

THE GROWTH OF TRIBAL BUREAUCRACY:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO

OKLAHOMA TRIBAL

ORGANIZATIONS

By

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## PREFACE

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This proposed study will be based on two tribal groups and the formal organizations that serve them. Primarily a case study approach, a comparative analysis of a limited nature will be utilized in order that a more far-reaching perspective on the tribal situation in Oklahoma may be developed. The processes which have shaped the fates of these two tribes are broadly similar to each other. Specific socio-economic circumstances of each tribe vary, but there are commonalities. Each tribe has been conquered by military intervention and forced to relinquish sovereignty to the United States of America and in a more limited fashion, the Oklahoma State Government. Both tribes have been forced through political, economical, and organizational practices to alter their traditional relationship to the environment and inter-personal relationships in order to survive individually as a tribe. The Otoe/Missouria and the Cherokee have suffered geographical relocation and a severe loss of land without fully understanding how this happened, or why. Further, the bureaucracy has been imposed as a foreign system of tribal management which has altered economic and governmental systems which were fully successful before European contact. The pressure to operate with the same values and normative behaviors as non-Indians have been met with varying degrees of success by both of the tribal groups examined in this study,



but the most apparent difference to be examined in this study is the degree of success experienced by the tribal bureaucracy in encouraging tribal employees to organize their daily existence along the guidelines set by non-tribal organizations, in particular, the federal model.

This study will be addressed to three groups of potential readers. American Indians, federal agencies, and social scientists. The common bond between these groups is assumed to be an interest in the economic development and organizational growth of Native Americans. The study seeks to document, in a historical manner, the experience of the Otoe/Missouria and the Cherokee tribe of Oklahoma along these lines.

Rural Oklahoma is characterized by rolling hills, moderate climate, and fertile soil. This landscape contains man-made lakes and several rivers which have become a valuable resource for Oklahomans in hydroelectric power, agriculture, and recreation. Also contained in this region is a significant proportion of Oklahoma's diminishing rural population. Tribal members who once practiced subsistence agriculture here have, in past years, been attracted to the larger cities or communities surrounding the region--moving on their own or through the assistance of federal programs, such as the early relocation programs. The ruins which have been left behind are of more interest than archeological, they are the physical remains of previous federal economic development programs. These, together with government agencies charged with the administration of the considerable resource base which has remained in tribal ownership, has endured. In recent years there have been several changes in the philosophy governing the development and administration of the tribal trust.

Federal laws, particularly those related to self-determination have encouraged tribal members to become involved in both the administration of tribal resources and planning for their future use. This has seen the development of two related events. First, there has been a marked increase in participation of tribal members in the staffing and management of the bureaucracy which manages the tribal trust. Secondly the tribally staffed and managed organizations have increased their emphasis on the need for human resource development programs aimed at aiding the disadvantaged, unemployed, or underutilized Native American to accumulate to the demands of organizational existence.

Kluckholm (1962) once observed that all Indian development programs are intertribal; one tribe is that of the Indians, but the other tribe is that of the federal bureaucracy with its own quaint traditions and rituals. He lamented the failure of anthropologists to study "the other tribe." Self determination has altered this situation somewhat during the past decade. The Bureau of Indian Affairs--under sharp attack from tribal leaders--has slowly been phased out by regulations related to the philosophy of self determination. For many Native American groups it is being replaced by a tribal bureaucracy; staffed, planned, and administered by Native Americans, these new organizations are still dependent on the federal government for the many funds which finance their operations. Human resources, as well as regional resources, owned by the tribes are being mobilized by the new organizations to a degree never witnessed in Indian history.

The significance of regional resource development is often overlooked when the social scientists have evaluated the human resource development and training programs operated by the tribal groups. While

the natural resources which a tribe collectively own are more often being viewed as a resource which can benefit the tribe, the earlier federal bureaucracy saw these resources as something which could benefit the national and state economies. The significance of resource development from the standpoint of the occupants of a region is directly related to the type of occupations available. The development of a viable "on-reservation economy" will be directly affected by the industries available in the region and the employment patterns which exist within them. For example, neither mining, oil production, commercial horticulture, or agriculture has produced many benefits or income advantages to its labor force. For the most, these are lower class lifestyles and work in these industries are not seen as desirable by the larger society. Most tribal groups lack an industrial base, consequently most manpower training programs operated through federally funded (but often tribally administered) programs meet the labor needs of the non-Indian owned and operated businesses. These human resources directly benefit an economic structure which favors the non-Indians. In developing the natural resources of a region, typically the raw materials are exported to an industrial zone which derives the greater share of the profits. To fully participate in the income generated through the resource development (be it natural or human resources) it is necessary to belong to a class of workers engaged in processing, not producing, the raw materials. If self determination is successful it will be through the implementation of programs which benefit the tribe and are administered by tribal employees.

The central concern of the federal government and its programs has been the overall increase in the "economic welfare" of society, not the

net gains to individuals or subdivisions. Government, according to Therkildsen and Reno (1968), has a special frame of reference in resources allocations decisions. Reduction in welfare payments, for example, is a goal of government work training programs such as CETA, Title III. But reductions generally take place without any gain or loss in the total of social resources. Welfare payments on the other hand are transfer payments between the well-to-do and poorer population sectors, and such payments do not add or diminish total national income. It does have a redistributive affect, of sorts. Benefits for the various development programs have been viewed from a national perspective--reduction in welfare payments may benefit taxpayers or perhaps, free government funds for other population groups. Yet the social costs and benefits of such programs and their redistribution effects are considered important only for policy decisions. For the individual Native American this has meant the suppression of an individual perspective or input into the development of economic programs. There has been little opportunity for the tribal employee or program participant to actually decide if the benefits to be gained from the program actually exceed the social costs incurred from participating. Once a decision is made, it does not necessarily mean that tribal members will ignore the program. One can participate with no real conviction for becoming a successful program completer, or participate with goals unrequired by the program. Administrators of failing programs have claimed there is little incentive to abandon traditional living patterns when one's share (allotment, headright, etc.) of the tribal trust provides an "unearned income" which exceeds the benefits of a low class or entry level job.

The relevance of these general remarks for Indian communities in Oklahoma and other parts of the country are immediately seen. Many of the tribal groups, including the Cherokee and Otoe, own (and in theory) control a substantial part of the resources being developed in their area. The potential for creating wealth for the lower class and disadvantaged Native American is there; but the recent past suggests that common strategies for the development of tribal resources has been the history of experimental adoption of the non-Indian societies ideologies concerning the organization of work, leisure, and personal relations.

In the process of replacing the primary relationships of tribal life with the secondary relationships of bureaucratic society the minority members experiences two events:

1. The primary relationships which exist between tribal members are replaced with the rules, regulations, and occupational hierarchy (of secondary nature) which characterizes the organization.

2. These secondary relationships prescribe interpersonal relationships within the organization. Equality of participation in the various organizational roles is guaranteed by law. Participants believe "all is well" (for society in general) since all members of the organization are treated equally.

The result of such a process is two groups of people (minority members and non-minority) who perceive the world from opposing perspectives. In the world of work everyone is guaranteed an equal opportunity, governed b govern his life through traditional value sets and succeeds in the world of work. The formal relationships which are characteristic of the federal bureaucracy are foreign to the tribal

experience. Indians have had little experience in relating to such faceless and powerful organizations and the general rule for those few experiences has been failure and incomprehension. Where the tribal group has been relocated (as with the Cherokee and Otoe/Missouria tribes) or combined with several tribes of different cultural backgrounds, a study of the historical growth of the tribal organization, particularly of a comparative nature, may aid in explaining why the groups have had such a difficult time getting their start and help understand where they are going. This work, of comparative nature, can provide new information in the area of organizational theory.

Early organizational growth within tribal groups often takes an interesting twist, one example is the Pine Ridge experience. DeMallie (cited in Stanley, 1978), in his analysis of the Pine Ridge experience, found a clear division between the "breeds" and the "full-bloods." In this case the former had traditionally controlled the tribal government as established after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1936. Full-bloods were always aware of this situation but have always regarded it as a way of dealing with the whites. The breeds were effectively given power because of their acknowledged superiority coping with the English language and the "fed."

The bureaucracy, most notably represented by the BIA, has been one of the most pervasive institutions which hindered development at Pine Ridge. Stanley (1978) in his concluding remarks of DeMallie's study finds that: "In a sense, bureaucracy is a disease that is difficult to transmit to Indians, but when they catch it they are often rendered more bureaucratic than their donors...most non-Indians have had considerable

experience with bureaucracies and know not to look for the give in them, after all, they created them" (p. 581).

Contemporary tribal organization in Oklahoma can be noted for its surprising growth over the past decade. This growth can be traced to a change in federal regulations which encourage the development of an Indian managed, staffed, and governed bureaucracy. The bureaucratic experience, for Indian and non-Indian alike, has a pervasive effect on the individual and on group behavior. The activities of large organizations impact on community life with cohesiveness effects which have their source of force in a host of inducements, rewards, sanctions, and subtle appeals to group conformity. Yet, even at face validity, the growth of the tribal organization can certainly be attributed to more than just federal regulations. The very nature of the bureaucracy requires a particular type of behavior from its members for their success. In a sense it requires the adoption of an ideology which in the past was represented by the BIA and its employees. The former separation of the tribe and the bureaucracy which administered their affairs (the BIA) fostered a sense of we vs. them which effectively prevented the adoption of an organizational life by most tribal members. Such an attitude also fostered a tendency toward non-participation with the organization and its many "programs". An attitude which may have been part of the poor success of many BIA agencies in their goals to serve the tribal needs.

The adoption of the social philosophy of self-determination encourages the tribal members to govern their own affairs. Yet government for most tribes has been the management of the federal service and development programs formerly operated by the BIA and other

federal agencies. These programs can be operated by the tribes for their own development . . . and funding can be secured as long as the federal guidelines are met. Not surprisingly, many of the tribal organizations resemble, in structure and goals, those federal agencies they replaced even to the point of utilizing the former agency employees. Yet the distinction being made is that these programs are under "tribal" control, implying greater representation of tribal interest. Many theorists (Stinchcombe, 1965), suggest that the existence of such an organization which represents the community can increase group solidarity. This concept, which will be explored more fully in this study, is based on the assumption that the organization legitimately represents the community. To the extent that these organizations are legitimate and express group interests, rather than internally generated and federally guided goals such as size, growth, and survival--becomes a central issue in understanding the relationship between organizational growth and acculturation of any Native American tribe. For the organizations examined in this study, part of their success is determined by their claim to legitimately represent the people they serve. This claim to legitimacy requires a shared public reality which socially defines the organizations' place in society. This social reality is created and sustained by political activities of the organizations themselves for the purposes of maintaining the organizations' existence.

This study proposes to examine and compare the history of organizational growth of two Oklahoma tribal groups: the Otoe/Missouria tribe and the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma.



Economic Growth And Formal Organization  
Rational Efficiency as Social Control

In modern society, formal organizations are generally understood to be a system of coordinated and controlled activities which arise to American society can be characterized by policies, programs, and services that are understood to be efficient, productive, and delivered to targeted user populations in the most rational manner. It has been argued (Wilson, 1977; Barnes, 1977) that this approach constitutes an ideology which although worldwide, clearly has found its highest level of development in the United States.

Supporters of this line of thought see a politically enforced necessity and an opportunity to reconcile the ordering of social diversity with individual freedom.

Thus, political activity becomes a vehicle for exporting an ideological world view and it is through political myth that this vehicle is delivered.

In its common usage, myth stands for most of us as a story which has no basis in truth, history, or fact. Myths, perhaps, are best understood as stories that are told to children which teach them moral lessons or entertain them in the late hours of the evenings. A political myth, by extension of the logic, becomes a story which is a collection of wishful thoughts and illustrations, not based in fact or history, which entertain adults or children...and at the same time teach moral principles. Students of political matters will find this definition too narrow. Myths, particularly political myths, are not necessarily the product of pure fantasy and often relate events which

actually occurred. Political myths deal with real people, real events, and actual situations in past and present history. Henry Tudor presents a definition of political myth that best represents the perspective of this paper. Tudor (1972) writes: "the myth maker does not invent his fact; he interprets facts that are already given in the culture to which he belongs. What marks his account as being a myth is not its content, but its dramatic form and the fact that it serves as a practical argument. Its success as a practical argument depends on its being accepted as true, and its generally accepted as true if it explains the experience of those to whom it is addressed and justifies the practical purposes they have in mind" (p. 138).

Adjusting Tudor's definition of political myth for this paper, we conclude the political myths tell the story of a political society in order to explain and justify the political practices of the story-tellers. Furthermore, political myths are about groups of people: a race, a nation, or in this case several tribal people. And the myths often use as exemplars individuals to represent the group. "In the last analysis, it is always the group which acts as the protagonist in a political myth" (Tudor, 1972, p.139).

Political myths stand as a particular format for the presentation of the activities of a political society. They operate within the overall ideological structure of the society, validating the political moves and activities of the political elite within a story-like format which is acceptable to the population at large. This is not to say that the population at large is not involved in the construction of the myth. In a democratic society, those that vote often are at least partially involved in the construction of the myths, if not just in validating them.

The United States, as well as the Western Industrial Nations of Asia, have incorporated within their over-all economic strategies a form of organization common to the experience of most of the membership nations: the bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy, as the story goes, is the most efficient form of human organization known to man. And like democracy and capitalism, the bureaucracy is the most likely form of human organization which will provide the maximum benefits for the members of society. In fact, say the proponents of this myth', an examination of the social structure of social groups who have not achieved this most efficient and effective mode of social organization will without exception find the bearers of that society at a more primitive level of existence and least likely to meet the needs of its societal members.

In modern society, formal organizations are generally understood to be a system of coordinated and controlled activities which arise to structure work activities within an industrial context. Modern American society can be characterized by policies, programs, and services that are understood to be efficient, productive, and delivered to targeted user populations in the most rational manner. It has been argued (Wilson, 1977; Barnes, 1977) that this approach constitutes an ideology which, although worldwide, clearly has found its highest level of development in the United States. Politically, the message is quite clear: the American model of industrial capitalism and institutionalized bureaucracy are the yardstick of success for other groups of people. Bell (1973) carries this analysis one level further, arguing that because social life is subjected more and more to planning, organization, and rationalization it increases the significance of the

use of political activities in validation of social change.

Political activity is thus tied to the interests of particular groups to organizational growth and structuring. Bell finds that there is a 'political assertion' in the United States that the national organizational model minimizes conflict and competition between forms of organizations and thus best serves the needs of an open society. Wilson finds this concept to be a component of the American ideology, commenting that "the American Ideology sees no difficulty whatsoever in reconciling its vision of the open society with the fact of oligopoly, managerialism, and corporate capitalism" (1977, p. 31). Myths of a politically organized society have an enforced necessity to reconcile the rational ordering of social diversity with individual freedom. The meaning and purpose of bureaucracy is immersed in the overall ideological structure of a culture. In the United States all groups of people, regardless of cultural heritage, have been encouraged to organize for political and economic representation. This organizational representation of people can then 'rationally' represent them in political contexts with other distinct people. This movement has occurred for Blacks, women, and recently Hispanics. To a lesser degree organizational movements have spontaneously occurred for American Indians.

Incentives to organize along the lines perfected in the United States are nowhere better illustrated than in the treatment through federal policy of the American Indian Problem. Ideologies become coercive when in a prescriptive manner they enforce social change. Federal policy to date has been a series of prescriptive organizational ideology of the desirability of democracy, bureaucratic structure and

growth, efficiency (as prescribed by federal policy) has made it impossible for American tribal groups to conceive of , much less test, and alternative method of organizing work and government. In the rare instances where attempts have occurred pressures are generated to incorporate these groups within the more `legitimate' organizations.

Bell (1973) finds that the formal structures of many organizations in post-industrial societies dramatically reflect the myths of the institutionalized environments instead of the demand of their work activities. From this perspective, an oligarchial organization which deals with a population of people who are non-oligarchy structured may have communication and service delivery problems of a dramatic nature due to the gap between the Indian-way of social relations and the bureaucratic way of institutional relationships. The power to structure social relationships is found in the form of institution that the exchange occurs. Federal policy to date has been designed to define the context of social relations between the tribal people of the U.S. and the population at large. Such relationships says the myth, are best regulated and defined by the complex bureaucratic organization, best protecting traditional tribal culture.

The ideal type of formal organization is bureaucracy and in most respects the classical analysis of bureaucracy is found in the works of Max Weber (1946, 1947). Weber indicates that bureaucracy involves a clear-cut division of activities which are integrated with particular duties for clearly specified positions. A system of controls and sanctions are institutionalized with a formal statement of written regulations. Technical qualifications for the various positions are specified on the basis of qualifications. "A measure of

flexibility in the bureaucracy is attained by electing higher functionaries who presumably express the will of the electorate. " The election of officials is designed to affect the purpose of the organization, but the technical procedures for attaining these ends are carried out by continuing bureaucratic personnel" (Mannheim, 1936, p.112). In order to fully bureaucratize a tribal people, two things are necessary: a political organization which votes (democracy) and a work activity which lends itself to becoming hierarchically structured. Federal policy to date has been targeted to provide the legal and political background for just this objective. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 provided the legal format for democracy. The Federal Government then arranged for tribes to restructure themselves and offered a 'generic' tribal constitution. The Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1973 provided the legal foundation for tribal organizations once created by constitutional arrangement and approved by the Feds to legally contract from the Bureau of Indian Affairs work activities originally belonging to the BIA.

One of the central problems in organizational theory has been describing the conditions which give rise to the rationalized bureaucratic form. Rational formal structures were assumed to be the most effective way to coordinate and control complex modern work activities (Weber, 1930, 1946). Because of the perceived need for coordination and the idea that coordination gives a competitive advantage, organizations with rationalized formal structures seem to 'naturally' develop. Prevailing theories assume that the coordination and control of activity are the critical dimensions on which formal organizations form and succeed in the modern world. This assumes that

organizations function according to their formal blueprints and there is a body of research which casts doubt on this (Downs, 1967; Homans, 1950;). There has been little questioning of the growth of tribal bureaucracies as a form of coercive social control.

The arrival of the modern organization for tribal groups can only be understood as a 'natural' development if as an evaluator you perceive the bureaucratic and democratic modes as the superior form of social organization in a complex, modern civilization. Formal organizations today are growing at an epidemic rate: Most researchers tend to validate this as evidence of the success of rationality in providing an open society. Another argument can be developed. Rationality is successful for controlling people through the coordination and control of work. From this perspective, rationalizing the American Indians' work experience through tribal organization and government becomes the ultimate means for assimilating a culturally 'lagging' group of people. The incorporation of political mythologies generated by dominate society or culturally factionated tribes can possibly speed this process along. Rationalization can represent a particularly coercive political control if the adaptation of the organizational mode represents the will of the more acculturated tribal members. For example, the organizational assertion that "our people are behind this" may well represent the next and final stage of the domination of the American Indian and his culture by Western European society.

The employees of formal organizations have a particular world view which allows for the legitimization of their day-to-day activities. People compose bureaucracies and they construct a social reality that

explains their work for themselves as well as others who might ask. Tribal organizations are often composed (in part) of American Indians; these individuals must reconcile the reality activities of their work with the reality of non-work activities. If, as this researcher is arguing, the formal tribal organization functions to link tribal assets and activities to the interests of dominate society, and does this in a coercive manner, the greater the interests the organization will have in producing and manipulating its public image. Political myths will be incorporated or created to validate its activities in a rationally acceptable framework.

Several recent works have been written which examined dominate cultural myths and their effects on American Indian federal policy, most notably Dippie (1982) and Lyman (1982). In linking policy with myth, current authors lack the depth of illustrative impact statements. How have the tribes been affected at the local level by these historical occurrences? The portrayal of shifts in federal policy as often "dramatic in scope" in itself constitutes a political myth. All federal policy to date has as its underlying rationale the desire to minimize federal and state obligations to the tribes. Each policy change has been accompanied by politically acceptable rationalizations which function along the lines of the political myth as defined by Tudor. These myths have their basis in organizing the perceptions of the American public and their government of who the Indian is, what a tribal group is, what has happened to them, and how best (in a political society) to treat a culturally distinct people who insist on not disappearing into the American mainstream. With the preceding



statements in mind, an examination of the highlights of federal policy and the public image of American Indians will be examined in a case study of the organizational growth and activities of two Oklahoma tribal organizations.

During the 19th century the tribe became the category most commonly used by white officials in distinguishing one Indian group from another. In signing treaties, awarding land claims, and annuities, and in the design of the reservation system, the concept of tribe was foremost in the minds of federal, state, and local officials. The concept of the tribe was at the same time romantic and practical: romantic in that the Indian tribe could be pictured in the movies, dime novels, and popular mind as part of (past) American history and the savage frontier. Practical in that it allowed for government officials to treat large groups of diverse individuals as if they were represented by one culturally and politically homogeneous group. The Indian Reorganization Act, for example, was designed to aid and encourage tribal groups to elect officials, design a constitution, and for the most begin to operate as politically autonomous groups directing their own economic and governmental existence. The concept of Self-Determination was based on a preconceived notion that the tribal groups represented the separate cultural identity of the Indians and that the Act would work as well on one tribe as it would on another. This basic misconception of tribal existence was a direct outgrowth of the somewhat stereo typical picture of the cohesive tribal existence. The designers of the new policy recognized that it would have to be applied flexibly, but their perceptions of tribal characteristics were somewhat flawed. Policy

makers viewed the tribe romantically, and political policy fueled political myth which led to the conception of a 'democratically organized' tribal people. American Indian cultural groups vary widely on a variety of things, least of which is their capacity to organize, form of organization, political structure, and form of economic system. To further complicate this matter, by the 20th century perhaps the most dramatic form of variation was the degree of acculturation. Tribal groups placed in isolated reservations often had intermarried with the whites to a lesser degree than those tribal groups (for example) in Oklahoma or the Carolina's. Intermarriage was at a higher level with these tribes than others. Taylor (1980) found that three characteristics summarized the basic factors related to acculturation of the tribal groups:

1. The extent of white intermarriage with the Indian group, based on the percentage of mixed-blood members of the population of each reservation.
2. The extent of at least rudimentary white education based on the percentage of Indians over age 21 on each reservation judged to be literate by the standards of the census takers.
3. The extent to which tribal domain was broken up beyond restoration, based on measures of the percentage of land on each reservation which had been released in fee patent or otherwise alienated (p. 42).

Further, "this last characteristic does not constitute a direct measurement of assimilation but does indicate the most important aspect of that process (for our purposes) the decrease of potential tribal cohesion" (Taylor, 1980. p.42). Taylor found that heaviest concentration of assimilated tribes was in the northern Great Lakes, plains, and northwestern regions, and in eastern Oklahoma. Each of these regions have tribal groups which have operating constitutions,

elections, tribal government, and fully bureaucratized tribal organizations. It would appear that there is a relationship between acculturation and the ability of a tribal group to organize rationally.

The meaning and purpose of the bureaucracy is derived from the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and becomes institutionalized. Organizations that do so increase their legitimacy (in the eyes of the government and society at large thereby increasing their survival prospects, independent of the efficiency and effectiveness of their activities. Alternatives are thereby not explored due to the force of the prevailing ideology which makes it impossible to conceive of, much less test, an alternative method of organizing the work field.

Bell (1973) finds that formal structures of many organizations in post-industrial societies dramatically reflect the myths of their institutionalized environments instead of the demands of their work activities. For this study, institutionalized rules will be distinguished from prevailing social behaviors within the organization. "Institutionalized rules are classifications built into society as reciprocated typifications or interpretations" (Berger and Luckman, 1967, p. 54). Such rules may be simply taken for granted or may be supported by public opinion or the force of law (Starbuck, 1965, p.112). Institutionalization involves the processes by which social obligations, or actualities come to take on rule-like status in social thought and action.

Fundamental to this study is the argument that institutional rules may have an effect on the organizational structure. The implementation

of cultural rules attributable to traditional tribal values are fundamentally different from much of the actual technical work of the organization and calls for an explanation to be generated by employees in order to adjust relationships and social behavior within and around the tribal bureaucracy. The greater the institutionalization of rules and their enforcement, the greater the degree of bureaucratization and more representative of non-Indian culture. The acceptance of a rationalized organizational structure as legitimate authority by tribal members will be viewed as evidence of the acculturation of the tribal population.

A distinction will be made between the formal structure of the tribal organization and the actual day-to-day activities. Formal structures and goals are a blueprint for activities which include the table of organization, listing of offices, departments, positions, and programs. These elements are linked by formal goals and policies that make up a rational account of how the activities fit together.

#### Method

Organizational research has classically fallen into one of two general areas: case studies which generate statements about single organizations, and theoretical work which generates statements of a general nature about all organizations. The researcher will be using two case studies utilizing two tribal organizations: a comparative dimension will be developed on a somewhat limited basis, with the idea that a general theory of acculturation of the American Indian through political myth and bureaucratic growth can be addressed.

### Study Groups

Two tribal groups of general access to the researcher have been chosen. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Otoe/Missouria of Oklahoma. The Cherokee are located today in Northeastern Oklahoma with their tribal offices approximately three miles west of Tahlequah. The Otoe/Missouria has its office complex several miles outside of Red Rock in northcentral Oklahoma.

### Data Collection

Organization research, by its very nature, mandated field work. Organizations, at least as yet, are not easily studied in the laboratory.

However, a historical component which traces the current situation for both tribal organizations has been done through a study of past historical writings. Very little has actually been directed toward documenting organizational growth of these groups, but considerable work has been compiled concerning their general past histories.

## CHAPTER II

### EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS:

#### U.S. POLICY IN REVIEW

Any assessment of the contemporary situation of American Indians and employment assistance must include a discussion of government policies dealing with Indians. It is axiomatic that past policies have determined the present situation of American Indians, and present policies will do much to determine the Indian's future. Many past, as well as present, policies have been concerned with the issue of land, land ownership and land rights. The major conflicts between Indian people and the United States government have arisen over these issues.

Historically, all too often, these conflicts have resulted in successful government policies to remove Indians from their ancestral territory. Various approaches have been utilized to obtain Indian land; purchase, often at a nominal fee; fraud; extermination of Indian people; and/or removal and relocation of them to other areas of the country. Through the implementation of such policies, between the years 1890 and 1930 alone, 90 million acres of Indian land were removed from Indian tribal control.

Supplementing the policy of removal of Indian land from Indian control was another government policy which was to confine Indians to restricted geographic areas known as reservations. For the majority of Indian tribes, the reservation policy included relocation, and in some cases numerous relocations, to other areas of the country.

Understandably, relocation as well as geographic confinement had detrimental effects on many tribes. Being situated in a different sector of the country, many tribes who were unfamiliar with their new environment, did not know how to utilize their surrounding resources for subsistence. Additionally, reservations lacked sufficient land to support the number of confined Indians desiring to engage in their traditional methods of economic activity. Furthermore, government pressure was exerted to induce them to become farmers. This endeavor, however, was thwarted by two facts. First, having hunting and gathering, fishing, raiding, or a combination of these as traditional forms of economy, many Indian groups knew nothing of farming. Thus, it was not surprising that they did not properly comprehend farming procedures needed to produce adequate yields. Second, many reservations were located on infertile lands which could not support a farming economy. Hence, the consequences of living on comparatively small, strange, unproductive lands and being compelled to exist by new and unfamiliar means resulted in many tribes either disbanding or subsisting on lands which could barely support their populations.

The inability of reservations to support Indian populations has been a condition which has persisted to and throughout this century. Reservation conditions were first recorded in the 1920's and early 1930's by the Meriam Report (1928) which detailed the impoverished situation of American Indians. Since that time, more recent studies have reaffirmed the description of that earlier study. For example, "As president Nixon said in 1970 to Congress: On virtually every scale of measurement--employment, income, education, health--the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom"(Reno, 1974, p.148).

This statement is supported by the fact that in 1969, according to one study, 33.3 percent of all Indian families living in the United States were living below the poverty level (Johnson, 1975, p.28). This figure contrasts markedly with that of the total U.S. population living under those conditions, which was 10.7 percent at that time. Of the 33.3 percent poor Indian families, 44.6 percent lived in rural areas, often on or near Indian reservations.

To combat rural Indian poverty, the federal government has allocated monies for various programs. But, government programs are unable to boost Indian economy enough to effectively raise the standard of living on reservations. Consequently, many Indians have had to leave the reservation in order to procure some form of livelihood. As do others from impoverished rural areas, Indians have turned to urban areas. Presently, over half of the Indian population resides in urban centers (Chadwich and White, 1973, p. 13).

#### Relocation Program

Of the Indians moving to urban areas, the majority of them are not doing so through individual efforts, but are using the aid of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs implemented a program known as the "Relocation Program" now relabeled "Employment Assistance," to aid Indian people in moving from reservations to urban areas to secure employment. Before this, an earlier, and similar program was initiated by the 1930's; however, it was undermined by the 1930's depression and was subsequently abandoned in the 1940's (Neils, 1971).



The 1950's relocation program was originally launched by former President Truman. Commissioner Myer was in charge of its implementation. Its purpose was:

. . . to seek and develop areas of opportunities where Indians may relocate and become self-supporting; . . . assist Indians and their families, who voluntarily desire to do so, to move from the reservation, where opportunities for self support are inadequate to provide new areas of their choice. Provide or arrange services to them in adjusting to the new environment. A and aid them in securing permanent employment (Madigan, 1956, p. 3).

Under the regulations of the Relocation Program, Indians were to be given financial assistance in moving from reservations only if they selected one of the eight cities approved for relocation by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the time, these were Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose.

In spite of the fact that the basic philosophy of relocation was designed to benefit Indian people, many Indians expressed discontent with it. Initially, there was no consultation between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indians about the program. Not surprisingly, mutual misunderstandings developed. One example of the problems encountered involves the assumption, on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, that urban adjustment would be simplified and accelerated if individuals were moved long distances from their reservations. They felt that the closer the relocation city was to a reservation, the greater the chance that the relocatee would return without making a serious attempt to adjust. Indians, however, thought just the opposite. Cities which were great distances from the reservation hampered adjustment because Indians could not return home to visit relatives and friends and renew their Indian culture.

This misunderstanding was not resolved until 16 years after the

initiation of the Relocation Program. In 1968, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, at the request of various Indian groups, established two small relocation centers. Oklahoma City and Tulsa were approved as relocation cities for Indians who preferred to relocate closer to home. This action served to increase the number of approved cities to its present total of ten.

In addition to misunderstandings, there was also lack of communication with Indians about the purpose of the Relocation Program. Confusing it with termination, many Indians felt that relocation was another attempt by the United States government to discontinue all treaty obligations. Many felt that the government was trying to drain the reservation of its youth and more talented tribal members, leaving a shortage of competent leaders.

Lack of communication led to further misunderstandings and criticisms of the program by Indians and non-Indians alike. For example, the recruiting techniques of the Bureau of Indian Affairs officers were castigated. Officers often misrepresented opportunities available in cities, leading many Indians to believe that employment in the city was guaranteed. It was assumed by many critics that this was a tactic used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs officers to fulfill program quotas.

Perhaps more important was the criticism that many Indians were prepared neither for urban life nor for the white man's culture. Additionally they were neither willing nor able to acculturate. During the program's early years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs did not consider the transition that Indians would have to make in coming from rural reservations to urban areas. Also not considered were the differences

between the two cultures. Indians were unprepared for urban demands of punctuality, aggressiveness, and competition. These as well as other white values and practices were alien and threatening.

Besides being culturally unprepared, many Indians were shipped to cities without adequate formal training in any occupation. Thus, without a skill, many were unable to secure permanent employment. Indeed, many depended upon various odd jobs and subsequently were in the same employment condition as they were on the reservation; occasional or seasonal employment (David, 1972). Of those not working occasionally many were unable to secure any employment and therefore returned home.

According to Sorkin (1971), "the BIA maintained statistics from 1953-1957 which showed that three out of ten who were relocated, returned during the same fiscal year in which they migrated. The data does not indicate how many eventually returned home, a figure that would be much higher" (p. 121).

The high percentage of returns was perhaps the most dramatic criticism levied upon the program by persons critical of its effectiveness. In turn, hoping to deprive critics of ammunition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs ceased keeping statistics on returnees to the reservation.

The high rate of returnees meant that the impact of relocation on reservations and rural unemployment was almost minimal. This was the last criticism of the program. "Between 1958-1967, unemployment declined only one fourth as much for reservation Indians as for non-Indians" (Sorkin, 1971, p. 249). This minimal impact, however, may have been caused by the .8 percent annum Indian population growth and the small scale on which the program operated.

Despite these adverse criticisms, another Bureau of Indian Affairs program was enacted in 1956, which complemented the Relocation Program. Public Law 959 authorized that occupational training be made available to Indian and Eskimo clients in the form of relocation to one of the approved cities for vocational training, on-the-job training, or apprenticeship training and subsequent employment (Ellison, 1970). With the enactment of this law, rather than simply being relocated to the city, Indians now had the opportunity to acquire skills which would allow them to compete for jobs in an open labor market.

#### Employment Assistance

In 1961, the Kennedy Task Force findings suggested that a shift in policy be made from termination of federal trust and service responsibilities to Indians to the development of human and natural resources of the reservation (Neils, 1971). With this shift, more emphasis was placed on training and preparation of relocating Indians for city life than on relocation itself, and Public Law 959 assumed greater importance.

In accordance with the new policy's priorities, services offered to relocating Indians were expanded. Under the new program, an individual made a relocation application, supplemented by data collected from police, health, welfare and educational agencies (Walker, 1962). After a person was accepted, many different services became available to him. These included a medical examination, transportation to the chosen relocation area, and subsistence enroute. Personal appearance grants were also given for such things as clothing, eye examination and glasses, purchase of housewares, and furniture. Shipment of housewares

and goods were paid for, as was tuition and related costs for training, including books. When needed, emergency financial assistance was provided.

This shift in policy, with its increased services, was reflected in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' increase in appropriations. In 1961, total funds for the program, that is the Relocation Program, were \$2,942,000. After the Kennedy Task Force findings, this amount almost tripled in 1962 to \$6,933,000. A complete overview of the program's funds from conception to 1970 is presented in Table I.

The increase in total program funds was reflected by expenditures on individual relocatees. "Total funds expended on program distributed on a per client basis equaled some \$450 in 1955, \$710 in 1960, and \$1,750 in 1965 . . ." (Neils, 1971, p. 91). Previously, most relocation money had exclusively been spent for transportation and subsistence rather than skill training. Although there does appear to have been a shift in policy, actual money expenditures gives the impression that the emphasis remained on relocation rather than upon training and preparation.

Since the sixties, funds for relocation have increased steadily. The program received \$37,761,000 in 1970 (see Table I). With this increase, the present Employment Assistance Program remains an extension of the Kennedy administration's policies in that it stresses employment and job opportunities within urban industrial communities rather than relocation per se.

TABLE I

RELOCATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WITHIN  
TOTAL BUREAU OPERATIONS

Year	Fund for Program (000's)	Fund for Development (000's)	Persons on Program	Persons with Grants
1952	576	1,745	442	56
1953	566	1,994	NA	54
1954	578	1,601	NA	149
1955	691	1,527	NA	214
1956	973	1,444	5,300	326
1957	2,807	1,523	6,964	390
1958	3,069	1,632	5,728	624
1959	2,790	1,729	3,560	731
1960	2,618	1,869	3,674	857
1961	2,942	2,100	3,468	623
1962	6,933	2,792	5,282	936
1963	8,020	4,446	5,229	963
1964	9,120	5,690	5,871	1,327
1965	11,583	6,440	5,506	1,718
1966	12,143	7,351	8,590	1,949
1967	15,349	7,590	11,062	2,040
1968	21,454	8,735	11,517	2,468
1969	23,902	8,945	11,710	3,430
1970	37,761	11,192	16,635	3,800

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Budget, The Budget of the U.S. for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1953-1970. (Neils, 1971, P. 35).

### Adult Vocational Training

Under the present Employment Assistance Programs, improved Indian vocational training and skills have been promoted to insure easier acquisition of employment for Indians no matter where the location. As stated earlier, Public Law 959 provided Indians and Eskimos with Vocational Training (AVT) provides accepted applicants between the ages of 18 and 35 with tuition, books, supplies, tools and financial assistance while learning an occupational skill. Trainees are offered courses in industrial and building skills, office work, personal services, commercial art, art, gardening, floristry, and landscaping (Hodge, 1969). Schools are located both in urban centers and near reservations. Courses on the reservations, however, "tend to be older, traditional, low paying occupations such as shoe repair, dry cleaning, cosmetology, janitorial work, auto mechanics, and welding. There are few courses in electronics, parts manufacturing, and none in any of the building trades, radio and TV repair, drafting or air-conditioning repair. Such courses are given in many vocational schools in metropolitan areas" (Sorkin, 1971, p. 97).

Evidently, to obtain the more updated Adult Vocational Training courses, applicants must relocate.

Adult Vocational Training allows applicants to select their own field of training; however, for some reservation Indians, this selection may be made with little or no prior knowledge about the nature of the occupation or expected pay scale in relation to the cost of city living. In commenting about her husband, it was noted by one woman that "he applied for machinist training, although he did not know what a machinist was" (Ellison, 1970, p. 97).

After occupation and school selections, trainees are sent to the school of their choice. During the time they are in training, the Bureau of Indian Affairs provides money for tuition and related course needs, such as tools, as well as living expenses for subsistence. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs policy, ". . . subsistence funds are gauged to stimulate the salary received upon graduation; consequently, unauthorized absences result in deductions in the paycheck" (Ellison, 1970, p. 14). Upon completion of the program, trainees are eligible for the same service as those participating in the Direct Employment Program (DE), which will be discussed below.

#### On-the-Job Training

Similar to AVT is the On-the-Job Training Program (OJT). On-the-job training trainees are also required to be between 18 and 35 years of age and are trained in specialized skills. But as AVT trainees go to a school specifically to learn a trade, OJT trainees are part of a contract labor force with a private industry, learning a particular job. In a sense, OJT is a subsidy for reservation Indians, for the BIA reimburses the firm for a portion of trainees' wages. As AVT, the Bureau of Indian Affairs also pays for trainees' transportation to the training facility and subsistence enroute. OJT training periods range from three months to two years, depending upon the occupation. Upon program completion, employers providing training may retain their Indian trainees as permanent employees, that is if they complete the program satisfactorily.

If the employer does not accept his trainees, then they may apply for Direct Employment, another service offered by the Bureau of Indian



Affairs.

#### Direct Employment

The Direct Employment Program (DE) is a job placement program. Any reservation Indian may apply, but those having some type of training are more likely to be accepted than those who do not. Applicants usually apply for job placement within an urban industrial area if no jobs are available on or near reservations or the service area of the tribal organization. In many instances, approved applicants are relocated to the city of their choice, as long as it is one which is approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In the city, applicants search for employment with assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Bureau of Indian Affairs officials encourage all Direct Employment participants to use available city and county services for locating employment, such as the State's Employment Commission. Applicants are also encouraged to use any other means available, including newspapers, and advertisements to locate job openings, obtain interviews, and acquire employment. Self help is emphasized because the Bureau of Indian Affairs is not primarily an employment agency and must combine its efforts with those of applicants.

While Direct Employment applicants are seeking employment, the Bureau of Indian Affairs finances their living expenses, funds applicants for personal appearance necessities, and supplies them with money for the purchase of household goods (Neils, 1971). They also receive certain health benefits and emergency assistance when needed. Most benefits cease when a participant receives his first paycheck, and free housing comes to an end ten days later.

In attempting to place applicants in job openings, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' task is facilitated and applicants' chances for employment are increased if they have some training or skill prior to relocation. In most companies, previous training or skill influences employers' decisions concerning hiring practices. Most employers would prefer to hire someone who has prior training or skill in specific job areas that pay the cost to train a new employee.

Not all applicants, however, obtain or are placed in positions for which they have been trained. As noted in one study, some Indians who have relocated with skills, for example carpentry, have been placed in positions as parking lot attendants by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Consequently, not all Indians remain employed in positions which they have acquired through Bureau of Indian Affairs assistance.

Indians who prefer employment other than that obtained with Bureau of Indian Affairs aid assume responsibility for securing another position by their own efforts. If unable, they may request additional job placement assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is assumed by Bureau of Indian Affairs officials that employment will result in economic independence for relocatees. Therefore, recurrent job placement services are available under the Direct Employment Program.

Unfortunately, employment does not always lead to economic security despite training, skills, and assistance in obtaining jobs. Vocational training courses involve preparation of Indians for low paying occupations. Therefore, adverse economic conditions may simply be perpetuated or only slightly improved. Participants, rather than

gaining true economic stability, may only be gaining independence from the Bureau of Indian Affairs subsistence payments.

It was found that for Adult Vocational and On-the-Job Training participants: "Although program participants had a much lower incidence of poverty three years after relocation and/or training than nonparticipants, nearly one half still had incomes below the poverty threshold" (Sorkin, 1971, p. 116).

As stated in the Manual for Employment Assistance, "it is the policy (of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) not to initiate continuing special services to Indians in nonreservation communities" (Ellison, 1970, p. 10). Thus, federal services for those who relocate are terminated, relieving the United States government of its treaty obligations. As a result, those who relocated and have incomes below the poverty level must turn to federal, state, or city agencies for aid and assistance.

This shift in agencies is a drastic change for many Indians. Reservation Indians have special federal programs and a close association with the Bureau of Indian Affairs which means they have a unique status which most ethnic groups do not have. However, when they move to the city, "There is no agency which serves only Indian clients; they are usually eligible for help only if indigent; the character of services provided by state welfare institutions and public hospitals is different from that provided by the U.S. Public Health Service and other federal agencies whose services are geared primarily to the local Indian clientele in the Indian setting" (Waddell and Watson, 1971, p.56).

Intensifying the problem, agencies do not recognize urban Indians

as being culturally distinct; consequently, they do not serve the special needs of Indians. Instead, Indians become another non-white statistic with few considerations. As a result, many Indians are reluctant to use services outside those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This condition is exemplified at an Indian center in Chicago. "Staff members reported that most of their Indian clients did not desire welfare assistance even when they were entitled to it" (Neog, Woods, Harkins, 1970, p. 2). In another study done by an Indian center in Dallas, it was found that "Native Americans rarely utilized the area's existing health facilities. Current research on health care delivery systems concludes that the low income person's failure to utilize existing medical facilities is caused by inadequacies within the institutional structures. Interviews have documented many complaints from community members concerning transportation problems, racial discrimination, substandard medical treatment and general lack of staff concern at Parkland Hospital and other public facilities" (Uehling, 1975, p. 2).

As a result, urban Indians are not included to use other governmental services for one reason or another.

The design of Employment Assistance and the explicit purpose of most relocatees in coming to the city is to better their economic position (Neog, Woods, and Harkins, 1970). Ablon compares some of the advantages and disadvantages of both the city and reservation--in Oklahoma, it is commonly referred to as the "service area."

#### Attractions of Home

1. family
2. free rent

#### Attractions of the City

1. employment
2. household and shopping

3. commodities
4. open land

- conveniences
3. educational opportunities
4. diversion (amenities)

#### Disadvantages of Home

1. lack of employment
2. dependent relatives
3. no conveniences
4. bad social conditions

#### Disadvantages of the City

1. specter of layoff with  
no family near
  2. high cost of living
  3. full of whites
- (Weinstein 1974, p. 131).

Clearly, the city provides a potentially favorable context for the attainment of economic material goals. On the reservation (service area) economic opportunities are, in most cases, distinctly limited. The city is often socially threatening and barren; whereas, on the reservation, interaction and cultural goals can be attained. Needless to say, with economic conditions within the service regions as they are, the most influential factor in the decision to leave is economic.

Unfortunately, Indians' desires for economic opportunity and financial improvement are often unfulfilled in the city. "Thus, they inherit the worst our cities have to offer in the way of living conditions, and expectations of economic and social improvement often are shattered by the realities of market exploitation and inability to cope with the pressures and demands of city life" (Neog, Woods, and Harkins, 1970, p. 36).

CHAPTER III  
TRIBAL MANPOWER POLICY:  
AN ANALYSIS

Generalizations about the labor force behavior of the Native American have been a key ingredient in the negative stereo-typing of the Indian worker. As a cultural group, Indians have been characterized as resistant to steady work and as individuals who do not have the work ethic as part of their cultural heritage. This categorization of the Cherokee into an entire culture of poverty (a term first popularized by Lewis, 1969) matters in a very negative way, notably to the poor Indian. Like the concept of race, a culture of poverty is an idea that people believe, want to believe, and perhaps need to believe. In many ways it represents a significant development in the history of social thought because of its increasing significance for social structure in our times. The belief, and especially its associated assertions and inferences about the reasons why some Americans have failed--and will continue to fail--to make it in the system, constitute a reality not based on science but strengthened by ideology. The idea of a culture of poverty is a fundamental political fact and at times seems much like the idea of race. Indeed, it would appear that the two go hand-in-hand.

The culture of poverty idea has significant bearing on the current issues have to do with the pressures and the proposals for political and social reorganization of American society that are based on the imperatives of race and class. The provision of an entire series of

assumptions about the enduring characteristics of people give rationales for the reordering of social relationships along both class and racial lines.

The problem of effectively reducing economic deprivation in America is in a large part related to the perception of the poor by the non-poor. This problem revolves around the values by which the non-poor evaluate the poor. Political participation of the poor has been characteristically low and for Indians in Oklahoma this has been shown true. Unfortunately, from this perspective, the representatives of the majority of the non-poor are the ones who decide whether or not to make effective use of current proposals to reduce economic deprivation.

The acceptance and the workings of income-maintenance programs and job-training programs are features of employment and income strategies, for example, are affected by the perceptions of the poor and the non-poor. Giving money to the poor on a non-contingent basis or for governmental support of on-the-job training or work created by the federal government contradicts the prime American value which says that one should earn money in direct proportion to the effort he expends in working within the capitalistic labor market (exchange justice). The non-poor who believe in exchange justice and feel that the poor do not deserve outcomes greater than their inputs tend to generate negative feelings toward the poor. If a middle class person has a general negative feeling toward the poor, one way for him to maintain consistency within his belief system is to assume that the poor have a whole cluster of inter-related negative character traits. Under this system, the poor are viewed as economically deprived because they have defective character, are lazy, and lack initiative. These

generalizations about the character of racially or culturally distinct people, can lead to the development of a structured labor market which over time tends to perpetuate itself.

The labor market is an important factor in determining the type of social conditions in which Indians live. It controls the type of employment they may obtain, the income they will receive, the kind of housing they will live in, and the socio-economic level they can eventually attain. Neils (1971, p. 141) points out that generally, Indian people concentrate on the lower end of the occupational scale. In the cities, they mainly engage in manufacturing as operative. For their numbers they are over represented in private households, service workers, and laborer categories".

The types of positions held by Indians are either semi-skilled or skilled occupations. These occupations are categorized as being in secondary labor markets. Occupations in this market have, as compared to those in the primary labor market, have some disadvantages. First, "the secondary market has jobs which relative to those in the primary sector, are decidedly less attractive. They tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance. The poor are confined to the secondary labor market" (Weinstein, 1974, p. 192). In addition, the secondary labor market is composed mainly of Blacks, Mexican Americans and Indians.

Some personal characteristics--held by workers as a group--can affect wages. These worker characteristics for both the primary and the secondary markets are contrasted below:



## Primary Labor Market

1. Education level is above the eighth grade level
2. Average level of skill exceeds or is equal to the semi-skilled level
3. Values held by laborers are congruent with the dominant culture
4. Laborers have a greater propensity to remain at the same job

## Secondary Labor Market

1. Education is less than the eighth grade level
2. Average skill level is at the semi-skilled level or below
3. Values held by laborers either oppose or are different from the dominant culture
4. Laborers have a lesser propensity to remain at the same  
(Weinstein, 1974, p. 200).

Wages for the primary laborer are commensurate with skills, ability, and the above characteristics. But for the secondary laborer hourly wages are not always a reflection of individual abilities, education, and vocational skills or aptitudes. Wages for the secondary laborers are determined by other indices: random work turnover, and aggregate balance between the supply and demand of secondary workers for the various occupations.

The specific nature of the Cherokee Nation service area precludes that there is, indeed, a significant population of low-skilled non-Indians in active competition for many of the jobs in this region. The secondary labor force Indian worker has little control over his wages, and even when placed outside of the region (Tulsa or Oklahoma City) the secondary labor market worker will remain disadvantaged. He will find similar working conditions, subsistence wages, employment instability, and few opportunities for advancement. With time, the Indian worker does not think in terms of maximizing his (or her) future income, obtaining employment stability, or valuing vocational

stability--and this leads to a perpetuation of the concept of a "culture of poverty." Weinstein's (1974) typology of primary and secondary labor markets is an example of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" which surrounds the Native American's employment history. The level of jobs offered to the Indian encourage the type of labor force behavior which tends to add fuel to the developing culture of poverty theory which the non-poor, non-Indian must believe in so that his utilization of a class of people in such a manner can continue without undue moral stress.

The culture-of-poverty interpretation, which places the blame on the poor, not the system, can serve as a convenient tool for government policy making and has, in fact, pervaded the thinking of the federal government. This form of thinking which blames the poor and unemployed for their own failures, has, moreover trickled down to many local institutions, particularly those which contract programs from the federal government. Thus, a major effort of the manpower programs of the 1960's was directed toward resocializing the poor Native Americans and providing them with the skills and training which would allow the utilization of the many job opportunities that were presumed to be available to them, generally off-reservation. The persistence of poverty and unemployment was viewed as their personal problem and responsibility after training or further education. Several studies have documented that poor persons do not miss employment opportunities because of the lack of participation in the labor force; they were, in large measures, out looking for work throughout the entire years which were studied. Furthermore, over half of those who were able to work succeeded in obtaining the "opportunity" to work full-year at poverty wages. Even among the most marginal of poor labor force participants

the hard core unemployed, the evidence suggests that they were not uniquely different from other working groups. Outside of the obvious factors of health, personal characteristics appear to be of little use in obtaining steady work, neither education nor race appreciably affected the changes of poor men to obtain steady work. The one variable that does appear to influence whether or not an individual suffered unemployment during the year appears to be a function of the labor market in which he sought work, poor individuals in the public labor market were more likely to be working full-year. This finding corresponds with the work being done in analyzing the structure of the industry in terms of a dual economy. An individual's chances of obtaining steady work at adequate wages depends, to a large extent, upon whether he can obtain work in the primary economy where the high capital/labor relations, high profits, favorable government policies, etc. discussed earlier are found.

Wages for the primary laborer are commensurate with skills, ability, and the above characteristics. But for the secondary laborer, "Variations in the individual hourly wages depend very little on variations in individual capacities like aptitude, reasoning, and vocational skill" (Weinstein, 1974, p. 194).

The non-poor also benefit from the goods and services which low-income workers produce, commodities and services can be obtained at lower prices so long as wages are depressed by the existence of the poor and capital retains its power to extract profits. This argument appears especially pervasive in the area of service, an area which is notorious for low wages. Services which the middle class expect--laundry, parking, child care, household help--are provided at lower cost than

they would be if the individuals performing them were provided adequate wages. Through the use of federal manpower programs, which in many ways entice the employer to hire the Indian, rather than the unemployed non-Indian, the result is to gain in real income for the non-poor, especially the middle class who use the manpower agency services for their particular economic activities.

#### Occupational Supply/Demand Planning Data

##### For Oklahoma Indians

Many of the programs aimed at training Native Americans are based on occupational supply and demand data which, at least in Oklahoma, is produced by the State Occupational Information Coordinating Committee (SOICC). This occupational data is based on input information from all training sources (high schools, state vocational training institutions) and demand sources, primarily the State Employment Service. CETA programs operated by the state are also included in the "supply" side if they operate training programs which are not included within the state vocational education network. Within Oklahoma this simply means that programs for Native Americans are based on the demand for jobs less the projected supply of those individuals being trained within the network of "white" institutions. The demand for a particular job as classified by SOICC for a particular geographical area is only an estimate as the executive director of the state SOICC program will be quick to point out and should be used only as an estimate of the likelihood for an individual getting a job in the area for which he or she was trained (Morton, 1979). However, a close examination of the compiling network of supply and demand illustrates that the traditional separation in

Oklahoma of federal programs and state programs has led to the exclusion of graduates from tribally operated and federally funded vocational programs, including Indian schools. This in itself may not amount to a serious error at the state planning level, but at a county or smaller geographical level it can amount to a classical over-supply in some occupations of Native Americans. An over-supply of individuals in a particular field then leads to competition over the available jobs, and as theory would predict (structured labor market) the minority worker is generally the first to suffer--particularly in the entry level jobs which most of the tribally operated training are aimed at. The "aggregate balance" of supply and demand leads to lower wages! In effect what we find is basic competition between the "white" training institutions within a given geographical area and the "Indian" training programs within the same area! And when the state tallies supply and demand for a specific job, tribal trainees are not included on the supply side. What does the Indian job-hunter do if he/she can not find a job? Some are referred to the State Employment Office where they are entered into the SOICC system as supply" and if a "demand" for their type of work should pass through the system they will be referred to the perspective employer. But, remember there is an oversupply due to poor planning and in the competitive structured labor market the Native American trainees are, as a rule, the ones which do not get hired, which adds to the already high unemployment rates for Native Americans and encourages the individual to drop out of actively searching for gainful employment. This class of worker, often referred to as the discouraged worker, does not participate with state or tribal programs and as such is not reported in any planning data.

In conclusion, the use of SOICC planning data has become a prerequisite for grant awards in manpower training programs, and due to compiling errors over-supply of Native America workers within specific geographic locations contributes to the structuring of the labor market lowering wages and increasing unemployment among Native Americans.

An examination of the occupational patterns of Indians in the Cherokee Nation illustrates the current pattern: 10.1 percent of the employed population of Native Americans are in clerical fields, 21.9 percent are transport operatives, 15.6 percent are craftsmen, foremen, and kindred, and 16.7 percent are service workers.

In a needs study which was done by the Cherokee Education Department (1980) approximately 300 adults who were attending adult education courses responded to the question, "What job or career would you most like to have?" Table II summarizes the results.

TABLE II

ADULT/CONSUMER/VOCATIONAL/CAREER EDUCATION  
NEEDS ASSESSMENT SURVEY

What Career or job would you like to have?

SKILL	PERCENT
1. TRADES	26
2. CLERICAL	16
3. NURSING	13
4. PROFESSIONAL	6
5. OTHER	22
6. NOT RESPONDING	14

The respondents to this survey only 7 percent of them has a twelfth grade education or above, only 38 percent of them were employed full-time with 32 percent unemployed; 30 percent were male and 70 percent were female; 63 percent reported that Cherokee was the language spoken in their home as a child. Table III summarizes average incomes.

Wages are dependent upon supply and demand as well as skills. "In a sense what this suggests is that to members of a secondary labor

TABLE III  
INCOME LESS THAN POVERTY

COUNTY	PERCENT
Adair	67.0
Cherokee	51.8
Craig	28.5
Deleware	51.6
Mayes	47.8
Nowata	41.3
Rogers	23.3
Sequoyah	53.4
Washington	42.2
TOTAL	45.21

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

market the concept of moving permanently to a new environment in order to maximize their future income stream violates economic realities" (Weinstein, 1974, p. 242). Wherever they go, urban or rural, the secondary market laborers will remain disadvantaged. They will find similar working conditions, subsistence wages, employment instability, and few opportunities for advancement. With time, they do not think in

terms of maximizing their future income stream, obtaining employment stability, or valuing vocational stability (Weinstein, 1974).

This situation is characterized by Indians in the Chicago area. At one Indian center, "Center personnel observed that Indian people wanted meaningful and satisfying occupations, yet there was evidence that, in terms of tenure on the job and the type of work most commonly secured, this desire was seldom realized" (Neog, Woods, and Harkins, 1972, p. 2).

Occupational skills which are suitable solely for the secondary labor market can particularly be attributed to the fact that most Indians lack the education and sufficient training to enable them to compete in the primary labor market.

Other's have found that the number of school years completed, "The national median is 12.1 years for the Indian it is 9.9. A high school level of education is believed to be minimal to meet the needs of a modern technological society. However, only 33 percent of all Indians and about 24 percent of rural Indians have completed high school" (Johnson, 1975, p. 8).

In total, approximately two-thirds of the Indian population in the United States lack a high school diploma. As indicated above, a high school education is believed to be minimal to meet the needs of a modern technological society. Therefore, the amount of education can partially affect wages. It was noted by Weinstein (1974) that "an interesting result is that for years of education over 12 has a positive coefficient for urban Indians. The number of years of education in the city is probably a reflection of the environment. Thus, the Navajo who did not obtain a degree actually lowered his wage rate by working and gaining



experience" (p. 37).

Thus, for Indians to benefit economically from their education, they must receive at least 12 years of it. If they remain in school, but do not finish, they actually lose economic ground and would be better advised to terminate their education and try to obtain practical work experience!

Theoretically, occupational training for Indians compensates for their lack of formal education. However, the type of training offered by the BIA and now the tribal organizations themselves are concentrated among semi-skilled, low paying occupations. Therefore, vocational training alone cannot maximize future incomes. Additionally, most training does not afford trainees the opportunity to obtain actual work experience. This too can affect wages. Weinstein (1974) found that "The longer the Indian remains in training the less work experience he accumulates (work experience being positively related to return to labor in the city). Thus holding the level of skill constant, the longer it takes the individual to enter the labor market the lower his wages tend to be" (p. 36).

Most Bureau of Indian Affairs vocational training courses last from three months to two years. Thus, Indians are handicapped at all levels. The majority lack a high school education; they possess few of the desired characteristics for the primary labor market; the type of vocational training offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs prepares them for occupations at the lower end of the occupational scale; and their training affords little opportunity for actual work experiences.

As stated earlier, the secondary market level contains the poor. Due to the fact that most Indians do not fulfill basic employment

qualifications (12 years of education, some work experience, and adequate training) to obtain gainful employment, this may be a partial explanation for why approximately half of the adult vocational and on-the-job training participants are earning incomes below the poverty level (Sorkin, 1971). Obviously, vocational training alone is not the answer to ensure adequate wages for Indians, realities of the labor market require more than that.

### Income

Because most Indians are under-skilled, they are restricted to occupations which can provide no more than minimum wage (Weinstein, 1974). Therefore, it follows that most are earning marginal salaries. In 1969, the urban Indian population was earning \$2,267 per family less than the U.S. population as a whole. The median income for urban Indian families during that year was \$7,323; whereas, the median income for the U.S. population was \$9,590 (Johnson, 1975). During this same fiscal year, 21 percent of urban Indian families earned incomes below the poverty level, this figure compares to 9 percent for all U.S. urban families at the same time.

As indicated by the percentage below the poverty level, a substantial number of Native Americans are earning low or marginal incomes. However, few have the resources to increase their income above this level. "They, like the majority of people in our society, have primarily one factor from which they derive their income, their labor. Others have objects and they use the value of those objects to sell" (Weinstein, 1974, p. 7).

Additionally, "in the city, in particular, capital (that is, cash

on hand) is an insignificant source of income for Indians" (Weinstein, 1974, p. 42). Few relocating Indians come to the city with substantial amounts of capital. In most cases, they have no extra spending money whatsoever; hence, the majority do not have the funds to purchase commodities which can be substituted for or supplement their wage labor. Consequently, their income, which in many cases is based on minimum wage, remains marginal.

Taking into consideration the percentage of Indians below the poverty level (20 percent) the median income of urban Indian families as compared to U.S. urban families, the size of Indian families (which is 4.5 as compared to 3.6 for the nation) , the lack of other capital gains, and their restraint to occupations that pay no more than minimum of the wage, urban Indian laborers can provide for themselves food, clothing, and shelter only in necessary quantities. Necessary quantities denotes that amount which is needed to subsist only, meaning the purchase of luxury items such as a car, are infrequent or rare. The subsistence level of income, being the level of the reservation, is now the level of income in the urban area, thereby gaining little or changing nothing by relocating.

Since marginal incomes provide only basic necessities, some urban Indians find it necessary to turn to government welfare agencies for financial assistance. As noted earlier, in many cases Indians are reluctant to use agencies other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs. If they do, they are designated to be a non-white statistic which means that the exact number of Indians receiving additional financial assistance can not be adequately determined by this study.

In recent years two things have been in operation to

at least redirect the hostility of the community toward the Employment Assistance Program: Self-Determination and CETA. Under the auspices of self-determination the tribes have taken over the active administration of the programs which serve their special training needs.

Within the organizational structure employment assistance employees are still Bureau of Indian Affairs employees--often segregated from tribal employees through partitions or by housing in separate buildings or wings of the office complex. In a first tour of the new tribal office complexes of the Warm Springs Tribes of Oregon, BIA officials were noticeably set aside within the building. The director of the CETA program--a full blood--made it quite clear to the author about the physical spacing within the complex, "and this is where the BIA employees work."

CETA, due to its flexibility, is completely capable of providing the same services which were once provided by employment assistance. Funding levels (until the recent Reagan administration) have been much higher than the BIA administered programs. The consequence has been a degree of competition for placement and training rates of clients by the two separate programs. Much of the rhetoric between the two programs has revolved around the relative effectiveness of the two programs. Employment assistance arguing for its continued existence on the face of threatened defunding and absorption by the tribal CETA programs.

If all of the BIA employees were white this situation might be more fully understandable, but even this is not the case, many of the BIA employment assistance officers are tribal members who, even when faced with the deploring failure of success in placement of their programs, will defend it and resist it being absorbed or defunded by the tribe.

It seems somewhat ironic that current policy and funding may just lose the tribes both programs regardless of who manages them.

Given the dual economy, it is not difficult to explain the failure of institutional manpower training programs to result in adequately paying jobs for their trainees. Neither the superfluous "resocialization" (such as World or Work programs) nor the more relevant skilltraining can provide the trainees with an entry into the core economy. Nor would the program be expected to have any impact on the large number of irregular low-paying jobs in the peripheral economy. In partial recognition of this problem the program emphasis shifted towards the actual provision of jobs in on-the-job-training (OJT), direct placement, and the involvement of private businesses in the placement practices of manpower programs (Title VII, and CETA). And, in fact some of these jobs have been in the core economy. The lack of commitment by the employer toward developing jobs in the core economy has generally been seen as the factor which limited the increase of real jobs and has not increased the training efforts of the employer.

Manpower policies for the 1970's have apparently abandoned altogether the goal of eliminating poverty through a manipulation of the labor market. The labor market, and the structure of industry which results in a large number of low-paying jobs, is to be accepted as a given.

This view is further supported through statements from a recent reviewer of Cherokee Nation's CETA program, DeWeaver of the National Center for Community Change. His opinion on rural job creation by CETA was that the primary outcome of WE, PSE, and OJT was not unsubsidized, real jobs, but of income maintenance (Morris, 1980). With this it

becomes necessary to ask if vocational training programs are benefiting the Indian people in the region.

The view of the poor Indian as unwilling to work or in need of resocialization and need-achievement training provides a perfect rationale for people manipulating policies which avoid any questioning of the larger economic structure of the region. The theory of poverty discussed above clearly implies the position which was outlined by Miller and Form (1968) "that some part of the cause for these circumstances of low-status populations can be located in the characteristics of these populations themselves" (p. 160). The evidence in this study, however, is that the question of poverty has little to do with poor men's unwillingness to seek work, but has a lot to do with the inability of the economy to provide steady jobs at adequate wage rates. The social mythology which stereotypes the poor and places the blame upon them allows society to avoid an examination of the more critical problem involved in poverty--the existence of low-paying unstable, irregular jobs.

Social myths are not "capricious inventions of the storytellers" (Wilensky, 1960 p. 555), they are functional. The myth about the lazy, shiftless behavior of the poor Indian appears to serve the important function of affirming the value of hard work and thereby justifying the unequal distribution of material rewards. In a sample of workers in Muskegon, Michigan, 39 percent of the rich whites and 30 percent of poor blacks believed that the poor did not work as hard as the rich. A majority of the rich felt that both poverty and wealth were attributable to personal characteristics (Huber and Form, 1973). Not only does the belief in the influence of personal characteristics provide an

ideological justification for unequal rewards, but also, more specifically, the non-poor are in a position to benefit, often directly, from the existence of poverty. There are then "positive functions of poverty." Positive, that is, from the point of view of those who are not poor themselves. This conflict view of poverty induces individuals without claim to status or power to provide the labor in marginal industries, most notably the service industries which serve the non-poor. Obviously someone must do the low status, low wage work. But why should the Indian worker be concentrated in these areas? Even more important, do tribal organizations function to encourage this?

Under existing circumstances the Indian worker is furnished with the values, the aspirations, and the psychic make-up that low-skilled jobs require (e.g., high tolerance of recurrent unemployment, high boredom tolerance, high flexibility with respect to work, residence and relational patterns) and the capacity to find life gratification out-side the work world. The non-poor also benefit from the goods and services which the low-income workers can produce. From this perspective, commodities and services can be obtained at lower prices so long as wages are depressed by the existence of the poor and capital retains its power to extract the profits from such work. This argument will hold itself particularly pervasive in the area of services, which are notorious for their low wages. Through the use of federal manpower programs an employer can be inticed to use an Indian worker (rather than a non-Indian and the result is a gain in real income for the employer. This holds particularly true for organizations serving the middle-class.

Native Americans within the Cherokee Nation obviously have income and occupational programs. Although the best data available is still

the 1970 census, it has been well publicized that an undercount and perhaps an unrepresentative sample of individuals responded, yet even so the statistics are startling (Table IV, Table V, and Table VI). A family of four with an annual income of \$5,350 is considered below the poverty line

TABLE IV  
INCOME STATUS OF NATIVE AMERICANS: SELECTED  
COUNTIES WITHIN CHEROKEE NATION

County	% income less than poverty
Adair	67.0
Cherokee	51.8
Craig	28.5
Delaware	51.6
Mayes	47.8
Nowata	41.3
Rogers	23.3
Sequoyah	53.4
Washington	42.2

Source: U.S. Census, 1970, Unpublished data.

(Johnson, 1975).

When these statistics on poverty income are compared to available statistics on occupations of employed Native Americans in the region we find that there are obvious differences between Native Americans and the Oklahoma or United States general population figures (Table VI).

The Cherokee Nation and Otoe/Missouria operates a number of manpower training, placement, and development programs under Public Law



TABLE V  
YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED: INDIANS  
AND TOTAL U.S. POPULATION, 1970

Years of School Completed	Indians			United States		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
				<u>Number</u>		
Total	322,652	153,838	168,814	109,899,359	81,034,450	28,864,909
No. School years completed	24,906	4,078	20,828	1,767,753	1,267,897	499,856
Elementary						
1-4 years	25,002	8,001	17,001	4,271,561	2,754,561	1,517,000
5-7 years	48,110	18,507	29,603	11,032,712	7,450,112	3,582,600
8 years	42,226	18,091	24,135	14,015,364	9,247,598	4,767,766
High School						
1-3 years	75,084	38,172	36,912	21,285,922	15,582,552	5,703,370
4 years	71,051	41,349	29,702	34,158,051	25,617,221	8,540,830
College						
1-3 years	24,078	16,564	7,514	11,650,730	9,318,338	2,332,392
4 years or more	12,195	9,079	3,119	11,717,266	9,796,171	1,921,095
				<u>Years</u>		
Median School	9.8	11.2	8.7	12.1	12.2	11.1
				<u>Percent</u>		
Percent high school graduates	33.3	43.5	23.9	52.3	55.2	44.3

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, Agricultural Economic Report, #283, Helen Johnson, April, 1975.

TABLE VI  
POVERTY STATUS: INDIANS AND TOTAL U.S. POPULATION, 1969

	Total		Number			
All families	149,122	71,213	77,909	51,168,599	37,452,876	13,715,728
Income below poverty level	49,669	14,930	34,739	5,462,216	3,382,653	2,079,563
% of all families	33.3	21.0	44.6	10.7	9.0	15.2
Mean size of family	5.04	4.39	5.32	3.88	3.82	3.96
Families with related children under 18 years of age	40,153	12,081	28,072	3,480,419	2,277,622	1,202,797
% of all families	80.8	80.9	80.8	63.7	67.3	57.8
Families with female head	15,287	6,463	8,824	1,797,720	1,402,499	395,221
% of all families	30.8	43.3	25.4	32.9	41.5	19.0

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, Agricultural Economic Report, #282, Helen Johnson, April, 1975.

638, better known as Self-Determination. With Self-Determination in mind, the current status and affects of these various programs on the Native Americans they serve should be of primary concern to the program managers and to the upper-management personnel of the organization. To a large degree these programs are the primary means by which Cherokee Nation and to a lesser degree the Otoe are attempting to meet their organizational goals. Where the effectiveness of a social service and manpower program can be measured from existing records--i.e., dropout rates, completion rates, etc., it becomes more difficult to gather occupational and income information program completers. This is, in part, due to the young and mobile nature of the service population, but some data does exist. The following sections are an examination of organizational and departmental goals and how these goals have been implemented through the two tribal organization manpower training, placement, and economic development programs.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CHEROKEE HISTORY OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The Cherokee tribe's native environment was originally the mountains of the southeastern United States. Early (pre-European arrival) economic activities of hunting, gathering, and crop cultivation were their mainstay. The central authority during this period of time was the "town chairman" who was representative of the town people. Seven clans were represented in seven capitol towns which served as a sort of capitol or organizational center for surrounding tribal communities. Overall tribal government was represented by officials who had their headquarters in an important town, but as a form of central authority it was very weak. Government occurred primarily through consensus; that is to say there was heavy emphasis placed on face-to-face interactions of a primary nature which worked quite effectively based on the size and structure of the Cherokee community. As far back as Cherokee history can be traced, small autonomous settlements have been the Cherokee way of life.

These Cherokee settlements were well adapted to the life-style of the inhabitants . . . and were flexible enough to change and adapt to the fact of the European invasion. Economic, education, and social adaptation to the advancing white settlers during the early 1800's proved to be very successful. The Cherokee were able to adapt white institutions to their life styles, a written language was introduced and the movement away from barter-based economics proved to be successful as

well.

The success of the Cherokee in adapting white institutions to their form communal living was short lived. Sharing the same experiences of four other great southern tribes, the environmental resources of the tribe were slowly and steadily eroded by state and federal legal regulations. Even before Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, Alabama made it illegal for Indians to testify in court, i.e., ruling that Indians were non-persons. Indeed, before Jackson's inauguration, Georgia and Mississippi passed laws extending their jurisdiction over Indians. Once in office, Jackson recommended removal legislation and Congress passed it on May 28, 1830. The Choctaws were the first to go (1830-1833), to be followed by the Creeks, and then the Chickasaws. The Cherokee were next.

The Cherokee resistance to removal was at least in part attributable to the tremendous success they had achieved in adapting white economics and educational institutions to their life styles. With the introduction of their own written language and their own press the Cherokee population east of the Mississippi achieved (relative to their white neighbors) at least the equivalent in literacy. The brilliant editorials of the editor of the Cherokee Newspaper, Boudinot were a force of cohesion for the Cherokee of the area, providing a forum for the rapidly changing social conditions. Nevertheless, the same year as the papers' publication, gold was discovered in the Cherokee county of Georgia. This discovery of gold, in addition to the basic opposition by now Indians owned land, influenced legislation which was passed during the time.

In December, 1830, Georgia followed Jackson's Removal Act with a

series of laws against the Cherokees:

1. Georgia forbid Cherokee judicial officials to hold court or council.
2. They authorized a state lottery to dispose of Cherokee land to Georgia citizens.
3. Missionaries and other white men living among the Indians were required to swear allegiance to the state under pain of four years in prison.

Tribal government had literally been legislated out of existence! The state enforced its will through the hastily formed Georgia Guard, terrorizing Cherokees and placing them in jails without due process. The tribal newspaper failed in 1834 when the Georgia Guard confiscated its press and type. In the summer of 1838 General Winfield Scott was sent with 7,000 soldiers to remove the Cherokee forcibly. Rounded-up and placed in stockades, they were taken by detachments to the west. The loss of life was tremendous. Of the estimated 18,000 who went west, about 4,000 of them died in the stockades or on the journey.

In 1835, Jackson forced the Cherokees remaining in Arkansas to sign the "Treaty of New Echota." These Cherokee were removed to lands already in the possession of western Cherokees. The Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, Seminoles) owned all of the land that is now Oklahoma, except for the panhandle, a total of approximately 19,500,000 acres. "No other exploiters of Indians property in the history of the United States had ever been offered so rich a prize" (Debo, 1940, p. 276).

It took the advancing white settlers approximate 50 years to take the Five Civilized Tribes these resources. The Dawes Act of February

8, 1887, was one of the most important pieces of legislation dealing with Indian affairs in the United States history. Utilizing the humanitarian concept the private ownership of land is necessary for Indians to become acculturated into dominate society. The allotment of Indian lands into severalty had a dramatic impact of the U.S. tribes in general, and specifically the Cherokee and Otoe tribes of Oklahoma.

Otis (1973) reports the chief provisions of the act as follows:

1. A grant of 160 acres to each family head, of 80 acres to each single person over 18 years of age and to each orphan under the age of 18, and 40 acres to each other single person under 18;
2. A patent in fee to be issued to every allottee but to be held in trust by the government for 25 years, during which time the land could not be alienated or encumbered;
3. A period of four years to be allowed the Indians in which they should make their selections after allotment should be applied to any tribe-failure of the Indian to do so should result in selection for them at the order of the Secretary of the Interior;
4. Citizenship to be conferred upon allottees and upon any other Indians who had abandoned their tribes and adopted the habits of civilized life (p. 6).

This piece of legislation was directly aimed at an Indian population which was to become "independent farmers" and U.S. citizens. This policy was clearly based in economic history; that the road to acculturation for the Native American would be through a rejection of his past form of communal economy to one of the individual profit-motivated agrarian farmer. The assumption made is that private property would somehow transform the Native American into a profit motivated individual who would have desires for consumption that could only be met through "a pocket full of dollars." Land ownership was the key to creating this type of desire within the Indian. This rational

explanation was offered by the policy-makers, nevertheless, an obvious amount of pressure was being generated by non-Indian populations which had surrounded the tribal land preserves. The result of these pressures came as the Act of 1891, this act amended the Daws Act to allow for the leasing of allotted land to the non-Indian. This, and the greed and corruption of the local and appointed public officials in the new Indian Territory combined to significantly reduce Cherokee land holdings. Studies, particularly those of Debo (1940) confirm that the contemporary Cherokee's fear and distrust of lawyers, judges, bankers, written documents, officials of the State of Oklahoma, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and bureaucracies that staff these people are based in a realistic view of past experiences.

In approximately 1880, the highest Cherokee offices were taken over by the the least traditional and mixed-blood Cherokees. "When statehood became inevitable . . . the interests of prominent Cherokee politicians merged with the interests of others who scrambled for wealth" (Wahrhaftig, 1978, p. 424). During this period, dealers in Indian land, calling themselves grafters, arrived. Grafters viewed themselves as individuals who were aiding inter-racial relations by helping the Indians in an area where he failed, i.e., the ability to be a property owner and to manage his own resources. The special interests of many culturally non-Cherokee tribal members and non-Indian political leaders resulted in the tribe becoming a victim of its own government. By statehood the Cherokee Nation had been dissolved and the land, for the most, allotted. Policy-makers then turned their eyes toward a dispersal of the individual elements of the community, the Cherokee himself.

Wahrhaftig (cited in Stanley, 1972) comments: "Cherokee material



resources--the bottom lands, the minerals, the timber--have almost entirely passed into the hands of whites. Cherokee monetary resources, even their award from the Indian claims court which was distributed early in the 1960's, have also circulated into the hands of white shopkeepers" (p. 430).

Similar in history to the Otoe-Missouria, on removal to the Indian Territory the Cherokee split into two political parties. Antagonism between the two parties escalated into a series of political murders. And more important, the political differences were accompanied by a wilding gap in life styles and ideologies concerning the organization of work, family and environment. Under Cherokee laws until 1907, then under U.S. law, the descendents of both factions are equally and legally Cherokee. The Ross Party remained Cherokee speaking with their life style based on the traditional Cherokee community; by marrying within the community this group composed the culturally Cherokee which today, as community groups, appear to be growing in population. Then, as well as today, they were known as the full-blood fraction. Within the Northeastern region of Oklahoma they are more commonly referred to as the "Indians" a term which brings to mind a much different image than "Cherokee", or even "Legal Cherokee."

The Treaty Party, as the other group was known increasingly branched out into ranching and commerce. Living in regions which were rapidly filling with white settlers, inter-marriage became common. Today, known as the mixed-blood faction, this group of the Cherokee Nation has become increasingly assimilated to the dominate anglo culture, and proud of their Cherokee ancestry. "Although for a century

they have been two separate and antagonistic communities" (Warhaftig, 1978, p. 43) "today's descendants of both factions are legally Cherokee."

The definition of "Legal Cherokee" should be specified in order that it can be understood separate as a term from "Cherokee." In preparation for statehood (1907) all citizens of Cherokee ancestry were listed on a final tribal roll. This roll was primarily for the allotment of Cherokee land. To be included on such a roll insured an individual of a share of the new Indian Territory: this great gain was incentive enough for an undocumented number of fraudulent entries on the roll. Entries gained through bribe are of course indefensible, however other entries listed tribal members of 1/16, 1/64, 1/128 and even 1/256 Cherokee. In all there were 8,803 full-bloods, 27,916 mixed-bloods, 286 whites, and 4,919 negro ex-slaves. This document determines who is legally Cherokee, but most certainly does not make statements concerning lifestyle or economic practices. Descendents of those listed on this roll today include many of the more prestigious families in Oklahoma society and prominent members of the elite families in the Northeastern part of the state. In common with other tribes, including the Otoe-Missouria, in terms of the history of the organizational growth of the tribe the more acculturated members seem to "move toward" professional activities offered by the bureaucratic mode. Even with the tribal members legally defined, as a political entity they did not exist between 1907 and 1948, legislated once again into legal limbo.

The Cherokee organization began to operate administratively separate from the BIA in 1972, roughly six years earlier than the

Otoe-Missouri who shared their administration with the Ponca Tribe. With this head start, the Cherokee were also in a better position to capitalize on their larger tribal population and resource base. Yet, just as important as the manpower and environmental resource base was the political attitude in Northeastern Oklahoma which led to the rapid adaptation of the bureaucratic mode by the Cherokee. Historically, it would appear that the Cherokee's capacity to adapt to white institutions has been greater than the Otoe-Missouria's. Although the adoption of these institutions did not fair them well in the east, the tradition of political organization was brought with them to the new Indian Territory. Debo (1940) and Wahrhaftig(1965) both provide clues to the rapid adjustment made by today's Cherokee. This adjustment is primarily one of a superficial nature with the Cherokee tribe literally split in terms of acculturation and identifying with the Cherokee bureaucracy.

The Indian Claims Act of 1946 stimulated organizational growth among those Cherokee who were willing to adapt to this mode of life-style. Chief Milam and the Bureau of Indian Affairs met in 1948 in Tahlequah to begin prosecuting tribal claims cases. Milam appointed an executive committee with W. W. Keeler as its head. Milam then died, and Keeler became Chief of the Cherokee until 1971.

Keeler, who was also a Vice-President of Phillips Petroleum, collaborated with local political officials and the BIA to administer to tribal needs. Dispensing charity programs to the full-bloods and prosecuting the Cherokee Claims against the federal government were the primary activities of the tribal organization until 1952. At this time the Cherokee executive committee created the Cherokee Foundation, Incorporated, to "improve the welfare, culture, health, and morale of

the Cherokees." The foundation was "administered by successful business and professional leaders of unquestioned ability and integrity" (Cherokee Nation News, September 23, 1969).

In 1962 the tribe came into possession of two million dollars left over from a per capita distribution of an award from the Indian Claims courts. This money was used by the Chief to underwrite a number of projects which were to aide the needy Indians, all of these projects proposed were from business interests in Northeastern Oklahoma. Into this alliance of business and political interests were inserted the new Office of Economic Opportunity Programs to serve the poor tribal people. And these programs were all managed by a group of prominent elites who for the most were legally Cherokee and had done little to gather the support of the culturally Cherokee in the region who the programs were designed to benefit. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that many of the tribal people never even knew the programs existed. In terms of success these programs did little to help the rural traditionalists; however, for those who managed and operated the programs the gains in salary and economic multiplier effects for the region can only be estimated.

In October of 1964 the Cherokee Outlet Per Capita payments of 15 million dollars left the tribal organization with two million dollars, and this underwrote the financing of the Cherokee National Historical Foundation (incorporated in April of 1963). Backed by leading politicians, bankers, Chamber of Commerces, BIA and of course distinguished citizens of Cherokee descent a number of projects were implemented to "aide the needy Cherokee: through the rational, planned creation of jobs. Their first projects were tourist attractions: an

outdoor drama, and a native village. Participation by traditionals remained low, however many college students and local youth of Cherokee descent found low level entry jobs in the highly unstable and seasonal recreational job-market. Benefits to tribal members were minimal, but benefits to the regional economy were great. Other, more industrially oriented projects were instituted such as the Glassmaster boat plant. Underwritten at a cost of \$150,000 this business employed 11 legal Cherokee in 1968 and by 1970 employed 14 legal Cherokee.

Considering the distribution of Cherokee material resources, the dominant culture began to view the Native American himself as a potential resource. Employment and training programs discussed in Chapter II were introduced under the ideological direction which prescribed vocational training for the unskilled target population. Just as making the Native American a property owner was to have acculturated his economic activities, these new entry level workers were to "magically" aspire to higher positions in the labor force. Given the special skills necessary to compete adequately in the labor market, these new technicians would be preparing themselves to enter the labor market with at least equal, if not advanced, training when compared to non-Indian workers, who had been taking the best and perhaps only available jobs. This assumed that there would be available and desirable jobs, and that an "entry level" job can give the individual the "foot in the door" necessary to boost himself up into the primary labor market.

By 1967 the state of organization of Cherokee affairs had exploded into a confusing assortment of programs which apparently had little more in common than the fact that most of the program directors were

appointed by the Cherokee Chief Keeler and sharing advisory/executive committees that had overlapping memberships. This situation of overlapping membership is still in effect today, although appointments now go through the tribal council as well as the Chief. Never-the-less, in a region where the economy has never been known to be overly robust and growing, these programs began to represent the financial interests of Cherokee tribal directors, OEO administrators, welfare department supervisors, bankers, business organizations, elected politicians, school and college administrators; all these were becoming increasingly dependent on the programs that were related to the documented needs of a poor tribal people. . . who just happened to have two million extra dollars to seed such programs. The realization that more moneys might be available in the near future was an encouragement to maintain an ideological view of the Cherokee which would be advantageous to an elite group who would stand to benefit from the management of such funds. Based on federal policy up to this time, it had been the advantage to portray the Cherokee as a rapidly disappearing people, fully assimilating into American culture. This ideological structure aided the regional elite in the production of a rational plan to benefit those of Cherokee descent by providing a stimulation to the regional economy, particularly through tourism and the attraction of new industry. However, the war on poverty altered the relationship of the poor Cherokee to the established political interests in the region. They, as well as their land, became an asset and this forced a re-evaluation of the presentation that the Cherokee were a disappearing people. The traditional Cherokee population itself contributed to the acknowledgment of its own existence during this period by becoming active toward

applying for programs related to housing, health and in a limited fashion job training.

By documenting large Cherokee speaking settlements in Northeastern Oklahoma, the Cherokee government, still under Keeler's leadership, began to receive grants for the development of the "target population." These monies were to be of considerable benefit to the "target population" but like all of the monies tied to federal expenditures there must be a recognizable form of organization to which the money may be granted. This organization must meet certain legal requirements concerning fiscal accountability and representation of the community. The legal Cherokee's were in a fine position to help their poor cousins due to the considerable practice in service delivery they had picked up in the first round of assistance programs and claims payments.

Unlike the earlier awards based on the per capita land settlements, the Cherokee people were not likely to be a resource which would be depleted within one or two years. Cherokee poverty had endured for numerous generations and a supply of poor Cherokee seemed guaranteed to provide an unlimited base for program development.

Until 1967 the Cherokee Nation and the BIA had remained closely intertwined with each other, even sharing the same office complex. At this time the Cherokee decided to move themselves out of the BIA complex and opened their own office in Tahlequah. It totaled five employees, two of these were still on the BIA payroll. With the design of their own office complex, the employment level began to skyrocket. By 1972 there were over 60 full-time tribal organization employees administering to as many of the tribal needs as could be documented for the available fundings. A new office complex was located adjacent to the new BIA

building. Several different historical impacts then occurred. First, elections for Cherokee Chief were re-established: Keeler up to now reappointed by the President of the United States, had the mandate of the people, at least those who voted! Traditional Cherokee voices were not represented in the vote due to their passive resistance to the election by not registering to vote. The second occurrence involved the decision of government policy makers and allow the Indians of the United States to manage the programs and money targeted for them by themselves (self-determination). Besides absorbing the activities of several state and local agencies, the tribe also began to nibble away at the neighboring BIA, taking programs and in some cases employees.

However, a BIA employee was never sure if he or she would be picked up by the "Tribe" if their program was absorbed. In fact, this degree of uncertainty actually had lead to a bit of inter-organizational rivalry between the Feds and the Tribe at the local level. BIA officials, particularly white officials, were and still are, concerned as to the safety of their jobs. Tribal officials often speak of "them" (the BIA) as if a group they were incompetent and working contrary to the interests of the Indian people.

Overall economic development evaluations for Northeast Oklahoma and economic base reports have been pessimistic for future agriculture and industrial development in the region. However, state financed studies have emphasized the presence of cheap labor in order to attract potential industrial growth to the area. Under this type of economic determinant the Indian people became a commodity which could be exploited along the same lines by which their land had. Principal Chief W. W. Keeler in a widely quoted statement in mid 1970 advertised that



the patience and manual dexterity of his people made them suitable for employment and monotonous manual tasks. This lead itself into something of a contradiction. At the same time that the poor (but quaint) unacculturated Cherokee is being utilized to attract government programs, the myth of Cherokee assimilation is propagated. According to this pervasive account, the Cherokee is a vanishing breed whose ancestors are represented by prominent members of the Eastern Oklahoma communities. These prominent whites often announce with pride that they are part Cherokee, as are most people here-a-bouts, and that tribal interests and needs are being met directly by the local establishment--and these activities are coordinated by "The Tribe," referring to the complex of building which house the bureaucracy administering the Cherokee tribal trust. The Cherokee Nation theoretically acts as the interface between tribal and non-tribal interests, that at least is the rational explanation of its existence and structure offered to both tribal members and the general population in the region. Further, it claims to be the spear-head of a rebirth of the Cherokee: A rebirth which involves transforming the image of the poor rural dwelling Indian to the "new man" of the 20th century, a middle-class American happy and productive in his ethnic heritage.

This image of the new Indian takes a tremendous amount of manipulation by the tribal organization as well as the invested political and economic interests in the region to maintain. On one hand it is profitable to advertise the "quaint and traditional" Cherokee for the advantages of tourism and federal poverty and manpower training programs, yet at the same time manipulate the regional view of the Cherokee as a "fully acculturated" people represented by the legal

Cherokee of the area.

The economics of the Northeastern section of the state are poor, and there is a large class of unemployed non-Indians as well as Indians. In fact, there are some similarities of life style between the poor white and the poor Native American in the area. The activity of the new tribal organization and its programs rapidly transformed the attitude of the population in the region toward the Native Americans. At first outraged by the special treatment that certain members of the community appeared to be receiving from the federal government, the state, and the Cherokee tribe, the benefits of the programs soon became noticeable, even to those not working directly within the organizations. Several responses to these activities then occurred: individuals who up until the early 1970's had viewed themselves as white suddenly had an incentive to "discover their roots" and acknowledge their Indian ancestry. This incentive was primarily economic, and to a lesser degree an attempt to identify with a few of the more prominent leaders of the community who were of "Cherokee descent." The worsening economy might have been enough, but the "urge" to become Indian had an encouragement. The tribal organization, the tribe needed to document a large (and larger) body of tribal members who qualified for assistance through participation with and through the Cherokee Tribe. From the five tribal employees of the last 1960's the organization began an explosive growth which by the end of 1980 (the peak of its growth period) there were 41 separate programs and a total of 662 individuals on its payroll, this figure includes trainees in programs as well as staff.

In summary, today's Cherokee appear to be a separate people; one group attempting to maintain their traditional relationships to the

environment and community, and another group who have become historically part of the Oklahoma dominant cultural scene, and actively administering the tribal trust and the programs which serve the tribal needs. The operation of this bureaucratic mode of life style brings with it the requirements of much of Western Civilization, its demands and desires. The organizational life style models much of what is seen desirable in Oklahoma society in general; a rationalized existence with personal relationships well defined. However, regardless of the organizations relationships to the dominant society and culture in the region, it certainly has an Indian emphasis to it that is unmistakable. The following sections deal primarily with the day to day operations of this "Tribe" that Clyde Kluckholm (1962) commented on and the management of the needs of the largest tribal group in Oklahoma.

#### The Tribal Bureaucracy: The Cherokee Nation

The modern architecture of the Cherokee Nation office complex--one way reflective glass and earth tone woods--denotes its modern approach to management of the Cherokee people and their trust. The large parking lot is marked off, complete with visitor slots as well as reserved sections for upper management and VIPS. Walking up to the building one cannot help but be impressed by the tremendous strides taken by the Cherokee people to help themselves to the rights of the United States. Walking through the double doors, a receptionist (visibly full-blood Cherokee) is helpful in directing visitors toward the section of the office complex that they need, perhaps CETA, the Chief's office, Tribal Planning, etc. She sits behind a circular desk faced by a modern switchboard, answering and routing calls swiftly and efficiently even as

she gives visitors their directions.

Walking down the hallways, visitors will sometimes see elderly Indian men and women who sweep, wash, and apparently do most of the maintenance work around the facility. Indians (most visitors assume that they are Cherokees) are in visible positions behind most reception desks, either working as secretaries or on some sort of obvious errand from the field. Those who are on display, up front, hardly take notice of the visitors, it is common occurrence because high school and grade school groups routinely visit to view the tremendous achievements of the Cherokee. Never-the-less, an occasional white person will be seen moving down the halls or writing behind desks. The efficiency of this operation is never doubted, the professionalism of these workers is self-evident. Neat dressing is the standard. Jeans are allowable, but following the Oklahoma trends, women generally are wearing some form of designed cut jean and fashionable blouse. But, again this western dress pattern is duplicated in many rural organizations. Upper management (as opposed to middle-management and direct service personal) are most generally found in suits, often three piece suits and ties.

Unlike many of the less bureaucratic tribal groups throughout the U.S. (including the Otoe-Missouria) a phone call to the Cherokee Nation at 8:00 in the morning will most generally be answered. Unlike most of the organizations like itself, the Cherokee Nation began using a timed punch-clock system in order that the employees might be encouraged to be at their desks at the appointed time (8:00 a.m.). Management and middle-management are not subjected to this type of scrutiny. Punch card records are reviewed for patterns of tardiness every few months, and those individuals found lacking in the work patterns are first

counseled and later terminated if the pattern is found to be "incurable."

The time clock issue stands as a symbol of the operation of "The Tribe." We have acculturated, we have a schedule, and we will meet our commitments in a predictable manner. The strength of the statement lies in the contest of who generally fall into the categories of service work and secretarial work, those with less work experience, education, and in some fact a greater likelihood of a traditional type home life. In an examination of the 1980 list of employees it was found that of the total 662 individuals on the organizations payroll, there are 67 positions of supervisory capacity, not including the eight top management slots. Of these 67 "middle-management" positions 27 were held by males and 40 were held by females. The remaining 587 job positions were occupied by individuals either within various training programs or secretary/clerk positions which were divided among the various divisions. An analysis of the pattern of arrivals to work provided little information as to the arrival times of these "lower class" workers. Through participate observation it was observed that numerous workers were somewhat late to work (noon or one o'clock for some outreach and field workers) and their partners at the office generally were responsible for punching them in at 8:00 a.m. and in some cases out at 5:00 p.m. in those cases where they were still "in the field" at quitting time.

Middle-management positions were held in a majority of the times by females and a majority of these cases the individuals were of Cherokee descent, although not traditional Cherokees. None of the top management jobs were held by females. The positions are markedly different in

their distribution throughout the various programs. The female middle-management positions were predominantly in direct services such as health, classroom training, and education. Programs managed by the men were more likely to be those programs dealing with horticulture, cattle, land, or any other economic issue dealt with by the Tribe. The chances that these male individuals were of Cherokee descent was less than the women. And nowhere in the management structure did it appear that the "traditional" Cherokee interests were supported by a representative of those communities.

The search for the traditional Native American management person brought to light the fact that there was apparently a shortage of Indians with the necessary skills to be qualified to manage tribal affairs. Northeastern State University, approximately 18 miles from the office complex of the Cherokee had responded to this need by providing a Master's degree program in Tribal Management. This program worked primarily toward education of a select group of individual Native Americans (the first graduating class was predominantly Cherokee) who would be able to compete with those white individuals who had the "experience" and the "education" which had put them into the management slots over the Native American. Arguments offered in favor of hiring non-Indians over Indians generally take into the account that the Cherokee Nation is to be operated like a business. In business, you hire the best. Chief Swimmer, in a often quoted statement around the tribal offices once was overheard to say that his personal policy was designed to pull in qualified individuals to run these programs. . .and if they were Indian too, that was nice. It's a business and we need the competitive edge of qualified personnel.

The first two graduates of the Tribal Management program were available in the Summer of 1980 for interviewing by the researcher. Having graduated from the program some six months earlier, both the male and female had found temporary employment with Cherokee Nation. When permanent employment was sought with the Tribe, the female graduate responded that they had offered her a position at a "reduced" salary and she had found it more economically feasible to take a job with a firm in Tulsa. The pay was better, but it forced a separation between her and her family which was still living more or less within the bounds of the traditional Cherokee community outside of Hulbert. None of the other tribes in the state needed a "Tribal Management" expert and she was considering taking a job as a secretary with the Tribe in order that she might remain closer to her family (and children). The male graduate, who was in his late 60's when he enrolled in the program died during the summer.

Management positions by their nature do not require direct contact with the Native American people. The bureaucrat is busy with the day-to-day paperwork of the job and does not necessarily have to interact with the traditional on a regular basis. His (or her) reference is to those within the organization and community members whose support is necessary for the smooth operation and continued functioning of the program. Once again, by combining participant observation with an examination of the payroll (which the researcher divided into top management, middle-management, and service workers) it was found that for those positions requiring contact between traditional Cherokees (programs such as health, housing, and some educational programs) individuals who were more likely to be in touch with the

tribal community seem to have found their way into employment. Explanations for this from the personnel director and members of the organization were not too varied: "It's those people most familiar with the problem who apply for the jobs." "Sure, we advertise in order to meet the requirements of the law, but those best suited seem to find their way." A closer examination through interviews uncovered the fact that most of the individuals (particularly in the health services fields) who were interviewed admitted to having lived close to the community they worked with and had heard about the job from someone who knew someone within the Tribe and told them that the job was opening up.

Just Who Is Indian Around Here? An Ethnography  
of the Cherokee Nation

Although a stated policy of "hire Indian" was lacking at Cherokee Nation, it was understood by staff and management alike that if you were of legal blood it could work to your advantage. It is politically sensitive to suggest that the Cherokee Nations' hiring policy is directed primarily at providing upper-management jobs for those least likely to understand those who are serving, while at the same time hiring at entry, or just above entry level those who the organization most wished to serve. The Tribe is really in a bad position, according to its upper management--the lack of highly trained specialists in the area of Tribal Management forces us to hire the non-Indian who is best suited to do the job. The tribal Horticultural Program is a fine example of this rationalization. The program was designed by a former professor at OSU who was later "enticed" away to accept the managerial component of the program. Later, under his direction, an assistant



director for the program (an OSU graduate student) was hired. Neither of these individuals are of cultural or ancestrally Cherokee. However, in creating a horticulture program which would employ tribal members and profit the Cherokee, the Tribe once again hired the best available, non-Indian.

Perhaps the most active desk at the Tribe is the Tribal Registration desk. Earlier in the work it was mentioned that the economic impact of the Tribe on the economy of the area had a secondary impact on the decision of many individuals who felt it was now time to discover their "roots." The registration desk was in full view of the researcher for approximately two summer months in 1979 and during this time a conservative estimate of the number of people physically approaching the desk for the forms and directions necessary to become legally Cherokee was roughly over 800, approximately 20 per day. Telephone calls and mail-outs to individuals who did not personally visit the Tribe will remain unknown, although one young lady had that responsibility and kept very busy at it. Applying for an "Indian Card" had become a symbol of status which could easily be converted to dollars in terms of receiving services available to Cherokees; medical, skill training, education, and housing. A veritable parade of Oklahoma citizens was observed throughout the summer as applications for "cards" were made. A young full-blood secretary had the responsibility of facing this crowd which ranged from blond-haired, blue-eyed middle-class to full-blood traditionalists who could speak little English. When faced with the full-blood receptionist individuals who did not have the "appearance" of being Indian would preface their introductory statements by referring to the grandparent who allegedly was of Cherokee descent.

"My grandparents were. . . and I know I don't look Cherokee but . . ."

Such statements are common. Generally when faced by a lack of documentation most individuals were quick to rationalize: "well, I may not have the right documents, and I may not look it, but I am Cherokee and so are my Children." The rational for becoming Cherokee was one of two: to provide the Children a family tree, or to become Indian for economic benefit. One lady, apparently in her mid 40s (with her family) resented the numerous questions needed to document her lineage and after raising quite a ruckus between the family members and herself (in the face of a complaint and helpful secretary), she stormed out in disgust when she failed to become Cherokee. Becoming Cherokee was also a form of "keeping up with the Jones." As one elderly Fort Gibson lady put it, "John--was given a bunch of land down there on the river, and when they sold it a while back they became rich. Well, I am as much a Cherokee as they are, and so are my children. I can still remember my great grandmother talking Cherokee with some of the Indians around here."

Another prominent Fort Gibson family "signed up for their Indian cards" (original phraseology) when they discovered that "Indian preference" would work to their benefit if the family owned construction business could be documented as "Indian Owned and Operated." The Mrs. of the family (and business manager) explained her actions in rational economic terms: "we're as much Indian as the rest of those people, and in today's economy we need every break possible, anyway, we are Cherokee, would you like to see my card."

The Tribe has an interest in controlling the region's popular image and conception of the Cherokee. From the organization's standpoint it would be to their advantage to show the largest population of tribal

members as possible, particularly if they are poor. Yet, at the same time it is necessary to show that the tribe is advancing the cause of the poor people that they serve. The 1970 Census undercount of Cherokees was something of a natural disaster for tribal planners; their need to document a large target population had been undercut by the Federal Bureau of the Census' inability to get all of the Cherokee in the region to stand up and self-identify themselves. Planners even today contend that those Cherokees most in need are the ones most likely not reached by the Census. The 1980 Census involved quite a bit of preparation, consequently outreach work and the use of the media became an early innovation of the tribe to increase the tribal enrollments. However, this procedure also had secondary impact of a nature not immediately perceived. As a large and growing number of acculturated Cherokees (perhaps Oklahomans of Cherokee descent is a better term) have signed up to be Indian, the voting base of the traditional groups becomes diffused. From the perspective of those employed by the Tribe, there is no difference between a full-blood and someone who is 1/32, except when it comes to participation with the various programs. Programs operated by the BIA often require that the Native American participant be of 1/4 degree blood or more. Obviously, the utility of such a program is limited by the availability of Cherokees (or Indians in general) with this level of blood quantum. Programs which can serve a wider population base can generate more federal funding and hire more people than a program limited to 1/4 bloods.

The power to define who is an Indian (legally) and how much Indian they are has the power of economics behind it. The individual so defined, has a right to the various programs (based on his blood

quantum) and the organization benefits from a growing base of needy Cherokee, a base that is estimated by faulty statistics and an "interesting" tribal roll. Organizational members are very much aware that there are wide differences in the life styles of the people they serve. The traditional tribal community members are referred to in polite conversations as "traditionals" or less politely as "poor Indians." In treatment there is really no difference. The programs operate pretty much independent of the wide variety of cultural differences, except perhaps the Job Corps Program. And, as will be seen, the first year of operation was a failure, primarily for its attempt to draw in youth of the traditional communities.

The power to define the population of Northeastern Oklahoma as Cherokee also places the organizational members in a situation where they have become sensitive to the issue of being Indian. Consequently there have become a series of common day interactions which allow others in the course of conversation to "place" the person they are talking to within the framework of Indianness that is demanded. Most obvious of these is the right to ask bluntly if you are Indian if you do not make it clear yourself. Communication of ones Indianness takes two forms: verbal statements directly to the listening audience (I'm part Cherokee) and impressions one can give about life style and values. It's clear from interviews with middle-management and secretary-clerks that how you identify yourself is important during everyday interactions. One tribal planner explained, "I'm about 1/16 Comanche, I guess, so you can say, I'm Indian. But I'm not the kind of Indian that most of us think about when you talk about "Indians' around here." Managing the impression that you give of being Indian becomes somewhat prestigious within the

organizational format. Field traditionalists as a rule do not show up within the administration building very often. Never-the-less, several secretaries were often visited by traditionalists and spoke Cherokee for up to and over two hours in length--without interruption by the bosses or other secretaries. In inquiring, I came to understand that the ability to speak the language and be visited at the office by traditionalists was very prestigious. Closer examination and I found several programs operated with periodic visits by the traditionalists and not surprisingly they were health, housing, and nutrition programs. In each case there were female secretaries capable of dealing with the native language. These girls had an ability that other members of the organization valued, helping considerably to define the difference between "legal Cherokee" and being Cherokee.

Earlier research indicated that the general population of Northeastern Oklahoma was being encouraged to find its roots. Becoming Cherokee and going to work for the Tribe often went hand in hand. For a rapidly growing organization there is a demand for both trained technicians and administrators and there is a demand for program participants. There is another demand not generally treated and this is a demand for Indian organizational staff personnel. Several secretaries were located during informal interviews in the coffeeroom which was provided for employees. These young women were from traditional tribal communities (Hulbert and Vian) and their husbands were both unemployed. During the interview, one girl remarked that several years earlier she never would have thought of coming to work for the Tribe, not in any capacity. "I just couldn't have done it, you know. This place, well

it's just not where we can go." Why did she come to work for Cherokee Nation? "The job, the money? My husband still wishes that I wasn't here, what can you do?"

This case illustrates a commonly observed phenomena. For those traditionals that do participate with the Tribe, it is viewed as a form of cohesion away from their definition of Cherokee. They, in a manner similar to the new legal Cherokee who has become Indian, have become less Indian through participation.

In an attempt to see if there were an informal consensus in effect which allowed organizational members share a definition of someones Indianness, the researcher interviewed 15 middle-management personnel Who he judged felt would not be offended if asked to judge 20 other organizational members in terms of their being Indian. The researcher knew the racial background of all 20 members. Not surprisingly, if you looked Indian, you were Indian. For the 10 "visible Indians" included on the list there was a perfect consensus, even in those cases where the judged individual was not known by the judge. However, when judging those of no Indian heritage, or partial heritage with no personal references, there was no consensus.

It became clear from the above study, that if (as most members interviewed stated) it were of some prestige value to be identified as Native American descent, if you don't look the part it might be necessary to do a little politicizing and public announcing to convince the audience of your Indianness. This concept was immediately put to the test by questioning 35 employees (chosen from their general accessibility to the researcher) if Chief Ross Swimmer was Cherokee. Even faced with the overwhelming evidence that Swimmer is Cherokee, 11

people interviewed insisted that he was not Cherokee, just legal Cherokee, and this made a difference to them! As interesting as these opinion poles were, they may not be representative of the majority view of the tribal organizational members. This is sensitive material and the researcher was always aware that the open questioning within the organization along such lines might terminate his privileged within the planning department.

Staff sensitivity to the issue of political representativeness of the organization of all Cherokee appeared to be the underlying cause of this sensitivity in some cases. The fact that a critical work of Wahrhaftig's was circulated for limited reading from one department to the members of several other departments is a case in point. An awareness of the issue, yes, but an ability to deal with it directly was not there.

Organizations have a certain power of their own, a drive for existence that is sometimes separate from the higher moral aspirations of its participants. Many tribal employees believe that they are assisting the Cherokee and other poor Indian people of Northeastern Oklahoma to raise their standard of living. Morally acceptable, the achievement of this goal has been defined by a legal code (who we are helping) and a rational plan (how we can help) that mirrors the standards of Oklahoma society and the U.S. in general. In committing ones self to assisting the Cherokee, the employee is also committing himself to accepting the organizational definition of who is Indian, and the organizations method for helping those individuals. The rewards for accepting this criteria are immediate and justify ones decisions to either temporarily suspend ones earlier ideals, or reject them in favor

of the imposed set.

Because of its high visibility and its tremendous economic impact on the region, being an employee of "The Tribe" has become prestigious and economically benefiting choice for many residents of the area. Even though it seems to attract, for the most part, the better educated acculturated Cherokee to employment, many of these individuals do maintain their ability to critically view the organizations role within the community at large. For example, during coffee breaks it is not uncommon to hear the employees discussion of the Chief's activities as one of the Vice Presidents of a downtown Tahlequah bank, "where he spends most of his time." It is popular opinion of most of the job counselors for CETA, Adult Education, and skill courses that businesses in the area often utilize the trainees of the various programs as "cheap labor" a term just as apt as Debo's term of internal colonialism.

Organizational growth demands that there be a constant stream of participants for the various programs. If an individual wishes to enroll for training or assistance, there is no special person who has been assigned to see to it that individual actually goes to the best program for his or her needs. It is the individuals problem to choose from the cafeteria of programs offered to him. Intake counselors at Cherokee Nation informed the researcher that most of their participants had heard about the program they choose from friends or family, even though most of the programs had "outreach workers" who theoretically were out in the field distributing information and bringing in needy Indians. The larger ones Department or Division, the more of the available participants one could enroll. In some cases this has lead to competition between the programs to prove that they are more efficient



in training and placement than the other programs, even when the programs were designed to serve somewhat different population targets. Serving clients is big business at Cherokee Nation. The more clients served, the better the business. As one tribal planner once suggested, "what we really need to do in the future is start serving the needs of all the poor in the region, not just Indians. What those other programs downtown (Tahlequah and Muskogee) are doing we could do . . . and get some more employees and operating capital." This simply points out that if poor Indian people can be big business, maybe poor people in general would be good business, assuming that the funding is available. During the period of this study CETA, the largest program of job-training offered by the Cherokee was already in trouble, and since then has been defunded. New programs are on their way, but without knowing this places the Cherokee Nation (and any federally financed organization) in a planning quandary. Searching for funding from private foundations and organizations is one strategy, developing ones own business base, producing retail products not trained humans, is another. The Tribe is attempting both, but with limited success.

The following section is an examination of three tribal manpower training programs and how they related to each other during the Summer of 1979. These programs illustrate the elusiveness of training "Indians" for jobs and then evaluating the results. The success levels and staff employment levels paint an interesting picture of the importance of the definition of who is Indian for those who manage these programs.

The Effectiveness of Cherokee  
Manpower Utilization

The purpose of the Job Corps training program is to assist young people who need and can benefit from intensive programs of education, vocational skills training, and other services while living in a residential setting. The typical youth served by the program is an 18 year old high school dropout who reads at the elementary level, comes from a poor family with a disruptive home life, belongs to a minority group, and has been unemployed for many weeks, some have never had a job. All enrollees are impoverished and unemployed young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who have volunteered for the program. Through a combination of vocational skill training and educational program the Talking Leaves Center aims to prepare the young adults to hold productive, unsubsidized jobs, satisfy Armed Forces' entrance requirements, or return to school for further training.

When the Center was contracted by the Cherokee Nation from the Department of Labor in 1978 it was one of three Indian-emphasis Job Corps programs in the United States. Student development comes through individualized study, on-the-job training, and through dealing with other individual. On completion of the classroom training students are eligible to receive the General Equivalency Degree (GED) Vocational training is possible in the field of: welding, carpentry, horticulture, culinary arts, brick masonry, auto mechanics, business and clerical, health occupations, and building maintenance.

The emphasis for student recruitment has been directed toward the geographical area of the Cherokee Nation and the Five Civilized Tribes.

The facility, which is located on the Northeastern Oklahoma State University campus in Tahlequah, provides educational, recreational, and other supportive services to the Talking Leaves Center student. An Indian Studies component is provided with emphasis placed upon contemporary Cherokee culture, issues, and accomplishments of the Cherokee people and their government. A staff of approximately 80 qualified individuals compose the organizational structure of the program to administer a productive, accepting, self-disciplined educational environment for students.

During the fiscal year of 1979 (October, 1978 to September, 1979) 387 students were terminated through the program. An additional 321 students were served during the 1980 fiscal year (October, 1979 to May, 1980).

#### Success and Dropout Rates

From October, 1978 to September, 1979 there were 533 students enrolled in Job Corps. From October, 1979 to May, 1980 there were 364 students served by the Job Corps Center. These original enrollment figures were available through federally required quarterly reports.

In evaluating the dropout rates experienced by the Center, the federal regulations were utilized in developing and defining dropout categories. Category I completers are those students who remain over nine weeks and complete the field of training for which they have entered. Category II individuals are those who have dropped out of the program without completing their training and within nine weeks. Category III individuals are those students who enrolled in training but did not complete and dropped out within two weeks of enrolling.

For the purposes of this study only Category III individuals were included in the calculation of the dropout rates.

Dropout Rates: Fiscal Year 1979

Of the 314 male students enrolled in Job Corps during the first years of operation, 135 left the program as Category III completers, this is a dropout rate of 58.70 percent. For the 219 female students enrolled during this same period of time, 114 of them were Category III completers, this is a dropout rate of 46.71 percent. The combined Category III dropout rate for this period of time was 46.72 percent.

From the period of time October, 1979 to May, 1980 there were 364 students served by the Job Corps Center. Of these, 243 were male and the Category III dropouts accounted for 108 or 44.44 percent of those students terminated. There were 121 females served by the Center, and of these 41 were Category III completers, a dropout rate of 33.88 percent. During this part of the job Corps Center's second year of operation a dropout rate overall for Category III program completers was 40.93 percent.

Outcomes of Training

It was possible to examine the records of those students who were successfully followed after completing their training through Job Corps. The size of the group who actually were followed-up on is rather small due to the highly mobile nature of the Job Corps population. Complete data on 61 individuals was available in the Construction Trades field, General Office trades, Food Service trades, and Auto Mechanics. Table VII illustrates the results.

TABLE VII  
JOB CORPS TRAINING OUTCOMES

Trades	N	Employed Related to Training	Continuing Education	Unemployed Looking Not Looking	NA
General Office	17	3 (17.65%)	2	1      6	3
Food Service Training	8	1 (12.5%)	1	0      2	2
Construction	29	6 (20.69)	2	1      4	8
Auto Mechanics	7	0 ( 0.00%)	2	0      1	1
Total	61	16.39%	9	0      1	1

Completion rates (Category I) for these four vocational training programs were calculated using the same follow-up information. Table VIII illustrates the results.

#### Interpretation of Results

Follow-up information was only available for a few of the program completers, if we include Categories I, II, and III. Naturally, the question is, "how representative are these individuals of the total group?" There is no real answer to this question, but it can be assumed that since it was possible to find these individuals it is quite likely that they may not represent the majority of the Job Corps completers.

In a study titled "Evaluation of the Economic Impact of the Job Corps Program, Second Follow-up Report, April, 1980" (U. S. Department

of Labor, 1980) the major findings were that longer stays in the program are associated with greater post-program gains. Completers consistently do much better than comparable non-participants on most measures (income gains, mobility, occupations) while partial completers and early dropouts tend to benefit little or not at all as against their comparable non-participants. This implies that the high school dropout rate, and this time we should include Category II as well as III, has a negative effect on the life changes of the Indian students. The differential impacts, according to this study (by completion category) seem to be at least partially attributable to the effect of staying in the program longer and completing the program, which indicates the potential for additional benefits to the program from increasing the length of stay and completions of Corps members.

TABLE VIII  
JOB CORPS COMPLETION  
RATES BY CATEGORY

Trade	Category I	Category II	Category III	Total	Completion Rate
Construction	6	7	16	29	20%
General Office	7	7	3	17	41%
Food Services Training	3	1	4	8	37%
Auto Mechanics	2	2	3	7	28%
Total	18	17	26	61	29%

Many of the completers Who were examined had completed their GED's while at the Center. This has been associated with the beneficial impacts, and most frequently, the magnitude of this observed relationship is approximately the same as that for receiving a regular high school diploma.

It was noted by the researcher that several of the individuals who had not completed their training with Talking Leaves had dropped out in order to take vocational training of one sort or another at a tribal CETA program. Apparently the desire for vocational training existed, but the student decided to take the training through other programs which are available through the federal government. This brings up an interesting question: "When a student qualifies for assistance through Cherokee Nation, what process aides him in his selection of a program?"

The low number of Category I completers who are employed in an area related to training suggests two possibilities, (1) that the skills being trained for are over-supplied in the labor force economy in this region, or (2) outreach and job placement activities are currently rather weak. This problem might even eventually be tracked back to poor employment and occupational career objective development, a counseling problem for the individual Native American as well as structural problems in the regions labor market economy.

Regardless of the structural problems faced by the Talking Leaves program, the immediate problem for the managers of this program is enrolling program participants. Designed to accommodate 250 students this Job Corps Center with an "Indian emphasis" was a projected enrollment of 500! It has never achieved those levels but maintains a staff of ". . . 76 qualified individuals (who) compose the

organizational structure of the program, to administer a productive, accepting, self-disciplined educational environment for students" (Grant Application for Talking Leaves, 1979, p.2). In addition, there are 10 individuals from the Indian CETA program receiving on-the-job training. In fact, the enrollment issue during the Summer of 1980 had become so critical to the programs (Organizational) existence, administrators responded with a \$25 reward to anyone who could aid in locating and enrolling Indian youth into the Center! This concept did provide limited results, and provided for some rather interesting documentation problems as to definition of "Indian" began to erode under organizational needs. In fact, the Center today maintains itself as "Indian Emphasis" front stages for the community but maintains an enrollment of students today, not necessarily Indian.

Although a record of blood quantum for these students is not kept there is little visible evidence that the traditional tribal communities that Wahrhaftig documents as sending their youth to this program. Subjective evidence also suggests that the youth most likely to leave (Category III) are also the most traditionally oriented Indian youth.

Why does this program show such a low success rate? Other problems within the program point to a structural relationship between the new traditional Indian youth and the counselors offered in the dormitory setting. Students resent being placed in the dormitories and the strict rules which govern their coming and going. In a set of interviews that the researcher arranged in exchange for some karate lessons, the youth pointed out that none of the dormitory counselors were Indian, although several of them were black. Secondly, the intake interview that they had with the program director had strong Christian overtones of which



they didn't really understand, but found upsetting. Subsequent investigation uncovered that the director was a former Baptist minister, and although visibly Indian, spoke of a "mythical wheel" of good returning good and bad returning bad to almost all program applicants. This intake interview was a thinly veiled Christian lecture designed to uplift and enthuse the youth who were apparently depressed by their (up to then) failure to succeed "out there." This, the lack of adequate peer counseling, and an inability to maintain in touch with their homes apparently was an incentive to leave the Job Corps program.

Even so, by maintaining itself as an "Indian Emphasis Job-Corps Center" a certain amount of prestige is brought to the Northeastern Oklahoma State University campus where the program is operated and to the Cherokee Nation. At the same time, program administrators realize that the future success of the program will lay not just in attracting more Indians to the Center, but youth in general, including youth from a wider geographical area.

Organizational needs and tribal needs are not always exactly the same thing, obviously. That the Indian youth of the region can benefit from the services and training offered is not the contention here; they could benefit greatly. But the Job Corps Center which is designed to serve the needs primarily of Indian youth is not going to be a large center if it cannot attract the target population. Not attracting this population forces the Center to either re-evaluate its service delivery, or attempt to attract wider base of participants. The future of this program will illustrate the above choices.

### Title III Manpower Program

The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma Title III Manpower Program was established in September, 1974, to address the well documented problems of unemployed and underemployment experienced by many Native Americans in the 14 county region serviced by the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation Manpower Program's purpose is to work toward the development of job opportunities; to provide training, education, and supportive services needed to enable priority individuals to secure and maintain employment at maximum capacity. Emphasis is placed upon counselling, education, and training which will enable the program participants to retain employment and succeed in obtaining additional opportunities for employment. Program participants will be unemployed and underemployed Indians residing within the geographic boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, except Tulsa County. Participants, in order to be eligible, must meet income guidelines established by the Department of Labor, be able to trace their ancestry to a member of a recognized Indian tribe, and demonstrated a sincere desire to learn a marketable skill that will enable them to enter the competitive labor market and become self-sustaining individual (Cherokee Nation Employment Assistance Plan, 1978).

Basically, four types of program activities are provided: classroom training, one-the-job training, work experience, and public service employment.

#### Classroom Training

This program activity may include training conducted in an

institutional setting designed to provide participants with the technical skills and information required to perform a specific job or group of jobs. It may also include training designed to enhance the employability of participants by upgrading basic skills through the provisions of courses in, for instance, remedial education (such as manpower training provided by Indian Action Team Programs) trained in the primary language of persons of limited English-speaking ability, or English as a second language training.

Classroom training is one of the basic tools available to employment and training programs which can be used to assist program participants to learn the skills necessary for successful employment. It can include skill training in a classroom setting (as opposed to on-the-job training which is conducted in a work environment), basic education in communication and computation skills to enhance employability, and even language training for individuals with limited ability in English. Several prime sponsors have conducted extensive orientation to the world of work programs for participants who have never been employed successfully. Other prime sponsors have developed basic adult education programs which lead to the General Education Development Certification of high school equivalency. The possibilities of useful classroom training are almost limitless for employment and training programs. But, the goal of any classroom training sponsored by an employment and training program should be the employment of the participant. The training should be designed to teach skills needed for employment, to upgrade educational level to enhance employability, to provide certification needed for employment, and so forth.

### Selection of Training Area

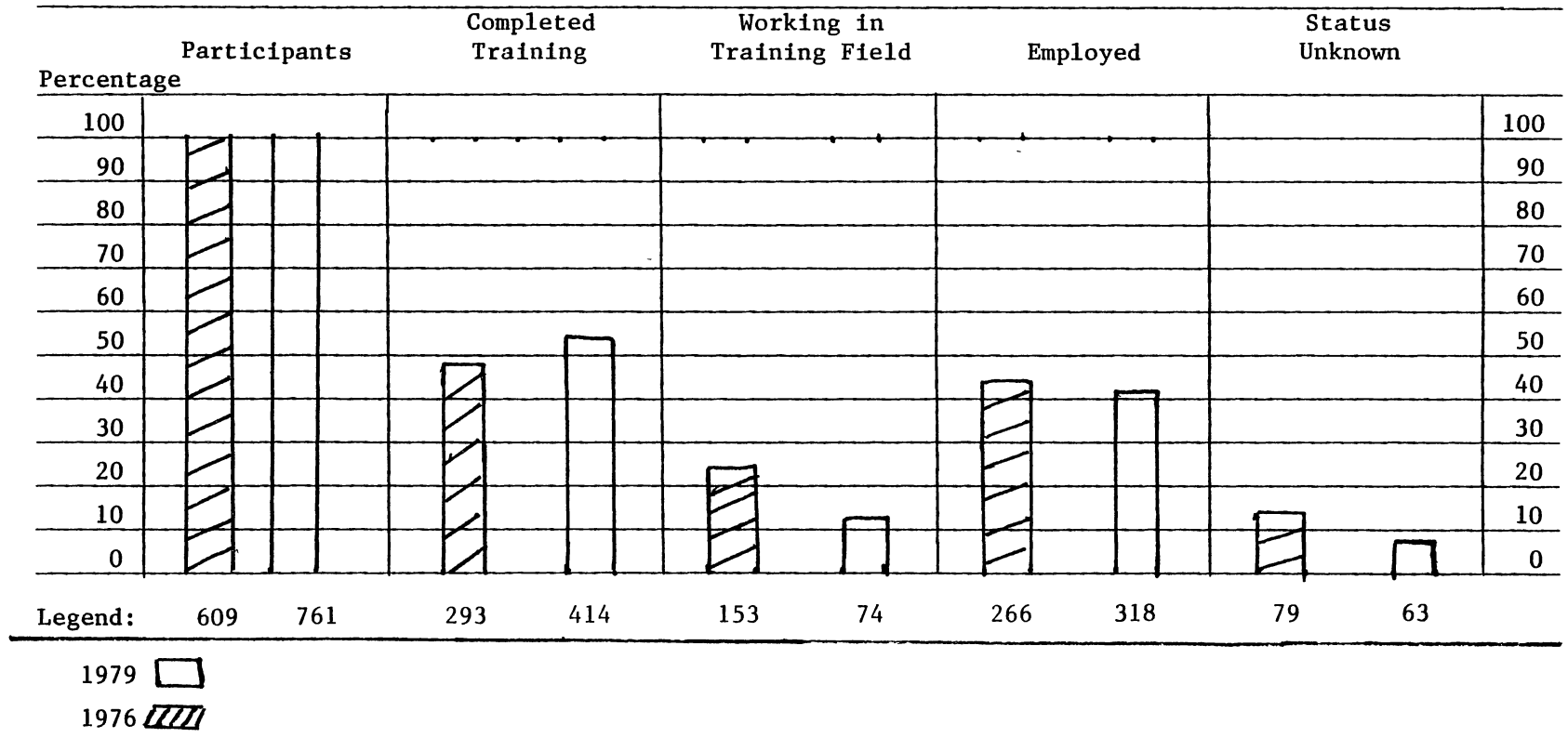
Classroom training is available for many occupations and the prime sponsors can develop additional training programs to meet specific needs. The federal regulations place few limits on the choice of training. They do, however, specify that training for low wage industries is not acceptable.

The Federal Regulations also state that there must be reasonable likelihood of a permanent job placement after training.

The Cherokee Nation CETA program served 613 clients with the Classroom Training component of their program. Follow-up data were available on 609 of these individuals. Of these 609 individuals who began training, 293 (48 percent) actually completed the training. In evaluating this completion rate several factors must be considered. The most important is the relationship of the training received on the type of job the individual actually receives after completing the training. For those people completing the training, approximately 52.2 percent were able to find jobs in an occupation related to their training. Table IX illustrates the results of the fiscal year 1979 compared to similar figures collected from 1976 data. Although the completion rate has dropped somewhat (from 54 percent to 48 percent) the percentage of completers locating work in an area related to their training has increased dramatically, from 17.8 percent to 52.21 percent.

This increase in program efficiency cannot be accounted for totally by the type of training offered, the researcher saw no evidence of a significant change in training patterns by the CETA program. The Horticulture Program and the Nursing Program, although extremely

TABLE IX  
 CHEROKEE NATION CETA  
 CLIENT FOLLOWUP  
 1979 VS 1976



successful cannot explain away this increase. Outreach by the program into the community provides the best explanation, and since 1976 the Cherokee Nation has hired a number of outreach workers and other job-developers.

When the training programs and occupational objectives of the CETA program are compared to the area labor force statistics it was found that there was a relationship between the number of jobs available and the success of program completers in several of the training programs. The glaring discrepancy appeared when the Cherokee Nation Nursing Program and the Cherokee Nation Horticulture Program when their various occupations were compared to the State Occupational Information Coordinating Committee (SOICC) documents which tabulate the supply and demand for various occupations within the region. The 1980 SOICC document indicated growth in these areas but a very low demand. Obviously, the demand that Cherokee Nation now has for Indian labors (particularly in the entry-level positions) in horticulture has overcome the regional slump in this industry, at least for the graduates of the Cherokee Nation CETA program. Without a preferential hiring policy for the horticulture graduates it is quite likely that the success rate now seen (42.3 percent are employed in an area related to training) may drop. Many (perhaps "most" in the better term) of these jobs do not require the classroom training that the participants receive. That some of the students discover this is reflected in the dropout rate of 73.1 percent. Reinterpreting the success rate, we now find that while only seven of the 26 individuals completed training, 11 of the trainees were employed in the horticulture field during the time of follow-up (fiscal year 1979). When the jobs are viewed individually, it is found that

many of these positions are of an entry-level nature and in fact on-the-job training can supply the same skills necessary for employment that the classroom training provides.

The Nursing Program has increased the success rate somewhat of its program the past year to approximately 72 percent of the completers employed in an area related to training. Approximately 68 percent of the participants are completing their training. These success rates were compared to the SOICC documents Supply, Demand, and Five Year Growth of Nursing in the Northeast Region. It was found that while nursing, as a profession and available jobs has been on the historical increase the past few years, the raw number of positions available are not that high. Graduates of the Cherokee Nation Nursing School do, of course, have the special attribute of being Indian, and in many cases being bilingual. This is important because the current trend is to place the graduates within the Indian Health System and it is very possible that at the current rate the available jobs for Indian Nurses in the Indian Health Service may be depleted, in this region. Tulsa still may have a number of positions available, but not necessarily for an Indian nurse.

#### CETA

CETA employs a full-time staff of 49 employees, and an indeterminate amount of temporary staff members. Although it is not as large (in terms of staff) as the Job Corps program, unlike the Job Corps program it is operated out of the tribal administrative complex outside of Tahlequah. Training sites are scattered throughout the Cherokee Nation service region.

Similar to the problems experienced by the Job Corps program, CETA is interested in attracting the qualified Native American for job training. Outreach workers are involved in both recruitment and retention activities in order to keep up a steady supply of applicants for the various programic options detailed earlier in this report.

In following up on some of the Job Corps drop-outs, it was found that many of them (about four, many in this case means all of those that the researcher could find) were later enrolled in skill training programs of a much more specific nature than the Job Corps training allowed; that is, these individuals found a program which allowed them to skip around the GED training at Job Corps and get the skill training without the limitation of dormitory living. Having lived in the same dormitory for two years while going through undergraduate training, the researcher can empathies with this desire.

The Cherokee Nation advertises of the excellence of its job training program, and has received awards as being an innovative program serving the needs of the tribal people. This claim of success is generally based on follow-up examinations which are of a spot-check nature. Serious questions need to be asked about the real difference between Indian individuals who recieve technical skill training and non-Indian individuals who are searching for skill training. If one were to look at the success rates they might be tempted to conclude that these individuals have more in common (lack of education, poor work history, etc.) than they do in difference (racially and culturally).

#### Employment Assistance

The Muskogee Area Office of Bureau of Indian Affairs has seven



agencies in Northeastern Oklahoma. The Employment Assistance Program of Cherokee Nation was contracted from the BIA during the early 1970's and has grown from serving four counties which are Cherokee Nation.

Employment Assistance has the responsibility of aiding Indian people in this region to better their socio-economic status. This responsibility particularly in the areas of vocational training and direct employment, is shared with several other programs managed by Cherokee nation. CETA, Job Corps, and the Cherokee Nation Indian Action Team are involved in training Native Americans who live within the service region for specific vocational skills. CETA, the Tribal Work Experience Program (TWEPE), and Employment Assistance are all offering programs of direct employment and work experience. Perhaps the greatest differences can be seen not in the programic options of the various departments, but in the differences in the clients who can be served by the programs, according to federal regulation.

In many ways, the programic options between CETA and Employment Assistance are the most similar. The major difference is that Employment Assistance is only allowed to serve Native American applicants who are a quarter-degree of Indian blood or more. The heritage can be from any tribe, as long as the tribe is federally recognized and the applicants live within the agency's jurisdiction. In a sense, it can be assured that a significant proportion of the programs clients are also culturally Indian . . . something which can not be assured of with CETA and Job Corps. In addition, the person must be unemployed and/or underemployed. If the applicant is single or married or has other family obligations, the employment assistance office provides transportation expenses for moving to the new location. All

tuition, books, and special tools are provided for those participating for the two year training period. A limited amount of houseware needs are met and during the entire training time simple medical care is provided. Once eligibility for any of the programs available through employment assistance is determined, the applicant may apply for vocational type training in an approved school.

There are three different programs available within Employment Assistance: 1) Adult Vocational Training; 2) Direct Employment; and 3) On-the-Job Training.

The nation wide BIA Employment Assistance program has had a past history of failure in its ability to successfully train and relocate the Native American to urban centers. The policy of training the Indian client for a specific job and relocating that individual to the urban center for eventual job placement was not successful. The Indian community found objectionable a program which although providing vocational training which was needed, acted to place the younger more highly skilled and educated tribal member off-reservation or away from the rural home. The result of many of these programs was the high unemployment rate of Indians in the cities. The failure of the BIA operated Employment Assistance program revolves around four major criticisms.

1. Indians from the rural/reservation area's lacked skills, experience, and saleable vocational training. Skills obtained through the BIA program were not saleable once obtained--many program completers were then forced to find work which was not related to their training.

2. Indians, upon graduation, lacked practical information on how to secure employment--how to locate jobs--where to look--how to be

interviewed--and what employers expected.

3. Many Native Americans trained and relocated in this manner lacked the initial funds to purchase job related accessories, equipment, and other necessary articles to aid in securing employment.

Consequently, many of the relocation and training attempts were found to be unsuccessful. For many Indians relocation did not bring about financial well being.

In an examination of fiscal year 1979 clients served by the Cherokee Nation Employment Assistance Program, 1976 clients were served.

Ninety-two of these received adult vocational training and 34 were placed in jobs directly through the Direct Employment Service.

Since a major criticism of the BIA Employment Assistance Program was its policy of relocation, an examination of the placement of clients geographically was undertaken. On the 92 individuals who were served through AVT, 33.8 percent were placed in jobs located within the 14 county region served by the Cherokee Nation. Of the 84 individuals served through Direct Employment, 50.7 percent were placed within the Cherokee Nation service region. Forty-two point three percent (75 individuals) were "relocated" within a relatively short distance from home!

Examining fiscal year 1979 records for the 92 individuals receiving AVT, it was found that 35 individuals completed those vocational training courses in which they had enrolled; a dropout rate of 62 percent. For the 38 percent of the individuals who did complete training, 94 percent of them were able to find employment related to their training. This success rate is quite high and is related to several factors; training was received in an area for which employment

opportunities were good, many of the clients were old enough to have acquired a work history which aided employment, supportive services were available for relocation if a job opportunity was not available within the immediate area.

These scores in themselves do not paint the entire picture. Cherokee Nation manages several other vocational training and placement programs, the most notable of which is the Cherokee Nation CETA program (a program which has received national recognition), and the Cherokee Nation Talking Leaves Job Corps Center, which on the other hand appears to be a miserable failure. Table X is a comparison of dropout rates and the percentages of individuals employed in a field related to training of these three programs.

TABLE X  
EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE, JOB CORPS, AND CETA  
DROP RATES AND EMPLOYMENT  
RELATED TO TRAINING

Program	Dropout Rate	Employed, Related to Training
Employment Assistance	62.0%	94.0%
Job Corps Center	71.0%*	16.4%
CETA	45.7%	52.2%

\*Category III completers only, two-weeks enrollment or less.

For those individuals who received assistance through Direct Employment it is a little harder to evaluate their individual success. Of these 84 individuals, during the time of the follow-up only 56 could be located, all of which were employed. Twenty-eight individuals could not be located. Employment Assistance does offer services to Native American clients which cannot be received from other programs operated by Cherokee Nation, particularly for that individual who has just recently lost his job. There is no waiting period for which an individual must be unemployed before they qualify for assistance. Additionally, since many of the people served through Direct Employment already had some skills and work histories. Placements are not always at the entry level, minimum wage nature which are often found in the other programs. In a short interview according to statements by the program director, Cherokee Nation Employment Assistance Program has been charged with the unique responsibility (unique among the programs operated by the tribe), with aiding those Indian people who have skills, work experience, and the education for jobs above entry level. It is these jobs, of management and mid-management nature, that the Indian people of this region are the most under-represented in the labor force. Employment Assistance acts to provide those services necessary for these individuals to either relocate to the new job (when none are available in this area) or aid in a local job placement.

Graduates from Northeastern Oklahoma State University, the University of Oklahoma, and Oklahoma State University have taken advantage of direct placement offered by Employment Assistance.

At Cherokee Nation a somewhat unique system was adopted for structuring Employment Assistance into the tribal organization. Where

as funding is provided for the program and its employees through the BIA, management and control of the program is through the tribe, and employment assistance officials have been allowed to move from within the BIA building (which adjoins the tribal building) and houses their offices in a wing separate from CETA and separate from Job Corps. Each of these programs are aimed at training the Native American, but there are only so many Indians to go around! Unlike CETA and Job Corps, Employment Assistance is restricted to one-quarter blood tribal members, and not surprisingly (with all the competition) it is having an increasingly difficult time in filling its quotas. Being a BIA program contracted by the Tribe is further complicated by its small staff of only six full-time personnel. Upper management at Cherokee Nation had been considering dropping the program and letting its participants be absorbed by CETA, a program which according to the organizations own literature was one of the best job programs around. Although Employment Assistance did have higher dropout rates than Job Corps, its success in placements were much higher than CETA. In addition, the placements were in more desirable jobs. The acting assistant director (an employment and training specialist) was quick to point out that the dropout rate included individuals who had found a job without their assistance but had not provided them enough information to document a positive placement.

So why the pressure to absorb an apparently viable and working program? The perceptions of the program as a "relocation plan" were still there. And as the assistant director told the researcher, we just don't benefit the Tribe that much. A little income from the BIA

for the rent of the office space, and perhaps the money for managing six of us simply can't do the work that they (CETA) can to attract but we are efficient and doing a better job anyhow. CETA can't do what we do.

CHAPTER V  
THE OTOE-MISSOURIA HISTORY OF  
ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The Otoes and Missouriias today are two tribal groups confederated together that once occupied the country between the Great Omaha and Platt Rivers. They later acquired a reservation on the Big Blue River at the north border of Kansas. By 1882 they have been removed to their present reservation in Oklahoma. Adequate compensation for the Nebraska lands waited until 1955 for a decision through the federal courts, being the first case tried before the Indian Claims Commission involving the question of commensurability of aboriginal title to Indian lands. The removal of the Otoes and Missouriias from their traditional homeland to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) is similar in some aspects to the 13 other reservations established between 1867 and 1881 in the western half of Oklahoma. How this tribal group met the white invasion of the Indian Territory, buying and selling land, took allotments and eventually triumphed in court is somewhat similar to the experience of numerous neighboring tribes, including the Cherokee. An in-depth history of the tribe is not the purpose of this study, but a general background of the tribes contemporary history is necessary for a clear understanding of today's tribal bureaucracy and the way in which it serves the tribal people.

The contemporary history for this work begins on March 15, 1854 at which time the Otoe-Missourias relinquished their claims to all lands



west of the Missouri River, except a reservation of about 162,000 acres stretching along the Kansas-Nebraska border and intersected by the Big Blue River. The following year in July they moved to their new reservation on the Kansas-Nebraska border.

Fifteen years later in 1869 the first treaty to negotiate the selling of the new reservation and the removal of the Otoe-Missouria tribe to the Indian Territory was signed by some of the tribal leaders. It was charged that this agreement was an attempt by two railroad companies to cheat the Indians out of their lands. Fortunately, it was proposed by members of President Grant's "Peace Policy" program that the treaty did not represent the will of the Otoe-Missouria people. This contention was supported by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Parker and the treaty was not ratified. However, the disagreements over selling the reservation and moving into Oklahoma had the effect of splitting an already factionated tribe into two clearly opposed factions. Edmunds (1958) explains this division. "Those Indians who had begun to adopt white ways followed the leadership of the mixed-bloods who were known as the Quaker Band because they subscribed to the acculturation program of the Quaker Indian Agents. In contrast, the Otoe-Missourias who wished to continue in the old ways of their fathers were called the Wild Otoes or the Coyote Band. The Coyote Band was anxious to sell their reservation on the Big Blue and remove to Indian Territory where the white influence would be minimized" (p. 57).

This difference of opinion between tribal members was aggravated severely by white special interests groups, particularly those groups of whites who hoped that the entire Big Blue reservation would be sold to the public. By 1878 the growing influence of politicians in Washington

combined with pressures exerted by white farmers and settlers who were now crossing into the eastern portion of the reservation united the tribal factions in the desire to remove and escape the white influences. This is a remarkable decision, particularly since the Quaker group consisted of numerous acculturated mixed-bloods who had adapted to an agricultural life style. Through acculturation, of one tribal faction, a split in the economic activities of the tribe had occurred and arguments began anew concerning the location of the new reservation in the Indian Territory. Coyote Band leaders selected an area just west of the Sac and Fox agency, on the Cimarron River in central Oklahoma--rich in game. The Quaker Band preferred to settle in farming country in the northern part of the territory near the Pawnees, Poncas, and Osages. Eventually the federal government intervened and established the Otoe-Missouria reservation on Red Rock Creek in north-central Oklahoma. On October 5, 1881, about 230 Otoes and Missouriias left Nebraska for their new reservation. After two weeks on the trail the tribesmen arrived at Red Rock on October 23, 1881. Yet it was not until 1890 that the last band of the Coyote people gave in their attempt to remain on the Cimarron and moved to Red Rock.

The conservatism of the Coyote Band had a strong enough influence, even with their reduced numbers, to maintain many of traditional tribal practices. This influence was most clearly demonstrated in the marked preference of the Otoe-Missouria to communal ownership of land and certain other properties. This preference for communal ownership of the land ran in direct opposition to the desire of the federal bureaucrats and white settlers in the Indian Territory who wished to have tribal lands "allotted".

The General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887 authorized the United States President, whenever, in his opinion any Indian reservation or any part thereof was advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause the reservation, or any part thereof to be surveyed, and to allot the lands in their reservation in severalty to any Indians located thereon. Patents for land should declare that the United States would hold the land thus allotted for the period of 25 years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment should have been made. The President was empowered to extend the period of trust. At the end of the period of trust the United States should convey the land by patent to said Indian, or his heirs.

Allotment then became the vehicle by which the reservation systems were to be dismantled. By assigning tribal members (allotees) their equal share of the reservation the concept of communal property and ownership could be circumvented. Most U.S. tribes had been strongly opposed to taking allotment and the Otoe-Missouria more than most. In a statement to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 8, 1889, Indian Agent Osborn was quoted as saying "The Poncas and Otoes, with possibly two exceptions in both tribes, are all violently opposed to taking allotments in severalty and carry their opposition as far as to refuse to even listen to any argument advanced to induce them to consider the allotment bill. The provisions of the severalty bill will have to be forced upon them and their allotments selected for them. As I do not think they will be willing to agree to any of its provisions or can they ever be induced by argument to appreciate any of its advantages" (Chapman, 1965, p. 206).

President Harrison on September 6, 1890, granted authority under

the General Allotment Act for making allotments to Indians located on the Tonkawa, Pawnee, Ponca, and Otoe and Missouriia reservations. These reservations were under the supervision of Ponca Agency.

By 1892 scarcely any progress had been made in the work of allotting the Otoe reservation. Indian Agents Clarke and Hatchitt had about as little success with the Otoe-Missouria as Fairchild (Chairman of the Cherokee Commission) had had with the Cherokees. Regardless of the tribal opposition to allotment, by April 24, 1899 a schedule of 441 allotments was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior with the recommendation that it be approved. There had been reserved for agency, school, mission, and cemetery purposes 720 acres, leaving a surplus of 63,418.05 acres (Chapman, 1965). Even with allotment the Otoe would not, under any circumstances, part with the surplus land. Communal ownership of land, long established in their history, was wiped out by force of the federal government, and a capitalist plan of privately owned allotments substituted.

By statehood the lands of the Otoe and Missouriia reservation had been divided among 885 members of the tribe. The only unallotted land was 640 acres reserved for administration, church, school and public purposes. None of the surplus lands were sold to the government and no white settlers took homesteads on the reservation. Federal policy had prevailed and the communal process by which lands could be retained as tribal property had ended.

Today the Otoe-Missouria tribe live on land best described as open fields and pasture land, interspersed with a few trees. Rather than speaking of the tribal lands as the reservation, the "service area" includes the counties of Noble, Garfield, Northern Logan and part of

Northern Pawnee county. This service area is the former Otoe-Missouria reservation area where today tribal members and non-tribal members reside.

One thousand four hundred acres of this land is held in trust for the tribe. All of the trust land is within Noble and Pawnee Counties, but is primarily concentrated northeast of Red Rock and Perry. Additionally there are 25,311 acres of allotted individually owned land.

The tribal complex (better known as the Tribal Building) is located six miles east and two miles north of Red Rock and is along Highway 177. It is very near the Old Tribal Agency site where formally tribal affairs were administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs directly. The community building serves as the principle source and central location of all the tribal community activities.

#### Tribal Population

Similar to many other Native American tribes, including the Cherokee, there is a great deal of variance in the statistics which document tribal size. It depends on which reporting agency you use as to what the reported size of the tribe is obviously, for planning purposes or in grant applications the largest available documented population figure will be used. For example: the Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force" has given a total of 248 people for the past four consecutive years. A private census conducted by an Otoe-Missouria tribal planner, in conjunction with the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, found in March of 1976, 686 total Otoe-Missourias. A third census conducted by the Indian Health Service (IHS) found a population of 577 in 1979, and projected a population of

745 for 1984. Tribal planners routinely use the latter figure.

An inspection of the present Otoe-Missouria Tribal Roll found that there are 1,385 persons enrolled of which 630 are males and 755 are females. However, since the roll does not specify who many are living within the service area it is difficult for this document to be used for planning purposes by tribal planners or administrators.

#### Economic Conditions

The Oklahoma Employment Commission reports an average income for tribal members over 18 years of age to be \$2,500 annually. Unemployment figures for tribal members are not available, but it is suspected from the average income figures that unemployment is higher for tribal members than the state average. Education is also somewhat lower for tribal members than state averages; the average educational attainment of the Otoe-Missouria tribal member is the tenth grade.

#### An Ethnography of Organizational Life

The Otoe-Missouria Tribal business Committee is composed of seven members, elected by secret ballot by the eligible voters of the tribe. This tribal business committee has power to transact business and otherwise speak or act on behalf of the tribe on all matters of which the tribe is empowered to act, including such powers as may in the future be granted to the tribe by federal law. The tribal business committee is composed of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and three Councilmen. All members of the governing body are elected, at large, by a popular vote; however, qualifications to run for office are that a person be 25 years of age or older and an active

enrolled member of the Otoe-Missouria Tribe. The tenure of office for tribal officers and councilmen, so elected is for a term of two years from a date of installation or until their successors are elected and qualified.

An election board, consisting of three tribal members, conducts each election in accordance with prescribed rules and regulations of the business committee, with notification of election being no less than ten days prior to the election.

The business committee meets once a month in addition to any special meetings. A general council meeting is held once a year for fiscal progress reports, budget consideration and general accountability of funds and federal programs. The general council meeting must be posted 30 days prior to convening meeting, in addition to advertising such in newspapers and posting announcements in public places. General council meetings can be called at the discretion of the Chairman, the business committee or by written request of 30 qualified voters of the tribe. The voting membership of the tribe is all male and female members who are 18 years of age or older and who possess 1/4 degree or more Otoe-Missouria Indian blood.

At present the tribal business committee is in the process of presenting a constitution and by-laws which will include law enforcement and child welfare provisions before general assembly. By adopting a tribal constitution the Otoe-Missouria tribe will have a more unified tribal government which will enhance the transaction of tribal business and industrial affairs, protect the land and religious freedom, and to further the general welfare and prosperity of the Otoe-Missouria tribe. Never-the-less, there appears to be some resistance to a tribal

constitution. Since its first proposal in 1976, little to nothing has been done to ratify, or even write one!

The division of the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Administration consists of the Tribal Executive Director, Tribal Planner, A.N.A. Director, Health Administrator, Health Planner, Chief Finance Officer, and an Administrative Assistant.

The Executive Director of the Otoe-Missouria tribe is directly responsible for supervision and periodic monitoring the government contracts/grants and all tribal programs basically charged with the overall coordination of the various tribal programs. During the period of this study, both the executive director and administrative assistant were female, the tribal chairman (Chief) was male.

In common with the Cherokee, the Chief of the Otoe-Missouria was elected by tribal members. One difference in this election was that tribal members who voted must be over 1/4 degree Otoe-Missouria. In his sixties and almost full-blooded Otoe, this man's very appearance illustrated the difference in the two tribes. In fact, the Chief's dress represents the pattern of dress at the Otoe-Missouria, western jeans (the work kind) and button down dress shirts, boots, and in the case of some the cowboy hat.

When a visitor first arrives at the Tribal Building the newness of the structure is obvious, but already the paint is peeling where it can be seen. Out back, behind the new stone tribal building is "the annex," a quick-set steel office building tacked on to the original building by a steel arch overhead canopy. As you walk in-side you wonder which way to go; there is no receptionist, name plates, or directions. Simply a few bulletin boards with posters from various federal agencies tacked



about. Wondering down the hall, a visitor will be approached eventually (sometimes it appears reluctantly) and assistance will be offered. Unless, of course, you are recognized and then you receive quick and graceful treatment. Many of the of the employees at the Tribal Building (particularly secretaries) have not been at this to long.

An elderly lady is diligently cleaning the halls and bathrooms (the researcher wonders if this lady works in all the tribal buildings). The Otoe employ approximately 35 individuals, no one is really too sure because they don't have a phone list or computer printouts like the Cherokee to provide that type of information. The building is quiet, activity seems easily paced. In fact, it is so paced that to arrive at opening time (8:00 a.m.) or try to place an early morning call is a mistake that on the third or fourth time you learn to quit making. The punch clock of the Cherokee is missing at the Otoe complex, and so is the appearance of modern fast paced business. The Chief's office, when he is in, generally has several of the community elders setting inside quietly or waiting out in the hall to see him. The rural nature of the Otoe-Missouria is present in the cars they drive, clothing, and language; stilted English to the English speaking younger generation (and visitors such as myself) and the quiet tones of the native tongue in conversation among themselves.

The Executive Director and her assistants are officed in the annex, a combination assembly room and office complex. The accessibility of the Executive Director is emphasized by the placement of her desk off to the side of a large room which has couches and a color T.V. On several observations of the Otoe, elderly and young

children were in the Director's "office" while she conducted the business of the tribe.

Within the complex, almost all of the employees are visibly Indian, a category referred to at Cherokee Nation as "field traditionalists." Those not visibly Indian were of Indian ancestry by their own report or by informants. Informality and an emphasis on speaking with you directly preface most interactions. The quiet pace of the complex during the day hours is deceiving of the night time and evening activities.

In the evening and after school hours Indian youth in the area utilize the complex gymnasium for basketball games--"all skin" games between other Native American groups. The community elder nutrition program is also sponsored by the tribe. Thanks to the recent construction of a low-cost housing project just one quarter a mile down the road, easy access to the community building has been a boon to stimulating activity within the tribal community. Community participation with the tribal organization seemed more cohesive than the Cherokee. Historically it appears that it is true that the Otoe-Missouria tribe did split into two factions with different rates of acculturation but this does not seem to have fostered the split in community participation with the organization seen with the Cherokee Nation. When questioning organizational members about a split in participation with the organization, the Chief responded that there was always someone who could not be pleased.

Never-the-less, those individuals working within the organization were better educated than state average levels for Native Americans, Higher levels of education, regular jobs, and home ownership were the

common factor among all organizational management personnel.

The economic base and the manpower base of the Otoe-Missouria is much smaller than that of the Cherokee, and it is this factor alone which accounts for the difference in size of the two organizations. And, the smaller size, brings closer contacts between organizational staff as well as community members. The activities of the organization are related close enough to the community that the sudden death of a community member is cause enough to close business at the Tribal Building. Arriving early one evening for a job interview with the tribal council, the researcher found the complex closed without notice. A convenience store clerk, four miles down the highway explained it to me as if, "I should have known something as important as that." Everyone else in the community certainly did. Maybe that is why I didn't get the job.

During the period of data collection (Fall, 1979 to Fall, 1982) the Otoe had just begun their new CETA program, only to have it defunded under a very short period of operation. Records of the program's activities were not available to the researcher, however the activity of the elderly programs provided an excellent opportunity to view members-of the traditional community interface with the tribal organization and the tribal youth. The following section is an analysis of the operation of the Otoe-Missouria elderly programs, with an added scope with allows for some comparison to the services provided other tribal elders here in Oklahoma.

## Federal Policy and Service Delivery

### Among the Otoe Elderly

There is a growing body of literature on the characteristics of older Americans, but the central examination of issues has been concentrated at examining the aging Anglo population, generally of urban emphasis. There have been several articles focused at ethnic family structures. The role of the aged and the marked differences in role relations has been noted by several authors. Among these racial and ethnic groups the least reported has been the elderly Native American.

There are several clear reasons for this:

1. A relatively inaccessible majority are located on Federal Indian Reservations in rural states.
2. Differing languages frequently erecting barriers to communication and research. There are few researchers sharing the culture.
3. Mistrust of outsiders and determination to maintain privacy regarding one's culture and lifestyle (Rogers and Grillion, 1978, p. 482).

In part, due to these problems, the Native American elderly has received only limited attention (Kaplan and Taylor, 1972; Levy, 1967; Murdock and Swartz, 1978; and Susuki 1975).

Fewer have searched for a relationship, if any, between this groups' special characteristics and current social service delivery. Some work has been done as evidenced by Schorr (1960) and Seelback and Saucer (1977) which indicate that it is the family which mediates access to social service delivery, and role/family structure in the traditional Native American extended family is different from the dominate Anglo family structure.

Essential demographic data is missing or inaccurate. One source

(Harbert and Ginsbery, 1979) states 5.7 percent of the Indian population as being over 62 years of age. Williams (1980) found that 10.8 percent of the population is over 60.

The elderly Indian is poor. Overly represented in jobs of a lower status and pay, in addition to extremely high unemployment rates which on some reservations, are as high as 50 percent. These facts suggest an employment history which might mean that many elderly tribal members do not have an employment history entitling them to social security benefits. In terms of federal policy and any increases in social security benefits between 1967 and the present, it is quite likely that the relative differences between Native Americans and the general population has been maintained with no measurable impact on them.

The age distribution for Indians varies considerably from that on the general population. As a whole, the Indian population has increased at a faster rate than the rest of the country. The average age of the Indian population is lower and this difference appears to be rising. Because of this, the elder Native Americans are even a greater minority than suspected by a general view of the population data: A pyramidal age distribution which has a broad base and a small point.

Minority populations in the U.S. have always experienced higher mortality rates than the general population. The Indian elder is no exception. "Only one of every three Native Americans or Alaskan Natives will reach the age of 65--this is exactly half the rate for the U.S. population as a whole. The life expectancy is about 44-48 years (Harbert and Ginsberg, 1979, p. 63). Although HEW has been keeping statistics on Indian health since the early 1950's and they consistently report improving conditions, the general health of the Native American population is low.

### Indian Elderly Within the Family

Like numerous Eastern cultures, the Native American elderly are revered and respected by their people as the source of wisdom and experience. For most, the community activities are not age segregated and the elderly have active positions of authority and control throughout the community. Care should be used in generalizing the Indian elder's experience to all tribal groups--they are not the same. Yet, as a rule, the elders have been educators, keeping culture and folklore alive for the young and tribe alike.

The Indian feeling of identification with the group--be it the clan, tribe or family--demands a greater degree of loyalty and supportive behavior from the individual than comparable institutional arrangements in Western culture. There is a great respect for age and many of the younger tribal members currently search for the traditional way of doing things, and these ways have not been abandoned by the elderly Native American. One study, which was completed with nine Pueblo tribes in New Mexico, found that only nine percent of the elderly, 60 years of age or more, lived alone--and we can compare this amount to a general population figure of 27 percent (Rogers and Gallion, 1978). The majority of these men and women lived in an extended family situation. The error of generalizing one tribal group's statistics to another is painfully apparent here: Murdock and Schwarts (1978) found in their study sample of Native American elders that 28.8 percent lived alone, 13.2 percent lived as elderly couples, and 58 percent lived in an extended family situation. This compares to an approximate 65 percent living in the extended family situation in Roger's and Gallion's work. Demographic data on the American Indian is poor, data on their elder

suffers from the same problems. Some of this variation is assuredly accounted for by the census data provided by the BIA and the U.S. Census, these two works were based on their own tabulations. The households included in these studies included spouse (if living), their children and their grandchildren. The pattern is not one of the elderly couple living alone until one of them dies, then moves in with the relatives. Rather, a couple share their home with the children and grandchildren, continuing this pattern through death. Few of the elderly Pueblos live alone and this is a familiar pattern for many tribal groups.

For the Native American, there is no special age for retirement. The men continue their work actively until they are no longer capable of being active. Real age for them then begins. For the elderly women, it appears there is a gradual role change of sorts: the general role of child rearer is maintained by a gradual move from "mother" to "grandmother". Men continue to be active, reducing these labors as physical limitations increase. No women, regardless of age should be without children. These cultural practices can lead to misunderstanding. Family services by welfare agencies in the past have been rather insensitive to cultural differences: "The south Dakota Department of Public Safety and Welfare petitioned a State Court to terminate the right of a Siseton-Wahpeton Souix mother to one of her children on the grounds that he was sometimes left with his 69 year old great-grandmother. In response to questioning by the the attorney who represented the mother, the social worker admitted that the four year old boy, John, was well cared for, but added the great-grandmother is worried at times" (Byler, 1977, p.3).

Congregate dining programs have shed light on the influence of relational bonding in extended families. Redhorse (1980) found that a Minnesota nutrition program was frustrated through a lack of participation by elders in a dining program. After exploring several avenues of change, a survey was conducted which revealed that over 70 percent of the elders "assumed functional contact with family networks and traditional family roles (Redhorse, 1980, p. 490). The elders were accompanied by children who were not allowed to eat by federal guidelines. Faced with conflicting values (and hungry children) the elder Indian withdrew from participation in the program. Similar problems have been documented in the Pueblos of New Mexico. Clearly a better designed program, tailored for the cultural needs of the tribal group is called for.

Simmons (195) clearly pointed out that "with the advance of herding and agriculture and the development of cultural traits, characteristic of higher civilization, such as grain supplies, property, trade, debt relations, and slavery, support of aged through communal sharing of food appears to have declined in importance or to have taken on features more characteristic of organized charity" (p.32).

The tribal community has always been responsive to the needs of their elderly. As they become more organized, a failure to realize cultural factors and institutionalize them, apparently leads to a rejection of the services by the elderly Indian. It is obvious that the Indian elders would like to see conditions improved, provided that his/her Indian identity is not compromised. Further, from a critical perspective current actions might be interpreted to suggest that social service delivery patterns are not geared to actually separate family



ties and responsibilities in favor of organizational activities designed to serve similar ends but which, in affect, segregate the elderly.

Public Law 95-6, Self-Determination, allows tribal governments (organizations) the legal right to direct funding and the administrative control of such funds. It is this author's hope that through the flexible interpretation and scheduling of services that these programs can complement and strengthen the traditional Indian community and family. It is not necessary to follow the footsteps of the non-Indian neighbor in segregating the elderly from their young and families--just because federal guidelines would suggest such programs for "success".

#### Social Service Programs for Elderly Native

##### Americans: Federal Legislation

Most studies are not aware that the movement for social service programs to the elderly began in the mid-1960's. The roots of current legislation date back to 1971 in the White House Conference on Aging. It was at this conference, that for the first time, national attention was drawn to the plight of the elderly Native American. Within the Special Concerns Session recommendations were presented by tribal spokesmen, but not any action was taken. It was during this conference that the Indian participants first recognized the need to channel programs directly from the federal government to tribal governments without intervening BIA or state controls. This, in itself, was a recognition of the Indian communities responsibility to their elderly. They are the reason for tribal communities and for the continued existence of the tribes as a viable culture. In many ways they may be viewed as irreplaceable resources. It is not their capability in

production that makes them valuable (although most produce and remain active), it is their resources of heritage, philosophy and way of life.

In June, 1976 the first Native American Conference on Aging took place in Phoenix, Arizona. During this time the original 1971 recommendations were reaffirmed. In an attempt to insure that the elder's needs were to be met, the National Indian Council on Aging concentrated its efforts in 1978 on amending the Older Americans Act, so as to meet these special needs--and provide remedial action where necessary. These efforts, at least in terms of gaining special legislation, have been partially successful, as evidenced by Title VI of the Act. Yet, Title VI exists as only part of an extensive list of federal programs impacting on the elderly Native American and the Native American community in generally. By focusing on the specific needs of this rather small group it is possible that within the context of the "big-picture" of federal policy, service delivery, and new trends in direct funding, resulting programs may have some problems. The Indian elderly themselves were quite politically active in shaping Title VI Policy (NICOA News). As indeed they have been almost all legislation impacting on the tribes. This perhaps is one of leadership and guidance, they are adept at asserting themselves and do not, as the stereotype might suggest, setting around in tepees and hogans watching the fire, discussing the good old days.

It has always been the Indian way to consider the elderly and youth as part of a whole, the family. Cowgill's (1972) thesis concerning the devalued role of the elderly in industrial society has somewhat of a limited impact on the rural Nation American. They have not become age segregated as many of the elders in the U.S. society

have, they are active and assume useful, valued roles.

Direct funding to tribal governments, state offices, and general federal programs all serve the need of the elderly Native American. The following table illustrates federal programs benefiting the elderly Native American (Table XI).

There are special programs for the Native American, but most of the programs for the general population are applicable also. The linkages between the tribal governments, state governments, and federal are often weak or non-existent. These weak linkages might possibly be identified as a potential weakness in the near future as funding levels most certainly decline.

Additional difficulties are presented by the lack of state jurisdiction in all but a few Indian Reservations. Many of the current federal programs designed to aid the elderly, including Indians, are administered by State of Area Agencies on Aging which are subjects to the policy established by the respective states. In many cases, by not making special attempts to Indian populations, the policy fails to reach the needy elderly Indian. These programs and services developed for the aged frequently are not designed to meet the special divergent needs of the minority population. Special consideration must be given to the way in which services are structured and delivered in order to insure that these needs can be met and discrimination averted. This requires sociological knowledge of the minority institutions, reliable demographic data, and service delivery agents which are "culturally appropriate." Federal policy is fixed and the tribes are different from the dominate Anglo institutions. Native Americans are themselves not a culturally homogeneous group and vary widely from tribe to tribe. They



differ in terms of education, cultural values, practices, and geographic distribution. The Native American population is becoming younger and urbanizing at a rapid rate. Acculturation has occurred at differing rates within the various tribes from total assimilation (termination) to refusal to participate with Anglo culture. Such variation and the effects of stereotypical thinking have extended to many policy decisions.

#### Evaluation Research and Theory

Before an examination of Aging Indian Programs in Oklahoma can be undertaken, necessarily a framework for interpretation must be constructed. Such a construction follows.

Kent (1971,) states that at least on one level of analysis the study of the aged must be dealt with in "relative" terms, "there is by this perspective an appropriate way to age in every culture" (p. 28). Anderson (1972) makes similar conclusions and outlines a cross-culture comparative focus. She suggests that white Anglo Americans are considered old when they reach a certain age, where in other societies the definition of "aged" is not necessarily chronological but a functional definition. This study accepts these two central positions.

1. There is an appropriate way to age in every culture. Each older person . . . (has a) social status and role structure that is assigned or assumed positions and tasks with accompanying responsibility (Twene, 1980,p. 26).
2. Anglo American society tends to define the aged in chronological terms. This brings about a general segregating of the elderly and a veneration of youth over seniority, knowledge more than wisdom. These attitudes effect our definitions and adjustments toward the aged (Fry, 1980, p.12).

Furthermore, Clark and Anderson (1967) list four historical factors which account for the elderly in contemporary Anglo society:

1. Weakening kinship ties brought about by increasing migration.
2. Rapid industrial and technological change which exclude the elderly from significant productive roles, emphasizing that progress has lessened the need for knowledge and skills possessed by the elderly.
3. An increase in the number of aged in percentage of the total population.
4. Emphasis of productivity on American values making it increasingly difficult for the elderly to feel needed, even when physically and mentally capable, the American elder is relegated to a non-valued status (p. 27).

When both sets of propositions are critically analyzed with what is already known through the literature about the Native American family and the role of the elder in tribal culture it can be realized that many of the foundations of federal policy for the aged in this country are not "culturally relevant". In applying this knowledge to Oklahoma Indian populations does not exist as a reservation group. As pointed out earlier their history is unique in that there are no reservations in Oklahoma, only service areas. Yet Oklahoma has a larger population of Native Americans than any other state (Bureau of the Census, 1970) and essentially all research to data documenting the success of Indian elderly programs/elder participation have been done with reservation groups.

A policy evaluation which is primarily concerned with the "cultural appropriateness" of these programs need view the specific data concerning Oklahoma tribes, family structure, and program utilization patterns.

### The Indian Elder in Oklahoma

Williams (1980) collected data from non-reservation Indians living in Oklahoma and found three factors to be intricately bound to understanding current conditions with the tribal elders. They were:

1. The elders represent a very small and shrinking population.
2. The fact that there are no reservations in Oklahoma has had an undetermined effect of family relations and acculturation of the Native American.
3. A complicated history of forced migration has lead to unitary tribal lands and individual allotments (p. 101).

The forced migration in Oklahoma has been a trend of rural living to urban. The total Indian population of the state is a conservative 113,000. Of this, approximately 49 percent are urban (this is 19 percent below the general population figure in the state). There is a parallel between the Oklahoma Indian population and the general population in migration toward the urban areas (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960). Traditionally, the Indian family grandchild-grandparent relationships have been strong. However, Williams (1980) quotes a conversation with one younger Indian: "It's being changed...my children live here, father lives in another town. They don't see him simply because of geography. A lot of families spread out" (p. 105).

Such separation of family is the basis for considering the loss of Indian culture by weakening kinship ties from migration, as suggested earlier and a change in values is expressed by devaluing the elders role in the family as teacher and advisor. Further, in the tribal organizations themselves many of the elders are slowly being replaced by the higher educated, younger Indian, who often has been "acculturated"

into the ideals of the professional world. This professionalization may lead to further devaluation of traditional roles and be expressed through policy decisions.

The Indian family size in Oklahoma is on the average 4.12 (compared to 3.36 in the general population). The impression one is left with after examining the material from the 1970 census and the Employment Security Commission is that the Indian family is (at least in Oklahoma) beginning to parallel the general population. All this suggests that the kinship ties are weakening.

But the rural population is different. The elders have, in the majority of cases, relatives living near. Household composition varies tremendously from one-to-four generations under one roof. "In general, although movements and family size support the idea of weakening kinship ties through migrations, on close inspection of the Indian family viewed outside of the specific household, close ties exist between generations" (Williams, 1980, p. 105).

The elderly Indian has not been segregated out by age, he or she may not live under the same roof with their children, but family is generally close and quite supportive. In Oklahoma there is a current popular growth in pro-Indianism and has been expressed through the term "Pan-Indianism." This essentially has constituted a form of revival and as the younger tribal members search for their "roots," the elders have once again become the valuable resource they once were.

In terms of income, 32 percent of the Oklahoma Indians are below poverty line. Approximately 25 percent are unemployed, this figure varies from country to country with the highest recorded rate being 74 percent for one county area. For many of the Indian elderly, as is true



for the aged general population, retirement benefits, social security, and veterans pensions are the sole source of income for many extended family groups. There is a myth that the young ethnic groups support their old. Writing on the Western Apache (Goodwin, 1942) found that because their elderly were often the wealthiest member of the family, particularly in an area with no jobs for the younger members of the family.

Of the total state Indian population, 5.16 percent of the males are over the age of 62, 6.49 percent of the females are over 62. The general population figure for those over 62 is 13 percent. These figures, based on census data, are highly suspect.

#### Patterns of Program Utilization Among Six Oklahoma Tribes

The following information was gathered through telephone surveys and on-site visits.

##### Chickasaw Tribe

Woods, contact person, "no specific funds now available for our Indian elderly." The Food and Nutrition program is flourishing, state funded it is not a program strictly for the Chickasaw elderly. The Chickasaw are quite concerned about the general health of their people, including the elderly and Wood's office acts as a liaison with the state sources.

##### Cherokee Nation

The Cherokee Nation elderly receive Title VI, Food and Nutrition

program. The elderly have priority in their new housing project. In addition special consideration for the transportation problems has been given with a coordinated move toward receiving funding for rural transportation systems. CETA had targeted the elderly for vocational skill training/retraining. However, defunding of CETA has clearly demoralized the group. Winterization moneys were available last winter, although not much of the monies were claimed. State programs are not used by Cherokee Nation to augment their services.

#### Kickapoo

Contact Person: Cecilia Blanchard. At this time they only have the Title VI Food and Nutrition Program. There is little or no evidence of coordination or planning with state agencies.

#### Ponca Tribe

The elderly have banded together and have been raising funds through food fairs and handgames. This money is to help individual elderly with their specific individual problems. In addition, they do have Title VI. The Ponca have a strong sense of tribalness and have a large rural population. This feeling of groupness is evidenced in their desire to meet their own needs through community resources.

#### Kiowa

In Carnegie, Oklahoma the Kiowa elderly have a new building funded through the Association of Southwestern Oklahoma Government Grants. Title VI provides for nutrition, cultural and social events, counseling services, etc. According to their spokesperson these programs are

working well. Concern was expressed for the continuity of the programs due to issues now being debated over Reagan's budget cuts. The dependency that the Kiowa elderly currently have on the federal programs was expressed as a real fear. The problem here is that it is very difficult to separate "tribal opinion" from "tribal organizational needs." Loss of funding presents us with two problems: loss of services to potential clients and a shrinking of the bureaucracy.

### Otoe-Missouria

In an examination of tribal roles the BIA statistics, 107 people were found to be 60 years of age or more within the tribe. Of these, only 60 were to be located within the service area. With the recent construction of a new tribal building, the Otoe-Missouria quickly set a Title VI Food and Nutrition program into operation. Community health care workers place special emphasis on elderly participation and make sure that they visit the Health Clinic at White Eagle regularly. Many of the elders suffer from sugar diabetes. Transportation grants have been utilized and the elderly receive rides to town and to the health center as well as to the Title VI program by a staff operated van--as well as to various tribal functions. A food co-op exists which discounts food for the elderly. Garden seeds, energy assistance and electric fans were distributed during the hot weather the last two summers. Linkages existed between the tribal elderly program and with the Stillwater CAP office which offers its services to the Otoe-Missouria elderly.

Several on-site visits were made by the researcher to evaluate the "success" of these programs. These programs were viewed as a high

percentage of success. Primarily the evaluation was an attempt to compare the impact of these programs on the operating cultural patterns of the tribe. All of the programs for the elderly are operated directly from the new community building. The building is the center for all of the tribe's activities. A housing project for their elderly is less than a quarter of a mile away, weekly dances and meetings are held within the building, and it is the seat of tribal "government." On all of the researcher's visits to the community, the elderly members of the tribe were "visiting" with the Acting Chief throughout the day. Unannounced drop ins would sit in the Chief's office for hours discussing the weather, crops, relatives, dances, and eventually the topic that they had come to discuss. This process might take several hours and during the time it occurred it was not uncommon to have several other elders "sit-in" on the conversations. Government by consensus thus occurred with many of the tribal leaders utilizing the programs in order to bring themselves together for discussion of community interests.

Since the elderly programs were operated through the Community Building, which also served as a gymnasium/basketball court, the office complex is a unique interface between generations and serves to integrate the aged Otoe-Missouria with the younger. Directly outside of this modern and new office complex was to be found a rather small dog house. The explanation, several stray dogs had been abandoned on the highway and several elderly ladies had become attached to them. Rather than remove the animals, the Chief (representing the "bureaucracy") had the dog house erected in the rear of the tribal building to please them. I should point out that the Chief is well over 60 years of age and most

of his children live out-of-town, the eldest daughter in Los Angeles.

The Otoe-Missouria are a fine example of how the elderly programs can be used to help integrate tribal unity. One final note concerning them: attendance to the nutrition program varied from day-to-day and the author did not attempt to get "statistical sample." The validity of the following statements are qualitative, rather than quantitative. The Otoe-Missouria are still highly traditional, and rural of nature. Patterns of utilization of the Aged Programs strongly support the concept of a "self-determined" usage of federal moneys to strengthen the cultural base of the tribe. Throughout my interviews with the elders and tribal member I attempted to locate a tribal member in a rest home. I was consistently reassured that the "Otoe-Missouria take care of their own--the family does not abandon its elders."

In conclusion it would appear that many of the tribes in Oklahoma are underutilizing the available social services for their elderly. This under use stems from several problems.

1. Tribal grant writers often are not aware of the availability of many of the programs.
2. A lack of communication with state and federal agencies which would allow for the provision of services, at least on an "out-patient" basis.
3. A feeling that these programs are not needed. We take care of our elderly ourselves--age has a functional definition and as such these programs have a different meaning to the participants that what policy designers may have had in mind.

As funding in the early 1980's lessens, the connections between the various funding sources may need to be strengthened. But only if the tribal groups perceive the programs as necessary for their elderly. The other answer to meeting the needs of the tribal elders is through the community--if they see a need, community action without state or federal intervention of funding is possible, as witnessed by tribal strategies reviewed in this work. Many community members feel this method is more appropriate, meaningful, and in a sense, cost effective. It effectively removes the costly middle man--the program administrators. Volunteerism is a fact of life in a family oriented tribal community.

Yet these fundings can operate to strengthen the tribal community, as witnessed by the Otoe-Missouria, who currently have every appearance of experiencing a rebirth. The Indian community has a need to examine and explore innovative programs which integrate and link the various elder programs to tribal life. It is possible to complete a continuum of services which enhance and strengthen the traditional culture, but such decisions need to be made with open eyes and a critical perspective toward the future.

## CHAPTER VI

### The Future of Organizational and Economic Growth For Native American Tribal Groups

For both of the tribal groups examined in this work, the payment of U.S. government claims provided a funding base which apparently stimulated the organizational growth. This organizational growth (attributable to material wealth) was then followed by a series of government programs and policies which transformed the Indian himself, as well as his land, into something of an economic asset. From the organizational standpoint, economic development is desirable for several reasons; humanistic and profit oriented motives.

Humanistic motives ("we are offering this in order to improve the life of the poor Indian") are often offered to explain the development of these to a questioning public (and target population). Cherokee Nation, for example, in one of their glossy commercial brochures (1979) stated that "through the efforts of Cherokee leaders, long range programs and plans have been established and are functioning in assisting tribal members to become self-sustaining citizens." Locally controlled community development corporations and community action agencies as well as tribal organizations are known to offer this rational cause and effect explanation of their activities to the public.

Profit motives evolve as the organizations (and the people they

represent) participate in ventures which create a profit by involvement through new or expanded industries in a region. Profit motives and humanistic motives become inter-related: "We are offering these programs to help the Indian people help themselves by developing a strong economic base". Many public and quasi-public non-profit organizations can be motivated effectively by the thought of profit. In such cases profits are construed as residual funds which can be added to the organizations reserves to cover operational and programic expenses. Consequently, the decision to institute a particular tribal program is dependent not only on a desire to assist the "poor-Indian" but also a desire to improve the poor-organizational life" of the tribal bureaucracy.

In both of the tribes presented in this study, economic growth of the tribal community is viewed from two basic angles: the material wealth available and the manpower wealth available. The Otoe-Missouria, due to their small size, in both areas, simply do not represent a "resource" in their region worth exploiting like the Cherokee. Historically, the attempt to separate the Otoe from their material wealth, although successful, has not been as intensive as the attempts by the non-Indian population of Northeastern Oklahoma to separate the Cherokee from theirs. Furthermore, in the development of the two bureaucratic organizations there does not appear to be the clear split between an acculturated faction and traditional faction for the Otoe-Missouria as is seen with the Cherokee. This points out that total community representativeness of the organization is not necessary for it to operate, although it can help (depending on who they serve!)



The social and cultural context of the community does play a role in the development of an economic base. In one example, outside interests in developing an agricultural base for tribal groups in coastal Washington consistently failed. However, some groups, such as the Lumbs, as a community have acted to support commercial fish and hatchery enterprises. This activity is not too far removed from traditional tribal activities and is enthusiastically supported by the community. On the other hand, in an attempt to stimulate the tourist industry on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, a feasibility study and proposal were presented to community members which indicated that the construction of a ski resort on a tribally owned section of Mt. Jefferson would bring increased trade and jobs to the reservation. Community reaction to the proposal was negative: the further influx of tourists to the reservation was viewed as an undesirable side-effect of the Tribal Organizations activities: the current existence of a tourist resort on the reservation was enough cause for dissent among tribal members.

The Cherokee and the Otoe are both taking limited strides toward developing on-going economies which are of Indian emphasis: this is the profits of the activities are targeted for the pockets of the tribal population. Cherokee Nation's Horticulture Program exemplifies this tribe's attempt: fourteen fully functioning greenhouses (and more under construction) which in the near future will provide real jobs and job training for the Cherokee people who wish to participate. Profits from sales will go back into the 'general fund' and will be used to develop other economic and training activities. The Otoe-Missouria have very

little of this in mind, although they are considering a tribally owned combination bait-shop, convenience store, and arts and crafts sales. Both tribes plan on hiring Indians to work in the facilities. This type of economic development requires an organization which represents the tribal community and at the same time is committed to meeting their needs in a culturally acceptable manner. The activities and structure of the Otoe-Missouria tribal organization represent such an organization. Although severely handicapped by a lack of resources, this organization's effectiveness is due primarily to its sensitivity to the community. The future of the Otoe-Missouria (in terms of economic development is not very bright. The resources for developing an "Indian economy" in their region are simply lacking. As is a commitment by the tribal leaders (who appear to represent the will of the community). The Cherokee, on the other hand, have a larger material base as well as manpower base, but organizational activities have 'questionable' motives, being more representative of a class of 'legal Cherokee' who are in control and participate fully in the bureaucratic and programic activities of the organization.

Tribal planners within the Cherokee Nation stress the various importances between the different programs: size and capitol generated by the programs gives them a difference in importance not always clearly related to the efficiency of their operation. Unlike the Otoe-Missouria who have a distinct underutilization of the various programs offered (apparently by choice) the Cherokee have a plethora of programs which has actually precipitated an "Indian shortage" for participants in their various skill training programs. Internally, this generated a demand for program participants, and management then begins to 'loosen up' its

definition of Indianness in order that a larger target population can be 'identified' and served.

The tribal organizations represented in this study operate with different degrees of support and acceptance by their tribal members. Internal staffing patterns, in terms of hiring Indians are also much different. Yet they both hold in common the stated goals of helping the poor Native American stand on his own feet. The slogan most often quoted by the two groups of tribal leaders is "Self-Determination", i.e. the manifest right of the tribal groups to plan and orchestrate their own future. Clearly, self-determination cannot be complete without full, entirely self-sufficient activities which allow the tribe to be sufficient to itself; this is a goal that cannot be achieved by adapting a bureaucratic life style (organizational mode of living) which by its very criteria forces overlap and interdependence between the traditional tribal population and the acculturated groups who are most likely to find power through the management of such an organization. Obviously, self-determination is more of a form of accommodation (with power to negotiate) than a means of disengaging the American Indian from the rest of U.S. society. Presumably, most of the more acculturated Indian leaders see these gains in control as a means to equitably and productively link the American Indian to American society, and presumably, many of the more traditional tribal members see this linkage as the latest (and perhaps most successful) attempt by the dominant society to control the Native American's resources and ultimately him. This linkage to American society is occurring through the coordinated usage of the tribal resource base in such a manner that the American Indian, as well as the non-Indian profits from the organizations'

advancement' to occur, the organization must be committed to helping those that it theoretically represents: not the economic and political interests of the dominant social structure within a region.

One view of this process suggests that gains in economic growth and employment of American Indian will occur if business and industry are located within the tribal area...and if these businesses feel that they owe an allegiance or responsibility to the tribe in discussion. This issue will become increasingly important if federal policy concerning job programs leads toward a politically popular approach that directly involves the private sector in manpower planning, training, and utilization.

Even with the involvement of the private sector (or because of it) many tribal organizations realize that 'pumping money' into a tribal economy that does not produce real goods or services will not benefit the Indian people through a multiplier effect. The Overall Economic Development Plan for the Warm Springs Reservation (1978) stated that: "Thus, nearly 380 positions in the reservation labor market (of 755 are occupied by non-Indians who typically commute from the town of Madras, 15 miles away. Who do not spend their earnings in the reservation economy. This degree of utilization of an outside labor force is not conducive to the long range self sufficiency and health of the reservation economy" (p. 19).

Furthermore, in an unpublished study conducted by the Warm Springs CETA program it was found that a significant proportion of the higher paying, management jobs were held by non-Indians, particularly in the touristy industry and in the lumber industry owned by the tribe. Apparently, these jobs were not valued enough by the tribal members to place a

representative of the community in the job: critical positions commanding the higher salaries were held by off-reservation, non-Indian personnel who took their pay and spent it off reservation, effectively siphoning off significant revenues. The Cherokee experience similar problems made more significant by the lack of a real reservation.

The Otoe-Missouri have no industry in which their management personnel or training program graduates can spend their money in order to multiply the effects of the influx of federal dollars. Further, like the Cherokees, the allotment of land has severely interrupted the conceptualization of an Indian reservation which might maintain its own economic base benefiting the Indian people within the region.

Toward the completion of this study, the Otoe in attempting to develop their economy they began to study the concept of a Tribal Bingo hall as an income producer for the tribe. The future of this business activity and its support by tribal members should be studied.

The Oklahoma economy does not have the concept of an Indian economy built into it. It does not exist. Tribal development programs, by their economic development of natural resources or manpower training programs, do benefit the participants, but the multiplier effect benefit and stimulate the general economy of the region in which the programs are instituted. Warhaftig's comments would lead the critical thinker to believe that (at least for the Cherokee) a tribal program would not even be considered if it did not benefit the economy of the region, not just the Cherokee. However, tribal organizations often attempt to place their trainees in programs that are either owned or operated by Native Americans. For the Otoe, this has consisted primarily of taking their

people and trying to find job slots within the bureaucratic organizations which serve their needs in the region. Little is done to find 'Indian owned and operated businesses'; this is an activity that Cherokee Nation tribal planners have encouraged throughout the utilization of the trained Native American; the rationale that is offered concerns the growth of an 'Indian Economy.' An unexpected result of this practice has been the rapid growth of Indian owned and operated businesses: growth which has a remarkable similarity to the growth seen in the general Cherokee population. These are not new businesses stimulated by organization economic impact; they are old businesses converted to Indian through the 'new' identity of the business owners.

#### Indian Preference as a Tribal Economic Development Tool

Perhaps the most 'popular' and best understood method of utilizing tribal manpower programs is utilizing the trained participants within the tribal organization. Thus, the concept of utilizing Indians in Indian owned and operated organizations is not a new concept to the tribal program operators. This strategy can be expanded to maximize the program benefits by the Indian community by placing the Native American clients in Indian owned and operated businesses--within the framework allowable by the federal guidelines. A primary problem is identifying these businesses. The tool for aiding in this type of development effort does exist: primarily because of the BIA policy referred to as the "Buy Indian Act".

Theodore Krenzke, Acting Deputy Commissioner of the BIA traced the history of the "Buy Indian Act" and how it was not really used until the

1960's. "Substantial ownership was replaced by 51% ownership until finally because of an increasing number of front organizations, the BIA adopted a 100% criteria " (United Indian Planning Association News, 1974, p. 3).

The agencies then required that the firms be 100% Indian owned and operated. Congress later defined Indian ownership in Section 7(b) of the Indian Self Determination Act as being a 51% minimum of Indian Ownership. It is not clear by this definition if it is necessary for the business to be "operated" by Indians.

The BIA Muskogee Area Office (under these guidelines) has published the Directory of Indian Business Enterprises: (Muskogee Area, Feb. 6, 1980). This document includes the region served by Cherokee Nation. As a useful tool for identifying Indian owned and operated businesses, it is the best list available but should not be viewed as all inclusive. Certain criticisms should be noted. The effects of the Dawes Act (closed roles) and competition for available land, settlement claims, and other natural resources documented earlier in their study led to the inclusion on Cherokee roles of a number of non-Indians. These 'legal' Cherokees were recognized as full-bloods and many full-bloods were never registered. In this case, we have businesses competing for the available federal dollar and contracts--which in the recent past have been dwindling. It is quite possible (and there is some evidence) that some of these organizations are indeed 'fronts' and have little commitment to the Indian community or Indians as individuals. The above comments in mind, it is possible to test the idea that Indian trainees are being placed in tribally owned activities or Indian owned businesses. Looking at the Cherokee CETA Program the

following patterns were found.

#### On-The-Job Training

In 1979 the Cherokee Nation CETA Program placed 158 individuals in the On-The-Job training slots. It was possible to examine the placement sites and the names of the organizations for 99 of these participants. Of these 99, 46 individuals (46.46%) had been placed in tribally owned or operated business or service activities. It should be pointed out that for the intents and purposes of the act, businesses owned by Cherokee Nation may be treated as non-profit organizations. Although the CETA program does not have a formal policy of placing as many people as possible with the Cherokee Nation organization, obviously the informal ties between CETA and other branches of the organization have forged informal linkages. These jobs are not real. That is, with the removal of federal support the job dissolves.

#### Public Service Employment and Work Experience

In 1979 there were 188 clients served by the CETA program's title VI PSE program. Follow-up data was available for all 188 participants and it was found that 92 (49.208) were employed (placed) in Indian owned or operated organizations.

When the 1979 records for Work Experience participants were examined it was found that data was available for 62 for the 890 individuals. Of these, 159 (25.488) were working in non-profit organizations serving the Native American population within the Cherokee



Nation service district. This figure would have been higher if Public School placements which involved work primarily with the Indian children could be identified. It is not that the linkage of PSE to the economic development of Native Americans is low, it is simply that the nature of the title effects where they can be placed.

It can be seen from the above statistics that the linkage of CETA to the Tribal Organization staffing needs is very strong. However, a low proportion of the placements are with Indian owned businesses in the private sector. Formal linkage between CETA and the business community is through the CETA Manpower Planning Committee and the CETA Private Industrial Committee and these committees theoretically are sensitive to the private sector's needs. Are program operators simply placing the trainees in the only jobs available or is there active participation from the regions businesses to recruit and impact on the training of the Native Americans?

The drafters of the CETA legislation apparently had some hopes that the program operators would be sensitive to the needs of the Private sector of the economy. By prescribing the existence of manpower planning councils the intention was to provide significant input to the programs from the local businesses. The federal regulations clearly see the Council as an advisor to the programs, not a policy-setting (decision making) body. Have they been active?

An examination was made of the available minutes from all of the CETA Manpower Planning Committees: The Youth Councils, the Private Industrial Committee, and the Planning Committee. Stressing once again that it is difficult for an outsider to evaluate the proceedings and impute from these councils, it would appear that from the minutes most

of the meetings are was currently doing and the councils then agreed to it. Supportive data exists for this view from interviews with the various CETA staff. The Planning Council met only three times during 1979 (which was in violation of federal regulations) The PIC Council met on all five required occasions. Input from the members into the planning and placement process of the CETA trainees appeared to be quite minimal, at least as this input was portrayed through the minutes of the meetings. The strongest statement made from the Private Industrial Council came from an Indian owned and operated business: "it would be nice if CETA would train the individuals before they were sent to us". The INCA representative was referring to OJT participants sent to them for training. Greenleaf Nurseries stated that it was their wish that the CETA clients should which received some support from the other PIC representatives. According to interviews with the Cherokee Nation CETA Program Placement Officer, the complaint was that the Indian was somewhat lazy (late to work) and inconsistent in his production. Tribal placement officers also remarked that these jobs were primarily of an entry level nature: manual labor, boring, offering minimum wages only because of the federal subsidies involved. It was not uncommon for such workers to be terminated at the end of the subsidy period. Something period not uncommon in practice, even by Cherokee Nation itself.

Were Indian Businesses represented in these meetings? Besides INCA, no. When one Indian owned construction business was interviewed (this business was recently converted to Indian owned) the business manager was not particularly worried about having input into the planning process: "If we have to, we'll hire a couple of Indians so

that we can get one of those federal construction projects that they're involved in". It becomes obvious that the Indian worker is not as valuable a commodity as the federally subsidized construction projects on Indian land are. The PIC input into the planning and design process has, and probably will remain, minimal due to the view that private industry in the region has taken of the the Cherokee worker--he is a usable commodity receiving federal support, and not necessarily a desired addition to their business payrolls at the end of that subsidy period.

An interesting dichotomy occurs here: the Indian worker is not particularly valued, but the program which supports his salary has a tremendous impact on the economy of the region and is very much desired! Consequently, while little support is offered from industry and business to the individual, for the Cherokee Nation's organizational activities (which involve attracting lucrative construction and touristy trade), quite a bit of support is provided by the region's businesses.

Informally, Cherokee Nation has attempted to attract private industry with an offer of an adequate labor force. It is apparent through the recitation of area labor force statistics that the Indian people in this region are poorly educated and among the most economically depressed groups in the nation. They are, by the nature of these facts and statistics, unprepared to enter the labor force. This fact can then be countered by utilizing tribal employment and training programs to subsidize the employees, and allowing the employer to have control of the training process and the very nature of the job activities. Poor or nonexistent retention suggest that employers are utilizing the Indian worker to free payroll monies and are more

interested in this than they are in creating a real job. With the termination of the subsidy many of the trainees are let go. Why allow this to occur? In competing for the available job slots in a failing economy, the tribal organization can not afford to anger the private sector. The organization is very interested in managing its programs, and this requires attracting applicants for the programs and then placing them. Without a place to put them, there is a 'log jam' of applicants. A constant turn-over of employees at the various businesses actually works to the organizations benefit because they can continuously replace the unsubsidized employee with another! Greater placement numbers represent program successes and the requirement of a larger budget for the next fiscal year.

Considering that a significant number of these placements are in non-Indian owned businesses, or Indian owned businesses of a questionable nature', the programs begin to look like a form of Internal Colonialism with the Indian laborer being utilized for the economic benefits of the supported payroll. Essentially, the tribal organization by allowing this to occur is actually aiding the structuring of the labor force economy in the region.

This type of utilization of the Indian worker was not found among the Otoe-Missouria for the simple reason that economic development and manpower training programs have not reached the stage of development found with the Cherokee. The Otoe-Missouria worker does not bring this type of backing with him into the regions labor market and consequently can not be viewed as a desirable commodity.

In concentrating efforts at improving the individual we have

neglected the fact stressed earlier in this study..and that is that joblessness is caused by a failure in a regions economy to provide good paying, desirable jobs. Entry level, low skill jobs are desired, but by continued support of Indian workers in these jobs we contribute to a structured labor market. More jobs, as well as a commitment by a regions elite to allow these individuals (as a group) into the political power structure. An organization which does not stress this in its day to day operations is not aiding the Indian people directly, but is serving the interests of the non-Indian community. This perhaps accounts for the differences in the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Organization and the Cherokee Nation: the Otoe organization is the community spearhead... the Cherokee Nation represents a bureaucratic (secondary) mode of interpersonal relationships and by its very nature is more susceptible to the acculturated Indian with an invested interest in the economic and political activities of a fractionated tribe. Suppressive activities are not particularly popular today (if identified) and Cherokee Nation spends much more time on advertising, etc., then the Otoe-Missouria ever have. The myth of Cherokee assimilation that is popularly portrayed in the region has little in common with the representation that the Otoe Organization give of themselves. To say that the Otoe are 'low profile' is perhaps to overstate: many people in their region have not heard of them. If the Cherokee traditionals, or the Otoe for that matter, are poor then it is because they wish it that way. Myths are very powerful.

Perhaps the hardest evaluation of the operation of these two organizations is one which involves 'effectiveness'. Effective for who?

The enculturated group which appears to benefit directly from operating the organization, or benefits for those who the organization in theory serves? There is a certain philosophy of governance not clearly represented in the organizational structure of the two groups. Note that the Otoe list the Otoe-Missouria Tribe as the administrative head of the organization with the tribal chairman and tribal council directly answerable to the people. In application this makes it politically unfeasible for the chairman and tribal council members to engage in activities that the tribe does not approve of or even not know about. Due to the informal lines of communication (primary) within the tribal community, it has a semblance of the older form of 'government by consensus'. Bureaucratically, this can be damaging.

A closer look at the internal activities of the Otoe and it is found that the pressure for additional programs, greater funding, a ratified and legally constraining constitution appears to be coming from newer personnel, younger and better educated. The Otoe- tribal planner and their CETA director are both college educated and have work histories which include similar jobs with other tribal groups, or the BIA. This suggests once again that not only has the tribal organization become a focal point for the better educated and perhaps more acculturated tribal members, it has also become a career aspiration for many of today's younger Native Americans. Working for the "Tribe" becomes an alternative to working for the white culture: somehow these individuals begin to feel that the organization represents the future of the American Indian, that this future is valid, and participation in it does not negate their claim to being Indian.

Indian oriented activities involve spending much time at social gatherings, knowledge of Indian lore and tribal ritual, and continuous generosity. Can a rationally structured tribal bureaucracy offer this to aspiring career Indians? In a well developed, rationally operated bureaucracy these characteristics do not bring prestige, promotions, or pay raises. The well defined standards of fixed work hours, formal education, and accumulating capital (not to mention consumption) bring that kind of prestige to the participant. An "Indian Oriented" individual is at odds with an organization oriented toward western industrial society. And in order to exist as an Indian-Oriented organization (as the Otoe-Missouria appear to be) the organization runs the risks of appearing inefficient to the non-Indian evaluators.

The concept of Self-Determination implies that the Indian people can now be in control of their own destinies: however, the control of that destiny is linked to the growth of a complex bureaucracy that is guided by Federal rules and regulations. This type of a social structure by its very nature requires well educated technicians, specialists, and administrators which are in shortage among the tribal members. In fact, if acculturation has occurred for many of the staff personnel of these organizations, the future will call for either full acculturation of the tribe being served (so they can understand each other) or there will be an increased demand for mediators who can "explain the two tribes to each other". Malcolm McFee (1968: p.12) referred to these individuals as "interpreters to mesh the political forces of the two sub-societies". In fact, the interpreters are already there, they simply have not been formally acknowledged as such. At Cherokee Nation

there are the bi-lingual out-reach workers who 'recruit Indians' and the bi-cultural secretaries. The Otoe-Missouria tribe has their top management people who can do this. A remarkable difference, the implications of which the researcher has just begun to uncover. Perhaps this is the key to progressive adaptation to a changing cultural milieu. The tribes must adapt, and in fact have been for generations. The problem has been in adapting and not losing one's culture and beliefs in the process.

The manifest function of both of the tribal organizations studied in this work has been to help the needy Native American. A latent process has been to aide in defining what an Indian is and what type of activities Indians engage in. Members of both tribal organizations have been encouraged to believe that what they are doing constitutes an 'Indian-Oriented' activity, regardless of its similarity to non-Indian cultural activities. By participating with the tribal bureaucracy, the tribal staff member of the Cherokee who is from the traditional community must temporarily suspend his or her judgement of what it is to be Indian. This is not just a matter of being bi-cultural, it is the developed ability to operate successfully in two cultural modes based on situational variables and cues from other organizational participants. His ultimate self concept is related to this 'definition of the situation' as being Indian or non-Indian in cultural mode. For the Otoe-Missouria tribal member, this process is not yet as clearly dichotomized. Due to a closer relationship with the traditional community, a 'looser' definition of the correct way to run a formal organization, and a smaller tribal population this organization does not necessarily force its participants to choose a cultural mode.



Never-the-less, one of the impacts of these organizations has been to foster an image among its employees, tribal members, and the public at large that organizational activities are Indian in mode. Tribal groups that accept this mode of operation can not help but be influenced toward the recognizably dominant form of organizational existence that we have in the Western world.

#### Conclusion: The Future of the Tribal Indian

As was illustrated in the case of the Cherokees, the interests of the acculturated tribal members merged with the interests of non-Cherokee people and the BIA. Self-Determination, at least for the Cherokee experience, duplicated the experiences of the Indian New Deal. By rationalizing the tribal organizations and political activities, tribal activities by definition become an extension of the state. "The conceptual danger of the recent Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act is in its scheme of assimilating tribes into the bureau's administrative network, rather than openly transferring power to tribes to exercise independently of the bureau. In this way the act, which was supported by the bureau, makes the tribes look and function more and more like creatures of the agency, as opposed to separate sovereignties. Nothing could be better calculated to convince Indians and the public that tribes are legally inextricable from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and must stand or fall with it" (Barsh and Trosper, 1975. p.228).

Federal policy can be viewed as a continued attempt to make a tribal people function along the lines of a fully rationalized, modern, industrial society. With the bureaucratic mode is linked capitalism and democracy. Policy makers use of law to remove tribal rights and

possessions have been successful: land losses are considerable and now, imposed over a variety of organizational forms has been democracy and corporate capitalism. Of great loss has been the tribal communities' right to define anyone it so wishes as being Indian. Socialized economies (which often work well in conditions of extreme poverty) and concensual forms of government have remained under attack consistently by policy makers who insist that all tribes are alike, and if they aren't they should at least have the good sense to become 'like the rest of us'.

The Cherokee experience should not be generalized to all Indian tribes: it is exactly that type of thinking that this research combats by examining the organizational experience of the Otoe-Missouria. However, a historical analysis combined with sociological theory can provide predictive insight for future U.S. tribal relations.

First the Cherokee. This research suggests that there will be no future changes in the dual nature of the political and tribal community scene. The Cherokee Nation, following the rules of oligarchical growth will effectively counter any organizational development that the traditional Cherokee Communities might attempt. This has been occurring and the tribal organization has become increasingly effective at co-opting any of the community organization of the Traditionals. Membership to the Cherokee tribe will increasingly amount to a political affiliation and have little relationship to life style, beliefs, or values of a traditional Cherokee nature.

For the Otoe-Missouria, their future as a cohesive tribal community with a representative tribal organization will only be protected to the extent that the regional economy can ignore them. Recent economic

activities, particularly their new Bingo Hall has attracted quite a bit of attention to their activities as a tribe. Big money and economic development by the tribal organization is likely to forge new political alliances within and without the tribe and in all likelihood result in the type of goal division seen in their past history.

The future of U.S. Indian policy, based on past analysis and organizational theory would suggest a continuation of the current rhetoric of self-government. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, acting as its own expert witness will offer to policy makers the rationale that is needed to incorporate the infant tribal organizations within the oligarch of federal programs. The U.S. Government will finally succeed removing the Indian problem. For those tribal members who do not wish to participate in the legal-rational definition of tribe and Indian-ness, their children will not be included on the rolls and will ultimately fail in the government test of determining who is an Indian. Traditional communities, through their failure to cooperate with the state and federal governments (as well as their own) will remain poor. Infant mortality will remain at its current high level and traditionals will continue to die younger than the general population. Under nourishment will remain a fact of daily existence. And social observers will argue that this has occurred because the Indian has chosen this path. In order to preserve as much as possible of a cultural identity many tribal groups will become increasingly politically fractionated, based on levels of acculturation and blood-quantum.

Tribal membership today is best viewed as a political relationship which has little if anything to do with one's cultural or even racial identity. For a culturally distinct tribal group to persevere it will

require ideological warfare that most tribes are not prepared to engage in, assuming they even want to, which we can assume some do not.

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