - Visiting friends or relatives
   - To attend ceremonies
   - For medical reasons
   - Other (specify)

1. Card games or equivalent
   - Bridge or equivalent
   - Poker, gin, canasta, blackJack, or equivalent
   - Social (with family or neighbors)
   - Gambling principal native
   - Play occasionally
   - Never play

4. Stick game or other traditional games (specify)
   - Play frequently
   - Play occasionally
   - Never play
   - Don't know any traditional games

15. Organizations
   A. Anglo Religious (list)
      - Service clubs
      - Veterans' organizations
      - FFA, 4-H, Scouts, etc. in school
      - Youth organization leader
      - Other

   B. Indian societies, socials, etc.
      - Purpose of organizational:
        - Local
        - Regional
        - National

11. Visibility
    - ________Low ________Moderate ________High ________None

A. Dress
    - ________Years "traditional Indian" clothing, jewelry
    - ________Attire suggesting Indianness

B. Admission of "Indianness"
    - ________Adults only
    - ________Family members only
    - ________Adults and children
    - ________Doesn't pay attention, emphasis on non-Indian foods

* Indicates information already obtained earlier will be transferred to Section "II."

I now release all lien, mortgage, trust, or tax liens, using lands or mortgaged, family, leases
Addendum to Sociocultural Field Schedule:

On the whole, how does being an Indian affect you in your day-to-day life or just in general? Does it make a difference to you? How?

Would you go back to a reservation (or home) to live if you had a chance? Why or why not?

(Don't forget to: check out ethnicity of neighborhood.
   ask about traditional crafts.)

Do you have the names of any other Indian women here who might be willing to be interviewed?
Appendix B

Introductory Material
ORAL PRESENTATION TO RESPONDENTS

INTRODUCTION:

Hello, I'm Nancy Baker, from the Center for Human Resource Research at Ohio State University. As you probably know from talking with a) __________________________ OR b) with me earlier, (name of person referring respondent)

I'm asking you to take part in a survey of Indian women who live in the Central City area. The purpose of the survey is to look at the effects of the city on work experiences, education and family life styles.

READ TO ALL RESPONDENTS:

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You may choose not to respond to questions that you think are too personal. All information you give will be protected under the Privacy Act of 1974. Your answers will be kept confidential, and the results of the study will be made public in summary forms, so that individuals who participate cannot be identified.

As a start, I'd like to ask a few questions about the persons who live with you in your family home.
RECEIPT

I have received $5.00 in cash for taking part in a survey about my background and training, work experience and related matters.

I understand that the information I have given is strictly confidential and will be reported only in statistical form. My name will not be used in any report.

_________________________  __________________________
Date                                             Signature of Respondent
Appendix C

States by Regional and Divisional Listings
with State Codes

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