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THE POLITICAL OUTSIDERS: BLACKS AND INDIANS IN A RURAL OKLAHOMA COUNTY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

BRIAN FARMER RADER

Norman, Oklahoma

1977

THE POLITICAL OUTSIDERS: BLACKS AND INDIANS IN A RURAL OKLAHOMA COUNTY

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And because this project was done in Oklahoma - the state motto captures the essence of this whole undertaking which has required several years to complete.

"Labor Omnia Vincit"

Labor Conquers All Things

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

CHAPTER ONE

SILENT MINORITIES

In Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign, Nixon appealed to the silent majority, deploring the protests and demonstrations of the vociferous ethnic minorities. At the voting booths, the silent majority responded to Nixon, while political scientists studied the vociferous ethnic minorities, urban Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Blacks. Publishing statistics in an attempt to explain the how and why of ghetto politics, political scientists produced a great amount of literature. However, the silent minorities who do not live in ghettos but who live in rural areas and strive to maintain their cultural heritage while seeking political potency in their community were neglected. The present study focuses on the political life of two minorities, Blacks and Indians, in a rural setting, specifically, McIntosh County, Oklahoma.

The main reason for studying the Blacks and Indians together is that it has never been done before. The bulk of Black political studies commonly cited in political science literature deal primarily with urban Black politics.[1] The few studies of Blacks in rural areas do not attempt any

inter-ethnic analysis. Thus, the Black political experiences are discussed without reference to other experiences in the same locality.[2]

Works on Indians are especially limited, usually exploring the relationship of the Indian to the national government. Thus, reservation tribes receive the majority of the treatment. Most commonly studied are the Sioux, Navajo, and Apache tribes.[3] Scanty, indeed, are works dealing primarily with the political views, goals, aspirations, lifestyles, and political participation among Indians and rural non-reservation Indians, who to some extent have been "assimilated" into contemporary American culture.[4]

What is most unique about this project is that it deals with non-assimilated Indians and with Blacks and examines both in a rural setting. One particular area of concern in this project is the existence of a limiting political framework that relegates Blacks and Indians to the role of political outsiders. Generations of these ethnics were born and buried within McIntosh County, and yet today, because of exclusion these groups remain outside of the political sphere.

This study will focus on the extent to which "group consciousness" motivates Blacks or Indians to participate in politics. An attempt will be made to ascertain to what extent existing patterns of political participation among the Blacks and Indians in McIntosh County are the function of

learned behaviors fostered by this rural setting and what the prospects are for enhanced political participation on the part of these groups in the future.

In the analysis of the patterns of political participation among Blacks and Indians various segments of political participation will be discussed. Types of conventional and unconventional political participation will be analyzed by examining leaders and followers of the same ethnic groups, and between leaders and followers of the two different ethnic groups. Leadership typologies will be developed for the two ethnic groups in addition to a typology of leadership for the White population which can be compared with the ethnic groups. In addition to the theoretical typologies of leadership, actual profiles of existing Black, Indian, and White leadership will be developed to aid the reader in understanding just exactly who the leaders are among the three ethnic groups groups in McIntosh County.

This project will also pinpoint what organizations are relied upon by ethnic peoples in this rural setting as vehicles of political expression. Another area of interest in this project will be the identification of issues deemed important by the majority of Black, White, and Indian respondents respectively. This study also examines what, if anything, these groups have done about the issues.

The theoretical constructs to be used in this project are the Modernization Approach.[5] This approach relates

levels of racial discrimination and racial conflict in multi-racial societies to levels of socioeconomic development. Further, modernization is assumed to alter traditional attitudes and values so that changes in these attitudes and values may mobilize individuals for more active roles in political life. Holloway,[6] using this construct, argues with regard to Blacks that the level of their political participation and the style of their participation vary directly with the apparent level of development of the community in which the Black lives. This proposition will be applied in this project to both Blacks and Indians. The second theoretical construct used in this study is termed the Power-Relations Approach.[7] There is a widely-held assumption by scholars that racial discrimination experienced by Blacks is a function of their lack of power in the political system and what is needed to overcome this handicap is the development of group cohesiveness.[8] This proposition will also be applied in this project to Indians as well as Blacks.

This inquiry, therefore, examines participation in politics, issues of concern to rural ethnic people, styles of leadership and organizations used to accomplish the goals of the group, and possible alliances or coalitions between Blacks and Indians. Further elaboration of these ideas is necessary since they are applied here in a distinctive rural setting.

Participation

Political scientists have written much about the meaning and nature of participation, political socialization, and also about the avenues available for participation in the American political process.[9]

> Political socialization refers to a process by which persons new to a society, or who grow up in it, acquire characteristic patterns of political orientation and behavior. Over roughly the past sixteen years this concept has become the focus of a major new disciplinary interest in political science. If self-reports of preferred areas of specialization contained in ASPA's Biographical Directories constitute an adequate measure, then the growth of the political socialization field has been little short of phenomenal. The 1961 edition of the Biographical Directories contained no explicit reference to this specialization. But the 1968 edition revealed that in only seven years, this area had become the thirteenth most popular of twenty-seven specialties within political science.[10]

The prevailing research states that the distribution of particular styles of political behavior or socio-political attitudes may differ from group to group. But all groups within the United States still belong to one attitudinal or behavioral system in which the meaning of politics is reasonably similar. Focusing on the attitudinal aspects of participation, political scientists have generally accepted the view that non-participation in politics results from disinterest or apathy, and that people fail to participate in politics chiefly because they do not think it is worth the time or because they fail to understand what is at stake.[11]

The most prevalent interpretation of Black participation is based partly on the observation that people in the lower socio-economic stratum in American society participate less in voluntary associations and general elections than do those in the middle and upper-social strata.[12] In addition to being low on the scale of socio-economic well-being (SES) (schooling, income, occupation), Indians and Blacks are characterized as influenced by a White cultural pattern of exclusion which causes Blacks and Indians to develop their own distinctive styles of living and patterns of behavior.[13]

Evidence of low SES standing in Oklahoma among Blacks and Indians is apparent. These data relate to rural Oklahoma Indians generally; specific county-by-county breakdowns according to Indian population are not available. The data for Blacks, however, on a county-by-county basis are available if the county had 400 or more Blacks in 1970.

Oklahoma's 1970 population as listed by the Bureau of the Census was 2,559,229; 6.7 percent, or 171,892, were Black; 3.9 percent, or 98,468, were Indian. In the United States approximately 55 percent of the Indian population lives in rural areas. The Oklahoma county analyzed in this study--McIntosh County--is covered in greater depth in Chapter 2 of this project.[14]

In Oklahoma the history of exclusion of Blacks and Indians politically[15] and culturally[16] has contributed to limited political participation.

> This system, as we see it in operation in Oklahoma, beneath its mythology of assimilation, consists of a structure of ranked ethnic groups, euphemistically called "classes" by American sociologists; a structure which is growing more stable and more rigid . . . in Oklahoma such a system of relationships has enabled aggressive entrepreneurs to harness and utilize the resources of ethnic communities which are frozen into a low-ranked position over channels of mobility and by the insistence that the whole complex represents one single community differentiated only by personal capability.[17]

The pattern of limited political participation can in part be explained by the low educational achievement attained by rural Oklahoma Indians and McIntosh County Blacks over the age of twenty-five compared to the total United States' educational averages as shown in Table 1-1.

Among Blacks and Indians, the general level of educational attainment is eight years of schoolwork. This figure, a shocking demonstration of the Black and Indian educational disadvantage, points out the difficulties these peoples have in working within the decision-making arenas of rural Oklahoma government

To most Whites, involved in government work, educational attainment is seen as a vehicle or pathway to success. Thus, those few, having attained some college education, boast proudly about their success when given the opportunity. They, also, gauge a person's overall level of success or failure in life by his or her level of educational attainment.

Political alienation, according to some authors,[18] manifests itself in the lower socio-economic levels of a

TABLE 1-1

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF RURAL OKLAHOMA INDIANS AND BLACKS IN McINTOSH COUNTY

	United Stated Total Population	Rural Indians	McIntosh County Black Males Over 25	McIntosh County Black Females Over 25
Median Schooling	12.1	9.0	7.7	8.6
Percent 8 Years Schooling or Less	25-27	50.0	72.8	58.3
Percent High School Graduate	54-55	28.0	14.6	25.7
Percent 4 Years College or More	7.8-12.6	2.7	1.2	3.9

SOURCE: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. III, American Indians Urban Associates, Inc., Arlington, Virginia, July 1974, Table E-2, p. 240; and United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Oklahoma, PC(1)C-38 (Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1972), Table 125, p. 355.

population which also contains high percentages of ethnic people. The three main forms of alienation are distrust, powerlessness, and meaninglessness.[19]

Based on data supplied by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, Gilmour and Lamb argue that the vast majority of Black people have been "disillusioned, extremely alienated, and measurably estranged from the political system."[20]

Verba and Nie demonstrate that the relationship between socio-economic position and political activity is quite close. The connecting links between political participation and higher socio-economic status are multiple. They include social environemnt and upper status citizens (surrounded by others who are participating), money and knowledge to be effective in politics, and the psychological sense of political efficacy, a feeling of contributing to the community, and a feeling that a person has enough knowledge about politics to be competent to act politically.[21]

Political science literature also suggests that economic dependence by ethnic peoples, particularly in rural areas where they have little political clout, fosters a type of "fear" that works as an impediment to increased political participation because the ethnic peoples fear the loss of their jobs or lines of credit[22] in retaliation for any heightened sense of or actual practice of politics.

The relevance of politics among Blacks generally has been thought to be low as shown in the following examples: "Negroes feel more politically impotent than the rest of the population";[23] or, "While Negroes are almost unanimous in their belief that the group has a right to further its end by political activity, the motivation for Negroes to vote was lower than in most other groups."[24]

An explanation which purports to explain this thesis is the concept of "involuntary isolation" from civic affairs.

> The characteristics of the lower strata also reflect the extent to which they are isolated from the activities, controversies, and organizations of democratic society--an isolation which prevents them from acquiring the sophisticated and complex view of the political structure which makes understandable and necessary the norms of tolerance.[25]

The findings of a few of the existing studies dealing specifically with rural Blacks confirm the foregoing discussion.

> The mass of Negroes in a place such as Fayette County know little but the customary way of life in their insular locality. They lack the militant ethnic consciousness of the city Negro, regard politics as "White folks' business" and lack the education that makes voting a comprehensible and significant act.[26]

In a more recent work John Dean, in writing about Prichard, Alabama, a city of 41,578 (1970 census) states, "Prichard is in reality a rural community in appearance, custom, and outlook."[27] He characterized the Black political outlook in Prichard as gloomy:

> The Black community in Prichard has great voter apathy where generations of oppression and

> intimidation have left their mark. Politics was the business of White folks and if Black people voted at all, they voted for the White candidates they were told to vote for or they voted for White candidates because they thought they should.[28]

As the political behavior of these two groups has changed over the last decade, scholars have been slow to recognize the potential importance of these groups to the political system. Frameworks of conceptualization have viewed Negroes as foreigners coming to the United States, and Native Americans as a "territorial minority."

Scholars and policymakers have shown an inability to appreciate the uniqueness of the Negro and Native American experience. Studies of Native Americans have either romanticized them or concluded that Indian values would succumb to Anglo influences. Thus, the "Indian Problem" would soon disappear.

Scholars have viewed the Negro in a slightly different light. As a foreigner, he came to the United States as a slave. The Negro took on the "Sambo image,"[29] and as a result Whites ignored the "Black problem" Seemingly, the "White man's burden" was to Americanize the Native American and forget the Negro.

Authors have argued over whether or not cultural pluralism has necessarily excluded ethnic people from the mainstream of political activity in America. Thus, Herbert Hirsch shows that political dominance of a people and by a people leads toward self-hatred.

> As perpetuated in the United States, the myth of cultural pluralism would have ethnic peoples believe that it is the "right" of all peoples to engage in political activity. In fact, cultural pluralism exists on only one level. There are, of course, numerous cultural groups residing within the territorial boundaries of this country. Yet this is not what is meant by cultural pluralism--or at least this is not what the rhetoric tells us. The melting-pot concept reigns supreme--assimilate, become Anglo, and be accepted. This, we submit, is a pattern of cultural domination that destroys ethnic identity and inculcates the most repressive of nonconscious ideologies --self-hate. When one culture succeeds in socializing another to the extent that the other culture (usually an ethnic culture) believes in its own inferiority and incapacity for political action, it has succeeded in instilling a virulent form of self-racism.[30]

Thus, political activity is probably constrained to a great extent by Native American and Negro perceptions of their own identity or by a fear related to social and economic coercion.[31] Salamon and Van Evera argue that fear based on an economic dependence, which Blacks (and perhaps Indians) have with regard to Whites, could be a deterrent to participation.[32] Mathews and Prothro discuss the concept of fear in eleven pages out of four-hundred and eighty-eight and conclude that "intimidation and fear" are not major causes of the Negroes' failure to participate in politics as much as the Whites do.[33]

The generally accepted conviction that Negroes and Native Americans have low levels of political participation merely indicates different cultural perspectives toward politics. The "silence" of these ethnic groups in rural settings definitely should not lead us to conclude that they are politically irrelevant.

Group inactivity among reservation Cherokees has been attributed among other things to (1) lack of issues as rallying points, (2) the overbearing sense of the past which limits group action, (3) the "privatization of life," the lack of sharing attitudes or emotions which they do have with other persons. The roots of this "privatization of life" may be in the cultural oppression of Indians which called for the acquisition of special adaptive mechanisms or in a fear of political reprisals.[34]

Americans must deal with peoples who have been politically silent because "when society evidences a domestic tranquility the domestics may not really be tranquil."[35]

This project will seek to determine to what extent fear of economic reprisals acts as an impediment on the part of ethnic peoples with regard to political participation.

Therefore, the author formulated specific questions under the topic of participation. These included questions of the extent of participation in politics by Blacks and Indians, the different kinds of participation, and whether or not the kinds of participation fall into conventional and unconventional categories. Questions were devised to determine whether other kinds of participation other than those listed in the index as conventional and unconventional existed, and whether voting patterns, such as the support of ethnic candidates by ethnic voters, existed in rural counties. The questions were designed also to examine the extent

to which cultural differences between Blacks and Indians influence their perceptions of politics, and to what extent cultural differences affect the possibility of coalitions between groups. As part of the aforementioned category, cultural perceptions as an influence on ethnic peoples' rates of participation and modes of participation were studied. Other questions dealt with the extent to which ethnic peoples' fear is based on economic dependence on the White sector of the county population, and whether this economic dependence in reality is a deterrent to ethnic political participation. In reference to political matters, questions were devised to determine the degree of apathy among Blacks and Indians compared to each other and compared to the White population.

Issues and Concerns

In addition to participation, a second area of interest in this study deals with an analysis of issues of concern to the two ethnic groups and whether or not they have tried to resolve any of these issues, either individually or collectively, and how they have done so.

Scholars on the subject of political belief tend to argue that the reason people are silent politically is because they do not have serious political grievances.[36] Yet, others argue that political silence, especially among American poor people, "is sometimes a relative matter, sometimes a temporary matter related to the circumstances in which

people find themselves and in which they comprehend these circumstances."[37]

With regard to the sample population, the types of issues probed involved ascertaining what each of these Black, Indian, and White groups cared about collectively. That is, did enough people care about the same general issues to possibly get together as a group to try and solve these problems locally? The mutual questioning on the issues involved questions representing a combination of grievances of poor people generally. These issues appeared to be the specific grievances of Blacks in McIntosh County, as well as current topics of interest in the media, like Watergate. These issues also seemed related to the government's ability to handle these problems in a more satisfactory way than the individuals had been able to solve them,[38] especially with Blacks and Indians who historically suffered the politics of exclusion. Authors have noticed a strange dichotomy among poor people. They express a growing concern that they are being "cheated by the government" (moon shots, foreign aid), and yet simultaneously, these same people accept government assistance such as food stamps, medicare, etc.[39]

Therefore, the author, in regard to the issues, focused on the issues as "grievances" possibly held collectively by ethnic peoples. Thus, "If the political scientist is to be the physician of the body politic, he will first have to remove his own cataracts."[40]

As to the Indian sample, "Although they (Indians) share many economic and political problems with other minorities, problems of the Indians are unique because of their numbers, their geographical dispersal, their differences, and their individualized cultural histories, and their legal environments."[41] The problems of the Indian, made unique by the Indian's plight in America, are health and hospitals, education, tribal government, and property rights.[42]

Another important aspect of the grievances of ethnic people will be whether or not the fear of economic reprisal has clouded their perception of the issues. That is, are there issues that are ignored by the ethnic population because they are afraid or constrained by economic considerations from trying to deal with those issues?

Organizations and Leaders

The third major area of concern in this study deals with organizations and leaders. They are combined because in the rural setting organizational activity among Blacks and Indians is somewhat limited. Those people who are the leaders of the respective Black and Indian communities also surface as the influentials behind the organizations.[43] These organizatons are predominantly social and religious--with political and civil libertarian organizations ranking a distant second. Union organizations operative in the county were non-existent, although some ethnic people belonged to some union-type organizations such as teachers' associations

and cattlemen's associations. But these union organizations did not exist for the ethnic groups in the county.

A primary objective of this part of the study was to identify the ethnic and White leaders in the county. It should be noted that the leading works on Black leadership as cited earlier argue that the reputational method is better than positional and decision-making because Blacks (and Indians?) are not generally found in positions of power, particularly in a rural setting. As a result, they are not centrally located in the mechanisms of the decision-making process.[44]

A further objective was to develop a typology of styles of leadership for the Indian, Black, and White sample in McIntosh County. The typology of leadership devised for the Black sample in McIntosh County was compared with other typologies developed by other authors to note the similarities and differences. General background data were available on all three ethnic groups and their leadership traits nationally, but it was also necessary to develop specific leadership typologies derived from the background data that apply specifically to the residents of McIntosh County. Another aspect of the study compared the differences between leaders and followers from the different samples with regard to views on issues and the various forms of conventional and unconventional participation.

An additional objective was to ascertain the kinds of organizations in which Blacks and Indians participate and

to measure the Blacks' and Indians' participation in such organizations. The major focus here dealt with the kinds of organizations these people join beyond the basic individual and family unit and the bearing these organizations have upon social, economic, and political activities.

The ultimate point of such inquiries is to determine the extent of organization and involvement in civic affairs.

Myrdal[45] suggested long ago that Blacks are "exaggerated Americans" since they organize and are active in more voluntary organizations than other Americans.

Other authors[46] have argued that, since Blacks in America are not allowed to gain prestige and power in most "organized life," meaning within the occupational or professional spheres, they compensate by exaggerated tendencies to create and/or participate in a large number of formal organizations.

Authors on Indian life cited earlier generally agree that Indians are not joiners of civic or fraternal organizations as we think of them. But this finding need not mean that they do not join and take an active part in organizations directly reflecting the needs of Indian people.

This study, then, will deal with the substantive areas of participation, issues, organizations, and leadership among Blacks and Indians to be covered in three separate chapters, focusing on the actual political activities of these people as gauged by and through the above-mentioned indicators.

It should be noted that in looking at the political activities of the Black and Indian, of necessity, these activities were related to the White population. Thus, this study consists of three independent sample populations--Black, Indian, and White.

Methodology

This project does not use national sample surveys because no hard data are available on both Blacks and Indians in a rural area. Rather, it focuses on data that is applicable that was gathered by three researchers over a period of six months in a rural county using the reputational technique.

Because Blacks and Indians generally were not in positions of power in McIntosh County and were for all practical purposes estranged from access to the decision-making processes in the County, the reputational approach seemed the only viable alternative to use in determining who were the leaders among the ethnic groups in this study.[47]

In using the reputational method, if at least five respondents mentioned a particular name the research team considered it possible that the respondent could be a leader. Further confirmation was sought via the interview process. The followers were picked in two ways. Those whose names had been mentioned in interviews but not frequently enough to be considered as a possible leader were one source. In addition, the research team sought out people in shops and

stores to ask if they could be interviewed. Initial entry into the Black community was achieved by contacting a former Black councilman in Checotah, Oklahoma, who worked in a shoe repair shop. He gave the researchers a list of possible names of Black people to contact in the county. The initial contact in the Indian community was made by obtaining a list of all eligible Cherokee voters in McIntosh County who voted in Cherokee tribal elections. The research team contacted some of these people asking them who among the Indian population they considered "influential." In dealing with the White sample the researchers initially visited with the newspaper editor, a banker in Checotah, and a prominent lawyer in Eufaula. They were asked who they thought the influential White people in McIntosh County were.

In the past, national survey data, which has dealt mostly with urban Blacks, was and is open to "ecological fallacy." By using aggregate survey data researchers make inferences concerning ethnic individuals even though these inferences may prove to be spurious. By contrast, the researcher may gather data from a limited universe of the population. In some cases, the inferences drawn from actual field data prove to be less spurious. Therefore, because of the lack of data generally on Blacks and Indians together in any one geographic area, an actual field research project was undertaken.

Originally this project was designed to concentrate on the Cherokee Indian as the rural Indian group in this sample. However, there are sizable numbers of Creek Indians living in McIntosh County, causing a "mixed blood" situation, such as Native Americans who are part Cherokee and part Creek. Thus, this study also gathered data from the actual leaders of Creeks as well as Cherokees where appropriate.[48]

In response to the argument that White social scientists face a social barrier in ethnic field work because of a "cultural gap" between the lifestyles and values of the respondents as opposed to the White researcher, ethnic researchers were trained. These included a Black political science major, Mr. Edwin Pompey, and an Indian political science major, Mr. Ted Williams, from Northeastern Oklahoma State University.

Training consisted of sessions involving a careful review of the questions. Each read background material on elite interviewing.[49] On separate days, each field worker spent a couple of days driving around McIntosh County locating the towns, the churches, and the concentrated living areas of ethnic people. Subsequently, each field worker began his initial interviewing--getting his "feet wet."

For the Black sample lists of names of supposed "leaders," which included addresses and telephone numbers, were compiled. Appointments for the actual interviews were made. After some initial contacts were established using

the "reputational" technique, the student worker made additional contacts himself. Lists of names were taken from each respondent and always compared to see if the same names appeared frequently.

For the Indian people, which proved to be the most difficult in terms of cooperation, the initial technique of contact involved compiling a list of names and addresses of all those people voting in the last Cherokee tribal election and in pin-pointing the location of "Native churches" in the county. It was assumed that for full-blood peoples, these churches would afford central meeting places through which political information, or the lack of it, would emanate.

Each interviewer carried a letter of introduction telling the respondent who he was, and in general terms, what he wanted. Each interview lasted from thirty minutes to over two hours, depending on the cooperative nature of the respondent. The interview was, for the most part, an unstructured "elite interview."

In addition, a sample of White residents, leaders and followers, was interviewed which made a third sample group. In this sample, questions on issues of importance, organizations, etc., were asked. The White respondents were asked whom they considered influential within the Black and Native American minorities. In addition, White respondents were asked whom they considered their own elites or influentials. Thus, the total sample consisted of one-hundred and

fifteen respondents: thirty-five Whites, forty-three Blacks, and thirty-seven Indians.

In determining possible Black leadership, the interviewers started out by compiling a list of possible leaders drawn together by visiting with the Black city councilmen in Eufaula and Checotah. These two individuals were the only "visible" possible influentials in the County. The interviewers then interviewed this list of influentials and simply asked that the respondent list his or her ordering of influentials. Through this process, if the same names were mentioned frequently enough, the interviewer listed the name as an influential. However, no exact number was stipulated to mean "frequently enough." Thus, deciding whether an individual was an influential was a value judgment made by the interviewer. Once the judgments were made, the interviewers were to interview the possible influentials they had placed on their lists.

Several problems arose via this method of selecting the influentials who are discussed in the body of this work. It was necessary to rely heavily on ethnic student interviewers who were not from the County, but who were students at Northeastern Oklahoma State University. These ethnic students in turn relied heavily on other young ethnic students from McIntosh County for introductions to area residents.

On some interviews, the Indian interviewer solicited the aid of a Creek-speaking Indian resident. Without the cooperation of this Indian resident, some influential people among the Native American sample would have gone uninterviewed.

Finally, the researcher's continual problem haunted each interview. Was the respondent telling the truth as opposed to telling the interviewers what the respondent thought the interviewers wanted to hear?

Despite these shortcomings, this study does conclude some interesting and noteworthy results as well as suggesting some new areas of research for future analysis.

The data analysis which follows in the other chapters, then, is broken down according to groups: White Leaders v. White Followers--Black Leaders v. Black Followers--Indian Leaders v. Indian Followers. This grouping allows for both intra-group and inter-group comparisons.

During the interviewing process, the researchers found that White identification of Black influentials was markedly different from Black identification of their own influentials. With the exception of the most frequently named Indian, the same situation held true for Indians also.

It was also discovered that Blacks and Indians knew very little about names of influentials in the other's groups. Thus, Indians had trouble naming Blacks, and vice versa. In all interviews, the respondent was told that

there was not any preconceived definition of "influential" and that the respondent had to define that term for himself.

In elite interviewing, if at all possible, making an initial contact with the respondent and setting up the interview for a later date and time was much preferable to arriving at their doorstep "out of the blue" and expecting cooperation. And so, armed with maps and questions, the ethnic interviewers began their study seeking to break the silence of rural minorities.

The statistical tools to be used in the analysis of data encompasses Chi-square, the t test, and Fisher's Exact Test for the Two-Tailed Test.[50] The research instruments employed in this project are Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale[51] and Ryan's measurement of conventional and unconventional indices of political participation.[52]

In measuring people's attitudes toward certain issues, a version of the Self-Anchoring Striving Scale was used. The top rungs of the ladder represent the importance of the issue to the individual. The bottom rung of the ladder represents lack of importance. The middle, or rung three of the ladder, indicates neutrality of importance of the issue to the individual.

The ladder device used to determine an individual's perceptions of issues took the form of a three-fold format:

1) How respondent felt about the issue five years ago;

2) How respondent feels about the issue today;

3) How respondent thinks he will feel about the issue five years from now in terms of its importance to him.

To administer this ladder, the interviewer would state the following: "Could you tell me what issues are of importance to you today? How did you feel about the issue five years ago? As you look at this ladder, please indicate by pointing to one of the five rungs the exact significance of each issue to you."

Using an odd number of rungs on the ladder facilitated separating respondents into a neutral category as opposed to an even number of rungs used frequently to obtain percentages. The statistical test to be employed with the ladder is the t test which measues the differences of two sample populations independently selected, in terms of the mean answers they give to the ladder, plus it looks at the differences of each population on each issue.[53]

Each researcher was instructed not to interject his own bias during the pre-test in terms of "pre-supposing" what issues would be important to the sample population. It is the function of the respondent to generate through the interview process the issues that are important to him. In analyzing the respondents' answers, patterns of issues were noted.

Once issues were explored via the ladder, the next major concern was to test the respondent's level of participation and whether it was conventional or unconventional.

TABLE 1-2

THE LADDER FOR THE SELF-ANCHORING STRIVING SCALE

Time Scale	Issues	Issues	Issues
5 years ago Now 5 yrs. in future			
5 years ago Now 5 yrs. in future			
5 years ago Now 5 yrs. in future			
5 years ago Now 5 yrs. in future			
5 years ago Now 5 yrs. in future			

To ascertain types of participation, a replication of an instrument which Ryan used with reservation Cherokees in North Carolina was applied. This instrument was designed to measure ceremonial activities[54] of participation as well as community activities. Milbrath has called the unconventional methods used by Ryan "gladiatorial" activities; the conventional as "spectator" activities.[55]

Self-Reported Frequencies of Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation

Conventional

The Respondent:

Wears a button
Displays a sticker
Writes a letter to a political figure
Contributes money to a political campaign
Talks personally with a political figure
Attends political meeting or rally, or
Works in an election campaign

Unconventional

The Respondent:

Is involved in local public issues
Boycotts store or business
Participates in picket line
Participates in demonstration or protest, or
Participates in community organization

Prior to the pre-test, consideration was given to administering SRC scale items to measure such political variables as apathy, cynicism, and efficacy. However, readings on the subject, discussion with other social science field workers, and the author's own experience in the pre-test, demonstrated clearly that SRC items reflect cultural biases

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in favor of the broader White society. They do not adequately measure ethnic attitudes or opinions.

Impressions of efficacy and cynicism were obtained through the interviewing process where "in-depth questioning drew out" a respondent's feelings toward the indices of cynicism, efficacy, and alienation. The Chi-Square Test has been used to examine the relationship between the questions making up the conventional and unconventional modes of political participation.[56]

After looking at the history of McIntosh County in Chapter 2, the remaining chapters of this study will concentrate on methods of political participation of Blacks, Indians, and Whites, leadership and organizations, and the issues of concern to the three groups and what they have done to review these issues. The final chapter reviews the findings of the study and includes suggestions for future research possibilities in the area of intra-ethnic politics and rural socio-economic political behavior.

Footnotes

[1]See for example Donald R. Mathews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966). On Blacks in New Orleans, Louisiana, see Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1963). See also Matthew Holden, Jr., The Politics of the Black "Nation," especially Chapter 1, "Centrifugal Influences in Black Politics," and his book, White Man's Burden (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972). Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., writes about Blacks in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and Greenville, South Carolina, in Negro Political Leadership in the South (New York: Atheneum Publishing Company, 1969), in which Ladd argues that an urban setting is better suited for studying patterns of Black political leadership because: (1) Black political activity has progressed much further in the cities than in small town and rural areas, (2) the anonymity of the ghetto provides the urban Black with a buffer against White sanctions--a buffer absent in rural and small town areas, (3) only cities have brought numbers of Blacks close enough together to make continuous communication possible.

[2]Harold W. Pfautz writes about Blacks in Rhode Island in "The Power Structure of the Negro Sub-Community: A Case Study, a Comparative View," Phylon 23 (July 1962): 156-166. Floyd Hunter writes about Blacks in Atlanta, Georgia, in Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), pp. 114-150. Ernest T. Barth and Baha Abu-Laban write about their fieldstudy of Blacks in Seattle, Washington, in "Power Structure and the Negro Community," American Social Review 24 (February 1939): 69-76. Following is a list of works which were most useful: Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro from Exclusion to Big City Organization (New York: Random House, 1969), and his "Negro Political Strategy, Coalition of Independent Power Politics," Social Science Quarterly 49 (December 1960): 534-547; Kenneth Colburn, Southern Black Mayors, Local Problems, and Federal Responses, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1974); John Dean, The Making of a Black Mayor: A Study of Campaign Organization, Strategies and Techniques in Prichard, Alabama (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1973); Leslie Burl McLemore, "The Effects of Political Participation Upon a Closed Society --A State in Transition: The Changing Political Climate in Mississippi," The Negro Education Review 23 (January 1972): 2-12; Leslie Burl McLemore and Hanes Walton, Jr., "Portrait of Black Political Styles," The Black Politician 2 (October 1970): 9-13; Simon Ottenburg, "Leadership and Change in a

Coastal Georgia Negro Community," Phylon 20 (Spring 1959): 7-18.

[3]Vine Deloria, Jr., We Talk, You Listen (New York: MacMillan, 1969); Custer Died for Your Sins (New York: MacMillan, 1969); Of Utmost Good Faith (San Francisco: American Heritage Press, 1971); God is Red (New York: Delacorte, 1974). See also Alvin M. Josephy, Red Power: The Americans Fight for Freedom (New York: Knopf, 1968); Stuart Levine and Nancy D. Lurie, The American Indian Today (Deland, Florida: Everett Edwards, Inc., 1968); Murray L. Wax, Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Stan Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Delta, 1968); John Paul Ryan, "Styles of Influence Seeking on a Rural Reservation: The Eastern Cherokee of North Carolina," paper presented at the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November, 1972); and Robert Burnett and John Koster, The Road to Wounded Knee (New York: Bantam Books, 1974).

[4]John Paul Ryan, "Cultural Diversity and the American Experience: The Origins and Impact of Political Participation Among Blacks, Appalachians, and Indians," paper presented at the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, 1973); Rudolph O. De la Garza, Z. A. Kruszewski, and T. Archineiga, eds., The Territorial Minorities: Chicanos and Native Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973); Albert L. Wahrhaftig and Robert K. Thomas, "Renaissance and Repression: The Oklahoma Cherokee," in Awakening Minorities: American Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, ed. John John R. Howard (New York: Aldine Publishers, 1970), pp. 43-56. Also see Albert L. Wahrhaftig, "The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma," in The Emergent Native Americans, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), pp. 217-235. Also see Rennard Strickland, Fire and the Spirits (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975).

[5]Milton D. Morris, The Politics of Black America (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), pp. 16-19.

[6]Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro (New York: Random House, 1969).

[7]James S. Coleman, Resources for Social Change (New York: Wiley and Company, 1971); Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Press, 1967).

[8]Ibid.

[9]For a few of the many examples, see Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965);

Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961); Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960); Angus Campbell et al., The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954); Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963); William Flannigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972); Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard R. Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearoe, 1944); Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); and Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

[10]Jack Dennis, "Political Socialization: Objectives and Outline for a Course," No. 7, DEA News (Division of Educational Affairs of the American Political Science Association) Fall 1975, pp. 56-511.

[11]Lester M. Salamon and Stephen Van Evera, "Fear, Apathy, and Discrimination: A Test of Three Explanations of Political Participation," American Political Science Review 67 (December 1973): 1288-1306.

[12]Anthony M. Orum, "A Reappraisal of the Social and Political Participation of Negroes," American Journal of Sociology (July 1966): 32.

[13]See Holden, Politics of the Black "Nation," and Arthur L. Tolson, The Black Oklahomans: A History, 1941-1972 (New Orleans: Edwards Printing Company, 1974). Also see the works of Deloria, We Talk, You Listen, Custer Died for Your Sins, Utmost Good Faith, God is Red, and Behind the Train of Broken Treaties. In regard to the sense of clannishness among Indians see Wahrhafrig, Tribal Cherokee Population.

[14]McIntosh County was chosen because: (1) It is the only county in Eastern Oklahoma having approximately the same number of Indian and Black people (1970 census shows 1,325 Blacks, comprising 10.6 percent of the population, and 1,550 Indians, comprising 12.4 percent of the population); (2) McIntosh County ranks fourth in Oklahoma in terms of Indian population as a percentage of total population. The other counties ranking high in Indian population are Adair (27.2 percent), Delaware (19.6 percent), and Cherokee (18.6 percent); (3) Of the fourteen counties comprising the Cherokee Nation, McIntosh County is the second smallest county in terms of population with 12,472 (1970 census). Although small in population, McIntosh is not the smallest county in Oklahoma, for Cimarron County, located in the Panhandle, has a total population of 4,145 (1970 census).

[15]Tolson, Black Oklahoman, especially Chapter 7, "Racial Discrimination, 1889-1907"; Chapter 10, "The Black Political Situation"; Chapter 11, "The Jim Crow Controversy"; Chapter 12, "Background and Fight"; and Chapter 13, "Aftermath."

[16]Albert L. Wahrhaftig and Robert K. Thomas, "Renaissance and Repression: The Oklahoma Cherokee," in John R. Howard, ed., Awakening Minorities, American Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 43-56.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Robert S. Gilmour and Robert B. Lamb, Political Alienation in Contemporary America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975); also Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, Participation in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), especially Chapter 8, "Social Status and Political Participation: The Standard Model."

[19]Gilmour and Lamb, pp. 13-20.

[20]Ibid., p. 26.

[21]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, Chapter 8.

[22]Salamon and Van Evera, "Fear, Apathy, and Discrimination," pp. 1288-1306.

[23]Campbell, The Voter Decides, pp. 191-192.

[24]Campbell, The American Voter, p. 316.

[25]Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960), p. 112.

[26]Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro, p. 75.

[27]John Dean, The Making of a Black Mayor, p. 1.

[28]Ibid., p. 3.

[29]Stanley Elkins, Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[30]Herbert Hirsch, "Political Scientists and Other Camaradas: Academic Myth-Making and Racial Stereotypes," in Territorial Minorities, eds. De la Garza, Kruszewski, and Arciniega, p. 17.

[31]For works dealing with fear as a deterrent to political activity, see Sally Befrange, Freedom Summer (New

York: Viking Press, 1975), and Anne Moody, Coming of Age in Mississippi: The Long Hot Summer (New York: Dial Press, 1968).

[32]Salamon and Van Evera, "Fear, Anxiety and Discrimination," pp. 1288-1307. This study was done in the twenty-nine counties in Mississippi having a Black majority of the population. The authors constructed a typology of economic pressure. The most vulnerable types of people were (1) farm laborers, (2) sharecroppers, (3) household service workers, (4) unemployed. Using this same typology and applying it to Blacks in the county of this study, based on data this author has obtained from the State of Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, 48.2 percent of all Blacks in the county are in low-pay or low-status occupations and 8 percent are unemployed. Comparable data are not available on the Native American. In McIntosh County one can quickly conclude, however, that fear could readily be a factor influencing methods of participation. Salamon and Van Evera argue that fear is most notable in counties having high percentages of Blacks who are perceived as a threat to the White power structure, but this author proposed that one can make the same assertion for counties having small ethnic populations as well. In this study, this proposition will be tested.

[33]Matthews and Prothro, Negroes and New Southern Politics, p. 308.

[34]John Paul Ryan, "Styles of Political Influence-Seeking on a Rural Reservation: The Eastern Cherokee of North Carolina," paper presented at the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1972), pp. 10-12. This concept is called the Harmony Ethic in which the individual is reluctant to express personal opinions for fear of offending someone and thereby disrupting a sense of communal harmony or amiability.

[35]Lewis Lipsitz, "On Political Belief: The Grievances of the Poor," in Power and Community, Phillip Green and Sanford Levinson, eds. (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 143.

[36]See Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology, especially Chapter 21 (New York: The Free Press, 1963); and Phillip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in Ideology and Discontent, David E. Apter, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-261.

[37]Lipsitz, "On Political Belief," p. 152.

[38]Ibid., p. 159.

[39]Ibid., p. 165.

[40]Ibid., p. 169.

[41]Joyotpaul Chaudhuri and Jean Chaudhuri, "Emerging American Indian Politics: The Problems of Powerlessness," in The Territorial Minorities, De la Garza, Kruszewski, and Arciniega, eds., pp. 103-112.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Social Science literature has reached voluminous proportions in regard to the study of community power and the identification of leaders. The three approaches to the identification of leaders are called positional, reputational, and decisional. The most notable works dealing with the positional approach are Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937). In regard to the reputational approach, see the five-volume study by W. Lloyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964); and Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). For the decisional approach see Dahl, Who Governs?, and Nelson Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1963).

[44]There are six studies generally recognized as comprising the bulk of the work on the topic of Black leadership: Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), p. 270 ff.; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the U.S.," The American Journal of Sociology 63 (July 1937): 56-72; James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free ress, 1960), pp. 214-254; M. Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 176-186; Thompson, "The Negro Leadership Class," pp. 58-79; Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South, pp. 145-232.

[45]Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 952.

[46]Nicholas Babchuck and Ralph V. Thompson, "Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review 27 (October 1962): 647-655.

[47]Of the fourteen counties in the Cherokee Nation, McIntosh County is second in terms of sparse population. Only Nowata County has fewer people. McIntosh County also has the closest number of Blacks and Indians in terms of actual numbers and percentages. Three counties of the fourteen have less than 100 Blacks.

[48]Besides the reputational technique other accepted techniques of determining leadership are the positional and the decision-making approach. See Robert Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 149-157.

[49]Lewis A. Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

[50]Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960). Also Norville M. Downie and R. W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods, 4th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), and for a review of Chi Square, see Oliver Benson, Political Science Laboratory (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969).

[51]Hadley Cantril, The Patterns of Human Concerns (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965).

[52]John Paul Ryan, "Cultural Diversity and the American Experience," unpublished paper.

[53]Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics; N. M. Downie and R. W. Health, Basic Statistical Methods; and Oliver Benson, Political Science Laboratory, Chapter 5, "Statistics: A Little Dab'll Do You" (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Company, 1969), pp. 148-198.

[54]See Ryan, "Cultural Diversity and American Experience"; and Ruth Scott, "Political Participation, Political Science, and Political Reality," paper delivered at the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, 1974).

[55]Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965).

[56]Blalock, Social Statistics; Downie and Heath, Basic Statistical Methods; and for a review of Chi Square, Benson, Political Science Laboratory, p. 154.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL OUTSIDERS

Overview

McIntosh County, all seven hundred and sixty square miles,[1] lies within the heart of what was once known as the Indian Terriory. Before surveyors drew maps, this land belonged to the Indians known as the Dakotas, including tribes such as the Osage, Missouri, Crow, Sioux, Ponca, and Quapaw, who lived and hunted there. Then, Spanish explorers, marching north in search of gold, claimed the land for Spain. Later, the Civilized Tribes, forced west to escape the annihilation by the Wasichu (the White man), brought their chattels, livestock and Black slaves, and settled in the heavily wooded hills of McIntosh county. After the Civil War, Blacks emigrated to Oklahoma seeking peace and freedom. Once there they joned the emancipated Black slaves of the Civilized Tribes to form their own townships. Finally, in the 1880's, the White man came in numbers and demanded ever more land. These major movements of peoples into Oklahoma have made McIntosh County rich in history, history which affects the present political situation in McIntosh County. Hence, these

cultural traditions and the present political activities of these peoples are inextricably interwoven.

Despite these historical movements, and the present attempts to make the county a recreational paradise, McIntosh County remains a predominantly rural county. On a typical day one may see men operating farm equipment in the fields as cattle graze languidly in low-lying green pastures. In the distance, weathered gray barns nestle among the low rolling hills.

As one crosses the long bridge over Lake Eufaula, one can see people fishing from the banks, their campers parked at crazy angles among the trees; motor boats, some pulling skiers, slicing through the shimmering waters; and children on the sandy shores trotting in and out of the lake's waves.

Passing through the principal towns of the county, one encounters a variety of parked vehicles ranging from mud-covered broken-down farm trucks to current model sports cars. The "downtown" buildings project an almost garish assemblage of old, worn facades next to new aluminum and glass "Sunday-best" efforts resembling the "clean-up, fix-up, paint'up" campaigns of recent years.[2] Most homes in the county look weathered. In the county seat, Eufaula, the courthouse is a quaint, but deteriorating, red brick building built in 1926.

Despite its rural characteristics, McIntosh County claims to have "the largest body of water in Oklahoma and the

biggest lake in the southwest."[3] Since 1964, when the Corps of Army Engineers completed the damming of the waters of the North Canadian River to create Lake Eufaula, McIntosh County has become a combination of the old bulwarks of the economy, the ranchers and farmers, and the new, the money-spending tourists and fishermen.

Historically and presently, the county's economic base is directly related to agricultural pursuits and the necessary activities that support farming, such as implement dealers, seed and feed stores, construction trades and cooperative associations. In 1969, out of a total land area of 451,600 acres, 261,828 (67 percent) was farmland or ranchland. Also in 1969, in McIntosh County there were 899 farms with an average size of 291 acres.[4] General farming is the predominant form of agricultural pursuit in the county. Livestock, grain, and dairy production also play important roles.

Nevertheless, "lakism" is having a significant economic effect on the county. Although the price of farmland is relatively modest, desirable lake-front property can be priced quite high. Because it is accessible from the large urban counties, McIntosh County gains an additional boost to its economy from the "weekending" tourists. Vacationers purchase goods and services in McIntosh County with income generated elsewhere. Thus, these recreational resources provide the county government with additional revenue without

demanding heavy capital investment from the landed power structure, thus making "lakism" economically advantageous.

Much of the visible social contact in the area can be charted at mid-morning coffee breaks. In the several small town cafes one can find many of the local businessmen, merchants, and others gossiping over coffee and a sweetroll. Farmers who have "come to town" for supplies (or talk) join in. Weather, politics, and cattle prices generally command top billing in the conversations. The small town cafes function not only as service centers in an economic sense, but also as gossip centers. One does not have to linger long before overhearing who said what to whom and under what circumstances. "Race related" issues are generally not detected in conversations. Blacks and Indians are neither ignored nor courted. Rather, the outward appearance is that they are interwoven into community life. Blacks and Indians go about their business in the same fashion as the Whites, seem to live throughout the area, and interact with their neighbors in a mutually satisfactory fashion. When a Black and a White, or Indian and a White, or Black and an Indian, meet in a cafe or on the street, greetings are usually on a reciprocal first name basis. The atmosphere reflects Vidich and Bensman's account of small town society:

> Rural life fosters a type of "genuineness." To be one of the folks (although not a leader) requires neither money, status, family background, learning nor refined manners. This kind of setting encompasses a whole set of moral values: honesty,

> fair play, trustworthiness, good-neighborliness, helpfulness, sobriety, and clean living. It suggests a wholesome family life, a man whose spoken word is as good as a written contract, a community of religious-minded people, and a place where everybody knows everybody.[5]

Purely social gatherings in homes and in other places of meeting have direct extensions into the formally organized life of rural communities. Such organizations exist as the Masons, Kiwanis, Cattlemen's Association, book clubs, study clubs, cards and checkers clubs, athletic associations, farm and home clubs, rodeo clubs, and church study clubs.

In small rural communities there is a surprising range of social participation by different individuals. Some spend almost all of their non-work time as officers or active participants in garden clubs, adult study clubs, religious organizations, or restrictive professional organizations. Others socialize mainly with close friends and relatives, and still others prefer their privacy and isolate themselves from all such contacts.[6]

An excellent example of one type of "club" or social gathering reflective of rural small town living in McIntosh County is the "Eufaula College of Loafers," a domino parlor in downtown Eufaula.[7] This "college" is in a former abstract company office. A soda pop machine is kept in the old vault which was used to store abstract records years ago.[8] "There ought to be a place like this in every town," said the owner. "It's not like a beer joint--there's no ill words, cussin'--nothing like that."[9] Instead, the patrons enjoy gaming,

joking, and gossiping. One patron describes the college activities and faculty as follows: "'Loafing' hours are generally from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., during which time dominoes are played instead of working. . . . I used to be on the faculty, but they kicked me out," said the City Attorney of Eufaula. "I'm just a student now."[10]

Although loafers and tourists come and go, the population of McIntosh County remains about the same. The county seat, Eufaula, has experienced a one percent decline in population in the past decade, while the county as a whole has experienced a one percent increase in population--hardly indicative of growth. However, Checotah, the largest town in the county, has experienced an eighteen percent growth in population during the past decade.[11]

According to Table 2-1, during this time the Black population of McIntosh County has declined by four hundred twenty-five people (a drop of 3.2 percent), while the Native American population has increased three hundred nine people (2.4 percent) to one thousand five hundred and fifty, so that in the decade of the seventies Indians outnumbered Blacks in the county.[12] Even though the county lies within the boundaries of two Indian nations, Cherokee and Creeek,[13] and has an historic connection with Native American tradition and custom,[14] the largest segment of the population is White.

TABLE 2-1

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE COUNTY POPULATION
BY SEX AND BY DECADES 1950-1970

Year	1950	Percent
Total Population	17,829	
White	13,661	77
Negro	2,669	15
Indian	None Recorded	
Year	**1960**	**Percent**
Total Population	12,371	
White	9,379	76
Negro	1,750	14
Indian	1,241	10
Year	**1970**	**Percent**
Total Population	12,472	
White	9,580	77
Negro	1,325	11
Indian	1,550	12

Historical Setting

The White man's first glimpse of Oklahoma occurred in 1540 when the Spanish explorer Coronado, hearing a tale told by an Indian slave about a land of great cities where rivers ran over sands of gold,[15] set out on an exploration which led him through Oklahoma.

> He (the slave) came forward, "a strapping figure with nothing to clothe him save a broad girdle of deerskin. This girdle, however, was a work of beauty, adorned with beads of coral and fringed with fine fur of the otter. The Indian's face was marked by a large nose, Roman in its curve, a straight-lined mouth, wide but thin-lipped, and by even high cheek bones; his eyes were dark and piercing as an eagle's and set deep in the head.[16]

This Indian told Coronado how his people came down a long ago from a land far away to the North. He said that the people who had been driven out by his tribe had towns big and crowded with temples. He said these people had erected a great, rich city where golden streets led to treasure houses full of gold.[17]

The narrative of the Indian slave reminded Coronado of an ancient Spanish legend about a famous city of gold called Quivira, "far away to the north where gold was in the streams, gold in the mountains, gold in the temples, and gold everywhere."[18] Coronado explored the present-day states of Oklahoma and Kansas in a futile search for the lost city of gold. Later, in 1594, another Spanish explorer named Bonilla went as far north as the Platte River in Nebraska in search of Quivira.[19]

Some historians also claim that in 1541, DeSoto, in his journey westward, passed through the southern part of McIntosh County. According to Benedict, "As evidence of the truthfulness of this claim they point to the hugh rock in the middle of the Canadian River, known as Standing Rock, as being identical with the Standing Rock described in the Spanish record of DeSoto's travels."[20]

Before the coming of the White man and for centuries after that, the land which is today McIntosh County remained the grazing lands of the buffalo and the hunting grounds for the nomadic Dakota Indians, consisting of such tribes as the Osage, Quapaw, Crow, Sioux, and Ponca tribes. Even the Shoshone and the Comanche, who actually claimed the western section of Oklahoma as their territory, were known to have hunted buffalo in the valleys of McIntosh County. By the 1800's some Cherokees, by their own volition, moved westward into northeastern Oklahoma, while the other members of the Civilized Tribes, specifically the Cherokees and the Creeks, remained in their native lands of North Carolina and Georgia, hoping to attain a peaceful coexistence. It is relevant to note Gibson's account of the Creek and Cherokee tribes' historical desire to live peaceably with the White man.

> In their attempts to prove to Anglo-American pioneers that they were worthy neighbors in their original homelands of North Carolina and Georgia the Cherokees and Creeks at the urging of Indian leaders adopted White ways in dress and industry. The Indians established successful farms, plantations and businesses in their nations. In addition, they

> changed their political systems from traditional tribal governments to governments based on written constitutions with elective officials, courts, and other elements of enlightened polity.[21]

Although the Creeks and Cherokees were not only desirous of but successful in adapting to the White ways, the White people of the Carolinas and Georgia repudiated this Indian attempt for peace. Gibson continues:

> Leaders of the Southern tribes could not comprehend, in their hope to co-exist and cope with the fast changes swirling about their nations, that their success in altering tribal ways and in education, business and polity only precipitated ugly envy and antagonism among their Anglo-American neighbors. Indian progress was regarded as a threat. Leaders of the Southern tribes did not understand that nineteenth century Anglo-American society was obsessively monistic--it feared, scorned and rejected people unlike themselves in culture and physical characteristics.[22]

The removal of these tribes to the west was profoundly affected by the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1828. Because Jackson had spent much of life on the Tennessee frontier, he held the typical frontiersman's attitude toward Indian tribes. Indians presented a barrier to White settlement. So obsessed was the President with driving the Indian tribes to the far frontiers of the United States that he gave his personal attention to the matter.

In 1832 Chief Justice John Marshall in Worcester v. Georgia declared anti-tribal state laws unconstitutional. However, Gibson reports:

> President Jackson refused to enforce the court's decision. Tribal leaders reminded the President of his constitutional responsibility. Jackson

> answered, incorrectly, that he was powerless in the matter and that the only hope for the Indians was to accept their fate and move to the west. The President's failure to fulfill his constitutional duty destroyed the will of many Indians to attempt to cope with the surging settlement about them; they capitulated and began to move to Indian Territory.[23]

The Cherokee people were forced westward under the Treaty of New Echota, signed December 29, 1835. Historians argue that tribal leaders under pressure, having observed oppression, strife, and affliction among their peoples, were bribed or deceived into signing the treaty. The actual removal of the Cherokees occurred in 1838 and 1839 and is referred to as "the Trail of Tears" or in the Cherokee language, nuna dat suhn'yi, "trail where they cried."[24] Holm describes some of the results of this removal as follows:

> The exact number of lives lost on the 1838-1839 removal has not been accurately enumerated. Some of the sick were left behind to be picked up by later parties; a few wandered off the trail never to return, and some Cherokees were reported to have dropped out along the way to settle in outlying areas. One estimate stated that about 4,000 Cherokees, or approximately one-fourth of the entire tribe east of the Mississippi River, died either in the stockades or along the trail to Indian Territory.[25]

"The Trail of Tears" is generally regarded as the Cherokee experience, but the Creeks also had their share of governmental chicanery and harsh treatment. In the early 1800's, Chief William McIntosh emerged as the leader of the Creek people. Under his guidance the Treaty of Indian Springs, Georgia, was signed February 12, 1825. This treaty stipulated that Creek lands in Georgia and Alabama would be ceded to the Federal Government in return for land in Indian

Territory. An additional agreement called for $25,000 payment to McIntosh for his home and improved land contained in the ceded lands.[26] The treaty, however, because it was not approved by the entire Creek Nation, was null and void. Indian agents lied to President John Quincy Adams who, believing the treaty to be genuine, submitted it to the United States Senate for approval. Soon after the treaty was ratified on March 7, 1825, the Creek Council met and passed a death sentence on Chief McIntosh. On May 1, 1825, he was shot and killed by Creek warriors led by Chief Menawa.

Subsequently, a new agreement was drawn up in early 1826 signed by twelve Creek chiefs. "It declared the Indian Springs treaty null and void, required the cessation of all Creek lands in Georgia to the United States and allowed McIntosh's followers to emigrate to Indian Territory."[27] Eventually through treaties signed in 1832, all Creek lands east of the Mississippi River were ceded to the United States Government.

By 1836 General Winfield Scott had entrapped more than 14,500 Creeks. Savage describes this action:

> Approximately 2,500 were classified as hostiles, put in chains and marched overland to Indian Territory in what has been called by some authors "the Road to Disappearance."[28]

This long march lasted through the winter of 1836-1837. The survivors reached Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, in the Spring of 1837, but their arrival did not mark the

end of hardship. Once in the territory some 3,500 Creeks died of exposure or disease.[29]

According to Prucha, White Americans generally considered President Andrew Jackson's removal policy a humanitarian attempt to save Indians from being killed by Whites and as an attempt through removal to save the Indian culture from disappearing. Jackson himself is said to have thought this way also.[30]

Thus, McIntosh County, named in honor of one of the most prominent families of Creek Indians, was settled in the 1830's. Eufaula and Checotah, the two principal towns in the county, were settled in 1872. North Fork Town, the first settlement established in 1836, was located two miles from the present-day site of Eufaula. However, North Fork Town is now extinct.[31]

White settlers also made their appearance in the area known as McIntosh County in the 1830's, establishing the "Texas Road," following approximately what is now U.S. 69, the major highway from Dallas to Kansas City. However, during this time it was the Indians, the Civilized Tribes, who continued to settle the Oklahoma Territory bringing with them their slaves.[32] Records of the Dawes Commission show 23,405 former slaves and their descendants on the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes by 1906.[33]

At the outset of the Civil War, Confederate agents politically pressured the Indians into joining the

Confederacy. The agents claimed that the Indians would lose their slaves unless they fought with the southern forces. Like so many of the unsuspecting southern states, McIntosh County also became the site of a battle, the Battle of Honey Springs, considered the western equivalent of the Battle of Gettysburg. Both Gettysburg and Honey Springs should have been Confederate victories. Instead, the Union forces won both battles, breaking the morale and backs of the southern forces.[34]

After the Civil War large numbers of Blacks moved westward seeking the promised land, despite the fact that eastern Oklahoma sympathized with the Confederacy. This movement is discussed in Tolson's book, The Black Oklahoman.

> The first post-Civil War Black migration occurred during 1879-1880 and was known as the Great Negro Exodus to Kansas. . . .
>
> This movement had all the elements of a migration in its truest sense because it was a permanent departure of Black people from the South. In this migration, many Blacks left Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and South Carolina, the land of their birth, seeking political, economic, and social opportunities elsewhere. . . .
>
> Some freedmen who left the Southwest to go west did so because they had heard tall tales of easy livelihoods to be made in Arkansas, Texas, or Oklahoma, where it was reputed that cotton and corn required no tending, white potatoes grew as big as watermelons, and cotton grew as tall as a man.[35]

At one time, many people considered making Oklahoma an all-Black state to serve as a buffer between the populous East Coast and the sparsely settled West Coast.[36] The failure of the Black state concept, coupled with the legalization

of racial discrimination in the towns and states of the South during the 1890's, resulted in the creation of Black towns. These towns were not constituted as racial ghettos, but Blacks of this era felt that this kind of isolation from the Whites formed the only positive and workable solution to their difficulties.[37]

The leading proponent of the Black Oklahoma town movement was Edwin P. McCabe, former State Auditor of Kansas and founder of Langston, Oklahoma, who "foresaw as early as 1890 the unattainability of his original concept of a Black state and proceeded to concentrate his efforts toward establishing Black towns."[38]

At the peak of the Black town movement there were twenty-nine Black towns and one Black colony. Twenty-five of the towns were located in Indian Territory; the other four towns and the Black colony were located in Oklahoma Territory.[39] Tullahassee, located in Wagoner County near the Verdigris River, is considered the oldest Black town in Indian Territory.[40]

In McIntosh County today there are at least two Black towns of significance, Vernon and Rentiesville. Arthur L. Tolson, a young Black scholar and Ph.D. graduate of the University of Oklahoma, has recorded the struggle for equality of the Oklahoma Blacks. In his book Tolson discusses the development of Rentiesville, which,

> . . .situated in northern McIntosh County about seventeen miles southwest of Muskogee on Dirty Creek west

of Rattlesnake Mountain, was founded in 1903. A vivid historical account of the town was given by N. A. Robinson, a Baptist minister. His address was delivered at the Townsite Company Meeting of which he was President, on October 6, 1904:

> Twelve months ago, this beautiful site was nothing more than a common grove, today it is a well-organized town. The townsite has been surveyed by the U.S. surveyor, and a blueprint plat prepared and the same is on record with other towns.
>
> This scheme of the organization of the town of Rentiesville was conceived by your humble servant on or about the first of October, 1903. I held a conference with I.J. Foster, W.D. Robinson, and William Rentie; all of whom concurred with me. The result was a call to meet at the New Paradise Baptist Church on the 20th day of October, 1903. During the meeting, a resolution was adopted which carried with it the organization of a townsite company. Your humble servant was elected President; Reverend David Green, Vice-President; William Rentie, Secretary; W.D. Robinson, Treasurer.[41]

Vernon, Oklahoma, founded in June, 1911, was named in honor of William H. Vernon, Registrar of Deeds and Currency of the U.S. Treasury, who also was a Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[42] Tolson says that "Vernon, located in McIntosh County about ten miles southeast of Dustin, an all-White town, contained several Black businesses in 1913."[43] Today, Vernon has one gas pump, and a Post Office with a small grocery store.

According to Tolson, "Wild Cat, sometimes called Grayson, located in McIntosh County, was described as a coming town in 1905. The Negroes who have located there are a progressive set of people . . . and are building up a

prosperous and substantial community."[44] However, today the small town of Grayson is in Okmulgee County just across the McIntosh County line.

According to current maps and from checking racial population in the 1970 census, only eight to ten Black towns are still in existence.[45] Rentiesville has a population of eighty-three and Vernon has a population of around one hundred. Although the Black towns show no significant growth, they still survive--remnants of the Black state concept.

Unlike the Black population, the Indian population of McIntosh County has been subjected to the effects of a diaspora (dispersal).[46] Thus, there is today one town in McIntosh County with over 50 percent Indian population.[47] Thus, for the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes who believed their removal from their original lands was a humanitarian attempt to preserve their tribal life, the removal was a failure. As history and the census data show, for the White man, rancher, farmer, and businessman the removal was a success, not only in Georgia and North Carolina, but also in Oklahoma.

Between the period of Statehood in 1970 and the early 1940s Oklahomans generally struggled with an agrarian outlook based on Jacksonian philosophies in trying to cope with modernization. In 1935, a survey by the Brookings Institution found that "Oklahoma is advanced materially but retarded politically."[48] In discussing the Indian during this period, Angie Debo writes, "Leaders of the civilized tribes, great

native statesmen though they were, were unable to control the powerful financial interests that contended for their possessions."[49]

The storminess of Oklahoma politics and its impact on Indians traced by Debo back to Oklahoma territorial days where:

> Bitter rivalry between cities bursting with civic pride and individuals striving for personal advancement occurred. . . . This struggle was typified in the struggle between the homesteader and the bank . . . and the squabbles between Democrats and Populists. . . . Indian Territory politicans generally were more mercenary--their quarrels more closed and their alliances tighter than their Oklahoma Territory counterparts.[50]

According to one historian:

> The dominant political influence of the first twenty years of statehood was the systematic plundering of the Five Tribes allottees. . . . The Indian had the same legal protection in theory as other citizens but they were unfamiliar with deeds, mortgages, and oil leases, and distrustful of the White man's law. Thus they were stripped of their property through deception, forged instruments, kidnapping, murder, and the plundering of estated by guardians through the probate courts--nobody who ignores Indian exploitation can understand Oklahoma politics. The Indian allotments added together formed an area about the size of Indiana--rich in farmlands, coal, timber, oil--this was a prize worth seizing.[51]

After three decades of frontier exploitation came the Depression, and Oklahoma's stormy political scene continued with the impeachment of two governors. Impeachment clouds also hung over the head of Alfalfa Bill Murray, who called his opponents "a bunch of cotton tail rabbits trying to pull a wild cat out of its den."[52]

In 1908 the turbulence of state politics was felt in McIntosh County, as can be seen in one colorful account of the early statehood activities as printed in a Eufaula publication:

> It seems that on Sunday, June 7, 1908, a delegation of Checotah citizens invaded the town of Eufaula with the intention of removing all the County records from the Court House in the hopes of establishing Checotah the county seat. The group descended upon Eufaula about noon, just as most residents were returning from church, in a special train hired for the purpose of carrying armed men to Eufaula to forceably remove the County records from the Court House. However, the citizens of Eufaula were able to subdue the invaders and send them home on the same train that they hired to take the records to Checotah. The battle was not won without bloodshed, however. Deputy Constable F. M. Woods was shot by Joe Parmenter of Checotah, and on June 8, 1908. Mr. Woods died from his wounds. The records were secured and Eufaula remained the county seat. However, Checotah was given the privilege of having a part of the County Court located in Checotah as an accommodation to the attorneys in the north end of the county. This court handled probate matters, issued marriage licenses and other county matters, but did not have jurisdiction over other civil or criminal matters. The County Judge held court once a week there or at any special requested time. In 1968, through Court Reform, the office of County Judge was eliminated and the County Court became the District Court, thereby causing all the records in the Checotah office to be removed to the County Court House in Eufaula. The Checotah citizens were represented well, though. Charles Peterson, Court Clerk, is a citizen of Checotah serving all the people of McIntosh County as their elected Court Clerk. Robert J. Bell of McAlester, Oklahoma, is the District Judge of the Eighteenth Judicial District, and Marshall Warren, Eufaula, is his Associate District Judge, his office being situated in the McIntosh County Court House. The war is over, but the two towns still are strongly competitive, whether it be in business or in school competition.[53]

During this same period from Statehood into the 1940s, according to Tolson, Blacks in Oklahoma and McIntosh County

struggled against "Jim Crowism," the principles of which emerged early in Oklahoma Territorial days.[54] After Oklahoma became a state "the Jim Crow statutes became the first order of business of the Legislature for the purpose of assuring the supremacy of the White race in the new state."[55]

Since the 1940s, the general character of Oklahoma's government is described by Debo as one of "political maturity."[56]

> The state had passed the pioneer era when a strong people came in to seize and build: It has passed the economic and emotional crosscurrents of the stormy nineteen twenties and the disillusionment of the depression years. . . . The steady work and quiet lives of the great majority add up to a mightier force than the clash of the titans; and that influence has finally come into its own.[57]

Current Economic and Political Factors

Because McIntosh County lacks a large industrial base and an urbanizing trend, McIntosh County is decidedly agricultural and rural in nature.[58] Lack of industrialization has meant that incomes among ethnic people in McIntosh County are not only below the U.S. median, but are also decidedly below the median for Whites in the county.[59]

By 1970 McIntosh County ranked as the sixth poorest in Oklahoma in terms of the percentage of all persons with incomes less than the poverty level; in 1970 poverty for a non-farm family of four was defined as income less than $5,050.[60] The census reports that:

> By 1970 in the U.S., although urban Indians still have large numbers of persons in poverty, their

TABLE 2-2

OKLAHOMA'S SIX POOREST COUNTIES: PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS WITH INCOME LESS THAN POVERTY LEVEL AND PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

County	Adair	Choctaw	Coal	McCurtain	Hughes	McIntosh
Persons	7,100	5,954	2,038	10,495	4,052	4,020
Percentage of all persons	47.8	40.0	37.3	37.2	34.7	33.1
Families	1,611	1,341	499	2,307	1,088	900
Percentage of total families	38.2	47.6	41.7	37.3	34.6	34.2
Rank Percentage for persons below poverty level	1	2	3	4	5	6

> overall socio-economic characteristics indicated that urban Indians were better off than rural Indians.
>
> National Indian data obscure the fact that urban Indian is in a class by himself. His excessively low labor participation rates, exorbitantly high unemployment rates, and high birth rates place almost half of all rural Indian families below the poverty level . . . nearly every statistically measurable socio-economic or demographic characteristic reflects significant differences between urban and rural Indian populations.[61]

According to brochures, Lake Eufaula is "the largest body of water in Oklahoma, and the biggest lake in the southwest."[62] McIntosh County's new industy, tourism, not only has brought in outside money to the economy but has provided a basis for some of Eufaula's growing problems, such as the rising crime rate.[63]

As for county politics, generally the voter turn-out is high and a high percentage of people who are old enough to vote have registered to vote and do vote.[64] Far more than one-half of all those registered to vote generally do vote.[65] For instance, in 1972, the voter registration in McIntosh County numbered a total of 7,159 persons. In the 1972 elections 5,235 (73 percent) of the 7,159 persons registered to vote actually voted. In general, the majority tend to vote Democratic, but conservative sympathy is evident in the county. Republican candidates in the 1974 general election garnered about four times the vote as compared to Republican registrations.[66] In terms of registration in 1974, the County Registrar's office showed the following data: 7,324

TABLE 2-3

McINTOSH COUNTY - VOTING FREQUENCIES

	Total Vote General Election	No. of Registered Voters	Percent of Reg. Voters who Voted
1960	4,478	7,011	64
1962	3,590	7,084	51
1964	4,925	7,966	62
1966	3,461	7,480	46
1968	3,291	7,056	47
1970	3,322	6,599	50
1972	5,234	7,159	73
1974	4,803	7,637	63

Democrats, three hundred and eleven Republicans, two American party members, and twenty-three Independents.

For Blacks and Indians, the Registrar gave the data which comprises Tables 2-4 and 2-5. These tables show the number of people registered as compared to the Registrar's estimate of the actual number of Blacks and Indians in selected wards. Tables 2-4 and 2-5 list only those wards in McIntosh County that have a high percentage of Black and Indian residents. The Registrar's estimates are no doubt suspect, but because voting data is no longer kept by race, his estimates serve as the only available barometer. When the Registrar heard what the Census Bureau's estimate was for the number of Blacks in McIntosh County for 1970 (1,325--10.6 percent of the population), he thundered, "I know God damned well we got more niggers than that here."[67] This kind of attitude, which some political scientists call White haughtiness, was prevalent throughout interviewing sessions in the county.

In characterizing the political system of McIntosh County, it is important to note that those voting, tallied as a percent of the adult population (over the age of 18), has ranged from 56.5 percent in the 1974 Oklahoma Governor's race to 49.2 percent for the State Commissioner of Labor race to 59.1 percent for the Presidential election and even higher within certain precincts for such elections as County Commissioner or City Councilman.[68] In the Black and Indian precincts

TABLE 2-4

McINTOSH COUNTY VOTER REGISTRATION
BLACK WARDS

Ward	Number Registered	Number Black--Registrar's Estimate	Percent Black
Eufaula 4	314	200	64
Checotah 2	553	375	68
S. Hanna	245	100	41
Pierce	314	130	41
Shady Grove	348	160	46

TABLE 2-5

McINTOSH COUNTY VOTER REGISTRATION
INDIAN WARDS

Ward	Number Registered	Number Indian--Registrar's Estimate	Percent Indian
Eufaula 2	346	89	25
Ryal	160	104	65
S. Hanna	245	49	20
N. Hanna	304	61	20

in the 1974 general election the County Commissioner's race outdrew the contests for Governor, U.S. Senate, U.S. House, State Treasurer, State Attorney General, and Corporation Commissioner. The primary election for Mayor and the general elction for Mayor both had higher voter turnouts than did any state elective position, and all elective positions are held by Democrats.

This phenomenon of having higher turnouts in the local elections than in the state elections is not unusual in rural areas. As Holloway writes, "County Commissioners have much to say about the conditions of local roads and the ease with which farm produce can reach markets."[69] Nor is it unusual in Black precincts or Indian precincts.

Some authors argue that the relationship between the two political communities, Black and White, and the higher turnout for local as compared to state contests means the Black and Indian voter have been politically organized and controlled to a large degree by White political leadership. In other words, there is a manipulated vote.[70]

> In the manipulative town the electoral activists--those responsible for turning out the Negro vote--are primarily the agents or members of the White political structure, and the preponderance of voting Negroes are responsible to the activists as agents of the Whites.[71]

The organization and manipulation of a Negro vote was conceived of as a means of either obtaining or retaining control of public policy-making positions.[72]

Among Whites in McIntosh County, a smugness or haughtiness concerning the fact that they were in control of the political situation was detected. Whites feel that Indians generally have been assimilated into the White culture (the Indians do not feel this way). Whites believe that Indians and Blacks are unorganized politically, thus presenting no threat to the White power structure in McIntosh County. As we shall see, the organizations that Blacks and Indians have are ineffectual in vying for the power with the White community.

Hence, these minority peoples grow up enmeshed in this rural county, bargaining for limited power within the White structure. Those who stay grow old having lived their entire lives within this limiting framework. They have lived as political outsiders because of their history and tradition. Thus, it is understandable that the uner-privileged peoples, particularly the older Blacks in McIntosh County, may embrace a philosophy of fatalism.

In this rural area, elderly Blacks, knowing their years of youthful dissension have passed, look to the church for social and spiritual sustenance. In the future there is only one destination, death, and hopefully a reward for pain and suffering. Thus, upon visiting a federally funded Senior Citizens' Center in Checotah where three-fourths of the clientele was Black and the personnel all Black, the author found a poem scrawled on a chalk board, illustrating the elderly Blacks' idea of wisom and humor:

God is like Bayer Aspirin, He works wonders.
God is like Ford, He gives a better deal.
God is like Dial, He gives you round the clock protection.
God is like Coke, He's the real thing.
God is like Pan Am, He makes the going great.
God is like Scope, He makes you feel free.
God is like Hallmark, He cares enough to give the very best.

Footnotes

[1]According to Table 6 of the Health Planning Data compiled by Linda Smith, Associate Health Planner of the Eastern Oklahoma Development District, Muskogee, Oklahoma, September 1974, p. 13, the population density of McIntosh County is seventeen persons per square mile. Note that Oklahoma's population density per square mile is thirty-seven, based on the 1970 census.

[2]George K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, 2nd ed. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1974), p. 17.

[3]Lake Eufaula, Oklahoma's Gentle Giant (Eufaula, Oklahoma: The Lake Eufaula Association, 1974), p. 6. The lake comprises 102,500 acres with six hundred miles of shoreline.

[4]Economic Base Report: McIntosh County 1973 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Security Commission, March 1973), p. 23.

[5]Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, revised ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 30.

[6]Vidich and Bensman, Small Sown in Mass Society, pp. pp. 22-28.

[7]Ray Crow, "Eufaula's Top 'College' Not Aiming for Higher Education," The Muskogee Sunday Phoenix, 14 March 1976, p. B1.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Economic Base Report: McIntosh County 1973, p. 22.

[12]See Table 1-2 and 1-3 (Chapter 1).

[13]See map in Appendix A.

[14]Eufaula is a Creek word for "At this place they split up and went into many parts of the country." There is also a Eufaula (originally spelled Yuyala) in Talladega County, Alabama. Checotah is named for Samuel Checote, the former Creek chief during the 1870s. McIntosh County is named in honor of a prominent family of the Creek tribe. The

influence over Native American tradition can also be seen in some nostalgic remarks made to the author by county Native Americans about the "Smoked Meat Rebellion," in which during March of 1909, a full-blood Creek named Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake), attempted to set up his own government, the Snake Government. Of course, martial law was invoked in McIntosh County. However, Harjo was never captured. See Mel Bolster, "The Smoked Meat Rebellion," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 31 (Spring 1953): 37-56.

[15]Charles Evans, Lights on Oklahoma History (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1926), p. 2.

[16]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 8.

[20]John D. Benedict, Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma, Volume 1 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), p. 493.

[21]Arrell M. Gibson, "America's Exiles," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 54, No. 1 (Spring 1976): 8.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 10.

[24]Tom Holm,"Cherokee Colonization in Oklahoma," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 54, No. 1 (Spring 1976): 60.

[25]Ibid., p. 72.

[26]William W. Savage, Jr., "Creek Colonization in Oklahoma," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 54, No. 1 (Spring 1976): 39.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid., p. 43.

[29]Ibid., p. 41.

[30]Frances P. Prucha, "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment," Journal of American History 56 (December 1969): 537-539.

[31]Economic Base Report McIntosh County 1973, p. 2.

[32]R. Halliburton, Jr., "Origins of Black Slavery Among the Cherokees," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 52 (Winter 1974): 483-497. The Cherokee had no word for slave or Negro; therefore, they used the word for captive, "ah-hu-tsi." Mr. Halliburton estimates that at the beginning of the Civil War, the Cherokee Nation had about 4,000 slaves.

[33]Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965).

[34]The Battle of Honey Spring, fought on July 16, 1863, one mile north of Rentiesville, Oklahoma, was one of twelve Civil War battles fought in Oklahoma and the largest, with three thousand Federal troops and six thousand Confederate troops. Since it was the largest battle of the Trans-Mississippi campaign, it has been considered the western equivalent of Gettysburg. Excerpts are taken from the 100th anniversary edition of the McIntosh County Democrat, 8 June 1972.

[35]Tolson, Black Oklahomans, especially chapter 6, "The Black Migration," pp. 46-56.

[36]Tolson, chapter 8, "The Black State," pp. 69-90.

[37]Tolson, chapter 9, "The Black Oklahoma Towns," pp. 90-106.

[38]Ibid., p. 93.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., p. 97.

[41]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[42]Interview with Postmistress Dee Walker in Vernon, Oklahoma, July 1974. Vernon, an all-Black town in McIntosh County, now has no stores and only about one hundred people. According to one respondent, in 1912 there were four groceries, a drug store, a saw mill, a grist mill, a cleaners, and a railroad station. Residents in Onapa, Stidham, and Lenna related similar historical sketches.

[43]Tolson, Black Oklahomans, p. 103.

[44]Ibid., p. 102.

[45]Tolson claims, based on an advance report of the 1970 census, that Vernon and Summit in Muskogee County no

longer exist. However, this is false. The lack of accuracy in counting Blacks in the census accounts for these errors. Tolson in conversation with this author said that there could have been thirty and not twenty-nine Black towns in Oklahoma. In his research a town called Charlesville was uncovered, but he could never substantiate its location and was told by his dissertation committee to leave it out of his dissertation. Information is from a conversation between Tolson and this author on November 11, 1975.

[46]Listing of places in McIntosh County of twenty-five or more people with self-identified Indians during 1970 follows:

	Indians	Total Population	Percent Indian
Stidham	25	53	74.2
Hanna	30	181	16.6
Eufaula	335	2,355	14.2
Checotah	132	3,074	4.3

An Index of Social Indicators of the American Indian in Oklahoma (Oklahoma City: Office of Community Affairs and Planning, January 19, 1972), Table II-2, pp. 56-60.

[47]In Oklahoma, which has more Indians than any other state, only one town, Oaks in Delaware County, has an Indian population over fifty percent. Our of 219 people, 168 are Indian, making the percentage 76.8. The town that ranks second is Stidham, located in McIntosh County. Out of its fifty-three people, twenty-five are Indian, or 47.2 percent.

[48]Angie Debo, Oklahoma Footloose and Fancy Free (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 39.

[49]Ibid., p. 39.

[50]Ibid., p. 40.

[51]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[52]Ibid., p. 49. The two governors impeached were John Walton, who served from January 8, 1922, to November 19, 1929. In Oklahoma, a rumor circulated that any state impeaching three governors would lose its statehood and revert to territorial status.

[53]"A Brief History of Eufaula," no date. These are narratives collected from long-time residents and distributed by the Eufaula Library.

[54]Tolson, Black Oklahomans, p. 125.

[55]Ibid., pp. 104-106. Senate Bill No. 1, The Jim Crow Law, was signed December 18, 1907, requiring separate railroad coaches. This went into effect sixty days later to allow time to alter 540 depots and acquire additional coaches. Senate Bill No. 65, Anti-Mescegenation Law, was signed May 22, 1908. A Grandfather Clause was also included in a general election bill which was adopted with very little debate during the closing days of the first legislature.

[56]Debo, Oklahoma Footloose and Fancy Free, p. 51.

[57]Ibid.

[58]In McIntosh County 55.1 percent of all Black persons have incomes less than the poverty level, and among Oklahoma rural Indians 43 percent of all Indian families have incomes below the poverty level. Generally counties are rated by a poverty index which is the number of families on public assistance (in McIntosh County, 583), plus the number of families below the poverty level (900), plus the number of families below 75 percent of the poverty level (480), divided by the county family population (3,352). Based on this poverty index McIntosh County ranked 15 out of 77 counties in 1970 with an index of poverty of .59 (27 percent of all families are below poverty level). Adair County ranks first with an index of .91; Washington County is low with .16.

[59]A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. III, American Indians, p. 17.

[60]The largest industrial firm in the county is White Stage, manufacturer of ski wear, employing about 150 people. Seventy-five percent of the population for 1970 is listed as rural-farm or rural-nonfarm.

[61]See Table 1-1 Sources cited below the table.

[62]Lake Eufaula, Oklahoma's Gentle Giant, p. 6.

[63]Approximately 400,000 visitors come to Lake Eufaula yearly, according to reliable sources. In the first eight months of 1974, McIntosh County suffered seventy-seven burglaries and only twelve of them have been solved. Information from a Eufaula public meeting, October 1974.

[64]According to the 1970 census in McIntosh County, the population of people 18 years and older was 8,521. Recent voter registration figures show that 7,660 people 18

years and older (89.9 percent) are registered. Letter from the McIntosh County Voter Registrar to author, November 10, 1973.

[65]See Table 2-3.

[66]Republican candidates by vote: Governor, Inhofe, 1,203; Senate, Bellmon, 1,458; Congress, Keen, 1,244.

[67]Interview with John "Dutch" Cates, McIntosh County Voter Registrar, March 1974.

[68]"General Election Returns of November 5, 1974," The Indian Journal (Eufaula), 7 November 1974, p. 12, and "City of Eufaula Primary Election Results of March 10, 1975," The Indian Journal, 20 March 1975, p. 4.

[69]Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 125.

[70]Alfred B. Clubok, John M. DeGrove and Charles D. Farris, "The Manipulated Negro Vote: Some Pre-Conditions and Consequences," The Journal of Politics 26 (1964): 112-129.

[71]Ibid., p. 114.

[72]Ibid., p. 117.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Influences on Participation

Political scientists argue that increased political participation is supposed to be used to overcome deprivation due to low education, low-status occupations, and inadequate income. Yet the deprivations mentioned above actually impede (many believe) increased political participation. Recent analysis, however,[1] has indicated that "when Blacks break through the barrier that separates the totally inactive from those who engage in at least some activity, they are likely to move to quite high levels of such activity."

Non-Whites have often been defined according to their function within the American society. "Blacks were considered draft animals; Indians, wild animals."[2] The White man forbade the Black to enter his own social and economic system, yet force-fed the Indian what he denied the Black. The relationship between Indians and politics centers on the adjustment of the legal relationship between Indian tribes and the federal government--getting back land illegally taken; the relationship between Blacks and politics centers on social

and economic mobility. The fact that Whites tried to assimilate Indians confused many Indians and led them to believe that conflicting cultures were the cause of their problems.[3]

Political scientists have generally accepted the assumption that non-participation in politics, particularly by Blacks and Indians, is the result of disinterest or apathy. This thesis assumes that people fail to participate because they do not think it is worth the time or because they fail to understand what is at stake. This framework for political analysis assumes that participation is truly open in a democracy. However, a recent work on the subject of participation argues that a lack of participation, particularly among Blacks, but also conceivably among other ethnic peoples as well, can be traced to fear, a fear of social and/or economic coercion.[4]

The hopeful assumption of The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was that the elimination of the formal legal barriers to Black voting, particularly in the Deep South, would itself unleash latent "forces of democracy" lying dormant in the hinterlands.[5] The problem, however, lies in the real or imagined damages to registration due to language difficulties. Then to this are added manipulation, fear or intimidation, and generally a low socio-economic standing. Thus, the reader can readily sense the tremendous obstacles facing the ethnic person who is in quest of his political rights.

To illustrate, one can consider The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and amendments added in 1970 (Public Law 91-285) and 1975 (Public Law 94-73). These stated that through the use of various practices and procedures, citizens of language minorities have been effectively excluded from participation in the electoral process in violation of a person's 14th Amendment, due process rights, and 15th Amendment, right to vote freedoms.[6]

The amendments to The Voting Rights of 1965 said that any state or political subdivision which has a "language minority" comprising 5 percent or more of its total population and whose illiteracy rate as a group is higher than the national illiteracy rate would be required to furnish either written language ballots in the specific language of the minority group affected, or if the language of the minority group was "historically unwritten" then the state or political subdivision is required to furnish "oral instructions, assistance, or other information relating to registration and voting."[7] The Oklahoma Election Board uses as a definition of "historically defined" any language existing before the White man arrived, which means that there are no historically defined Native American languages in Oklahoma. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its amendments define illiteracy as "the failure to complete the fifth primary grade."[8]

In Oklahoma there are at least fifty-two different Indian tribes. McIntosh County, Oklahoma, has six known

Indian tribes with twenty-five or more members: Cherokee, Choctaw, Houma, Creek, Alabama, and Coushatta.[9] Oklahoma has seventy-seven counties with twenty-three of them having 5 percent or more Indian population, while two of them have 5 percent or more Spanish population.

In order to comply with this voting act the Oklahoma County Election Boards saw that they would have to provide one interpreter for each tribe at each precinct. In one county, this called for eight different interpreters to be present at one precinct. To avoid financial ruin of the Oklahoma County System Election Boards, according to Election Board officials, the current interpretations of this law allows interpreters to be present at various precincts if the prospective voter contacts the election board and requests assistance in order to vote.

Despite these seemingly extraordinary measures to elicit ethnic voting support, early studies of the subject indicate that most Native Americans claim to speak and read enough English to vote and that they do not want interpreters.[10] The author suspects that if a similar study was done in McIntosh County similar results would appear.

Obstacles to registration and voting which are probably based on manipulation, and economic reprisal for Black Americans, can be seen from the following comment about the eleven Southern states:

> Although the list of Black office-holders is impressive, they represent only two percent of the

> elected officials in the region while their race comprises twenty percent of the population. Blacks control the governments of only six of the one hundred and one Southern counties with majority Black populations.[11]

Even in McIntosh County the realities of discrimination are apparent--the lack of Black elected officials (none) to county offices, the lack of Blacks working in stores and offices, and the lack of Black teachers in the public schools. Indians, while being more visible in the county, have scarcely more political clout than Blacks vis-a-vis the White power structure.

Regardless of the actual level of participation in the United States, different people do participate at different rates. In their work, Participation in America, Sidney Verba and Norman Nie state that there are four fundamental ways that people can participate in politics. These are: voting, campaigning, communal activity via group participation aimed at contributing to the community or public good, and particularized contacting or individual interaction with a public official to achieve some personal or self-interest goal.[12] Although these ways of participation might seem to overlap, Verba and Nie contend that "each of these 'modes' of participation is considered to be substantively and empirically distinct from the others."[13]

Thus, the dominant theme of the Verba and Nie analysis is that social class causes individuals to participate in politics at different rates.[14] The one variable narrowing

the status gap in participation is race. According to Verba and Nie, " group consciousness" among Blacks motivates them to participate in politics more than what is normally predicted by their class background.[15]

> The social class analysis has implications for the consequences of participation with the obvious inference being that the views of the upper class will tend to be overrepresented. They are politically more active, particularly in the smaller relatively isolated communities where the normal structure and physical environment encourages higher political activity.[16]

Verba and Nie argue that given groups of people have definable and fairly isolated political participation behaviors caused by social class standing.

Thus, the question is one of whether or not existing patterns of political socialization among Blacks and Indians in McIntosh County, learned through their own ethnic experiences and fostered by this rural setting, are actual deterrents to political participation.[17]

According to the political science literature, there are two theories which explain why Blacks have low rates of political participation. The first theory, social deprivation, points out that persons deprived of opportunity and denied respect tend to have low levels of self-conpetence. Thus, persons having low levels of self-competence tend to have low feelings of political effectiveness. Finally, persons having low levels of self-competence tend to have low feelings of political trust.[18] All of this results in a feeling of futility producing a pervasive political

indifference in regard to the advancement of ethnic leaders, issues, and ideals. The second theory looks to political reality. It argues that Blacks have less ability to influence political leaders than Whites do; therefore, the Blacks have less reason to trust political leaders than Whites do.[19] On this theory the Blacks in McIntosh County have in a sense limited themselves in their political participation by their tendency to view the local political scene as in reality beyond their power to influence.

James Q. Wilson has characterized the two basic "race ends" sought by Blacks as "status ends," "those which seek the integration of the Negro into all phases of the community on the principle of equality," and "welfare ends," "those which look to the tangible improvement of the community or some individuals in it through the provision of better services, living conditions or positions."[20]

William Keech has observed the important limitations of voting and other forms of political activity on the part of Black people. The vote is much more effective in removing the

> . . . "cruder forms" of discrimination than it is with the more subtle forms [such as manipulation].[21]
>
> The vote has been more instrumental in achieving legal equality than social equality and the vote will contribute to the achievement of social equality only to the extent that Whites are willing to concede such equality.[22]

Political behavior may be rooted in economic benefits, some in conscious or unconscious psychological needs

or gratifications, some in habit, ritual or duty, or influence-seeking. Campbell states that "For most Americans, voting is the sole act of participation in politics."[23] Beyond this mode of participation there are also a few informal, less well-defined ways discussed in political science literature in which large numbers of people become "engaged" in politics.[24] The American public has been divided by some authors into various groups to help understand the type and degree of political participation.[25]

Traditional political science literature generally states that High Education and High SES (socio-economic status) are the standard barometers used to measure participation,[26] i.e., the higher the SES, the more frequent the participation.

Non-voting is held to be a serious problem in a democracy.[27] More recently, political scientists have debated among themselves about the "desirable" level of participation needed to maintain both stability and democracy.

Some have emphasized that a political system that permits "too much" participation suffers strains so severe that its effectiveness may be in doubt.[28] Proponents of this view often argue that high participation usually implies the activation of less educated and less tolerant groups, whose views are generally hostile to the very preservation of a democratic order. McClosky states that "Democratic viability is, to begin with, saved by the fact that those

who are most confused about democratic ideas are also likely to be politically apathetic and without significant influence."[29]

As for McIntosh County, observations made by influential county Whites and ethnic people discounted the articulateness of ethnic people. "They (Indian) have no long-range views. . . . They don't think far ahead. . . . The sharp ones stick out like a sore thumb. . . . The answer to the question of ethnic political problems is to leave those people alone."[30]

"Indians think politics is stupid."[31]

"When you find a Black Republican you have found a fool."[32]

"If you want a Black to read something, give him a copy of Andy Farley. . . . Blacks just sit back with their bottle and their bar-b-que."[33]

Within the county examined in this study, the question becomes crucial as to whether the political system is more open to ethnic groups than are the economic and social systems. In studying the situation in McIntosh County, the author noted that the White power structure did indeed manipulate the vote of both Blacks and Indians. But, this political situation was rather like trying to discern the dancer from the dance. Certainly, the White power structure secured the votes, the cooperation, and the endorsement they sought. However, the ethnic leaders also secured what they could--

limited self-respect, a sense of limited power, and a limited freedom for their cultural communities.

In one sense, the manipulated vote is the product of the White man and his relations with minorities, in this case Blacks and Indians. Conditions which contribute to the manipulative relationship include the dependence of minority communities and their leadership, the traditional political culture of rural minorities which lack the ethnic militancy of urban minorities, the absence of strong and independent leadership, low economic status, the lack of education, and pervasive apathy.[34] With these conditions in mind one can see the difficulty of breaking the vicious circle of manipulation. Perhaps through education the ethnic might break the circle. However, once educated, the ethnic usually establishes himself elsewhere rather than staying to improve the lot of his people. Thus, those left behind are always under-educated and poor, producing the dependent conditions of the Black and Indian communities and their leadership.

However, in looking at McIntosh County and its conformity to the conditions for manipulation, one must remember more importantly the causes of these conditions. Hence, one must ask deeper questions, such as: What are the origins of these conditions? What are the consequences of the manipulated vote for the ethnic peoples of McIntosh County?

The patterns of manipulation may vary: Perhaps it comes from old-time White families, from storekeepers, from

stores and factories, from professional people such as lawyers, doctors and bankers. Patterns of influence develop over time and persist from campaign to campaign. According to Holloway:

> People come to know one another by repute if not by direct contact. Thus, certain Whites acquire reputations for influence over Negro voters and certain Negroes (and Indians) also acquire reputations for their influence--or supposed influence over a bloc of voters.[35]

Soukoup and others note:

> It is apparent that White paternalism rooted in the caste system is a complex relationship. The main element is the Negro's acceptance of his dependent, submissive role, supplemented by such corruption as exists. And the ever-present possibility of reprisal, though largely nonviolent, helps to maintain the system.[36]

The following description by Holloway most aptly captures the circumstances of the Blacks in McIntosh County:

> All in all, the picture is one of a deeply traditional Negro community: almost universal poverty, little education, only a tiny group that might qualify as middle class, and a few members with skills other than those of farm or field. With few exceptions, the Negro population is a pauperized, depressed group, a kind of peasantry bound to a narrow, customary way of life.[37]

The White community extends "services" to the Black and Indian communities, and in return the White community asks for favors on election day. One form of service has been referred to as "impulse freedom."[38] These freedoms refer to forms of aggressive behavior, usually gambling and public drunkenness, allowed to go on within the Black or Indian community. The Black and Indian communities are pretty much

left alone to "do their own thing." In return, the White power structure expects that on election day Blacks and Indians won't forget their "friends." Black businesses where they exist get light treatment from law enforcement personnel, particularly "juke joints." A juke joint is an establishment which sells beer and/or whiskey, legally or illegally, and often has a coin-operated record player or juke box on the premises used for dancing or listening.[39] In McIntosh County these joints tend to be de-facto segregated, some for Whites and others for Blacks or Indians.

The problem of law enforcement in a small rural town are summed up as follows:

> If a nigger gets stabbed or shot up down in nigger town we just have to say that's one less nigger--if outsiders stir up them people then we got trouble. Won't nobody be safe around here, and the White folks with families and a little something would get hurt--we can't have no nigger trouble around here. There ain't that much to fight for.[40]

Of course, this sentiment pervades the small towns in McIntosh County.

Profiles of the Cultures - Whites

Presently, the White sample in McIntosh County viewed the political processes as open and above-board. Their conception of "using" the minorities, especially, their vote, was always couched in terms of the past, i.e., "it used to happen around here" or "I've heard of it happening but not any more." Yet, as one Black resident said:

> There is a general understanding in Oklahoma, especially in McIntosh County, that Blacks have a inferior position to that of Whites--as a result Whites find Blacks that they (the Whites) can trust and deal with them politically--if Blacks challenge anything they are cut away and left on a limb.[41]

"Blacks and Indians do not believe in 'doing each other' [that is, conning one another--lying]. This is the White man's thing."[42] Another Black respondent talking on the same subject said "We (the races) get along in McIntosh County up to a point as long as we (the Blacks) don't demand a lot."[43] One White resident felt that "Since the ethnics don't melt into the population, and don't have any values for land, the sharp ones (the Blacks who hold White values) stick out like a sore thumb--there might not be any answer to the question of ethnic relations except for the Whites to leave them alone."[44]

The choices perceived by the type of White resident described above are "benign neglect" or manipulation for the White man's benefit. Another White respondent confided, "The Democrats in this county needing votes began to 'use' the Black vote. They didn't love Blacks, however, because as late as 1920 I can only think of one Black that was allowed to vote in McIntosh County regularly, and White people generally referred to me as a 'nigger lover' when I tried to register Blacks to vote back then."[45]

The Black Culture

Even though relationships among the groups--Blacks, Whites, and Indians--are outwardly and relatively pleasant

with no overt signs of friction, we must assume that beneath the outward signs, as elsewhere in the United States, race presents a significant cleavage in the political culture.

> Negro Americans in many ways are excluded from the dominant political culture of their community and nation and are denied its rewards. Norms and roles are learned in a special Negro subculture.[46]

Jewell Prestage has observed:

> The political world of American Blacks is so radically different from the political world of American Whites that it might well constitute a subculture within a dominant or major culture.[47]

References to a Black political subculture and to an Indian political subculture "suggests that Black Americans are set apart from the dominant political culture by a unique pattern of experiences that define their status in the political system and shape their perception of the system and of themselves as political actors."[48] The differences separating the Black and Indian subcultures from each other and from the White political subculture are shown by the fact that Blacks and Indians perceive themselves as a distinct community.

Thus, despite divisiveness among Blacks from time to time with regard to certain issues, and despite divisiveness among Indians from time to time with regard to certain issues, there is a strong underlying cohesiveness among Blacks and Indians. There is a sense of collective identity, a type of ancient bond resulting from a strong sense of common fate, linking otherwise diverse individuals to

one another.[49] This cohesiveness comes in part also from attempts psychologically to ward off actual and/or perceived threats of discrimination perpetrated by Whites or by other ethnic groups, such as Indians against Blacks or Blacks against Indians.

The manifestations of subcultural political beliefs are interesting in the fact that Blacks and Indians are "exaggerated Americans" in the sense that today Blacks and Indians, while clinging to their cultural pride and tradition, consider themselves first to be Americans and tend to emphasize a broadly supportive attitude toward the values of patriotism and national pride.[50] In this rural setting, the dissatisfaction among Blacks and Indians centers on incumbent politicians or bureaucrats instead of on a feeling of estrangement from the American political system. These attitudes are somewhat paradoxical in view of the actual experience of Blacks and Indians within the political system.

Historically, Blacks have contributed their support to the American political system. For instance, early Black political activists, such as Frederick Douglass, found it necessary to work within the framework of the American political system. After the Civil War, in an attempt to demonstrate their suitability and acceptability for inclusion in the political system, Blacks emphasized their commitment to America. Since the Blacks had such a vulnerable position

within the American society, their only hope was to support the American political system. Because the Blacks perceived the attitudes of Whites as being discriminatory and manipulative, the Blacks shaped their perceptions of the political system in order to get along with those they had to live with. Therefore, one can conclude that community values and traditions directly and indirectly affect an individual's political attitudes and values.[51]

Among Blacks, however, despite outward pronouncements of support for the political system in McIntosh County's Black communities and in Black communities across the country, lack of cooperation among Black residents deprives the community of the capacity to make demands of the White power structure and to carry out those demands. This condition has led to the powerlessness and a low level of Black community political efficacy. This observation does not apply to the genuine warmth generally extended by Blacks in McIntosh County, but does apply to the lack of a tradition among Blacks in McIntosh County for "organized, institutionalized cooperation for problem-solving."[52]

> The Black dilemma has been that throughout the nation but particularly in the South Blacks are concentrated at the bottom of the economic scale in terms of annual income, and they are concentrated at the bottom of the educational scale. The two conditions are interrelated and they are the grim consequences of a history of subordination and exploitation. To a substantial degree they adversely affect the inclination to participate in politics.[53]

Yet Milton Morris points out that:

> A careful assessment of Black political participation over time will indicate that assertions of a massive political apathy within the Black subculture do not appear to have been well considered. Such assertions are prompted by an overreliance on uncritical analyses of voting statistics and ignore other factors essential to a thorough evaluation of Black electoral participation. The following assertions are consistent with the available evidence on the subject. (1) There is a substantial difference between Blacks and Whites in their level of voting and this difference has remained relatively constant over a substantial period of time in spite of major developments such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (2) The gap between Blacks and Whites in voting appears to be associated with socio-economic factors as well as historical circumstances peculiar to Blacks. (3) In certain forms of electoral participation beyond voting, the level for Blacks comes much closer to and in some instances surpasses the level for Whites. (4) The most striking feature of Black electoral participation is that it far exceeds the level which their historical experience and socio-economic status by factors peculiar to the Black subculture.[54]

In their study of Southern politics, Matthews and Prothro found a surprisingly high incidence of participation by Blacks in political campaign activities, so that "instead of widening, the gap between Negro and White participation thus decreases startlingly when we shift from voting to campaign activity as a measure of participation."[55] Specifically, they found that Black participation dropped to its lowest in the highly visible forms of electoral participation and reached its highest point in such inconspicuous activities as contributing money or buying tickets to candidates' rallies.[56] "This picture suggests that Blacks have not been victims of mass apathy toward politics."[57] But they have been often manipulated in the direction and extent

of their political participation by the dominant White power structure.

> The fundamental goal of Blacks within their society is to alter their subordinate status in the society. This implies: 1) a desire to eradicate all of the rituals and symbols within the society that suggest Black inferiority or status subordination and 2) improvement of the quality of life for Blacks so that Blacks are enabled to achieve a socio-economic status comparable to that of Whites.[58]

Because voting is considered by political scientists the sine qua non of political considerations, this author examined various recent elections in McIntosh County involving ethnic candidates in order to ascertain whether or not Black and Indian people supported Black and Indian candidates.[59] The attempt here is to check group solidarity, i.e., to determine if there exists a bloc vote among Blacks or Indians.

Mr. J. C. "Buddy" Watts, Black policeman in Eufaula, which has only one other Black employed, is the brother of the Oklahoma NAACP President. He has run unsuccessfully on two different occasions for political office in McIntosh County. In 1972 Mr. Watts ran for County Sheriff, finishing fourth in a five-man race, and in March, 1975, he ran unsuccessfully for Eufaula City Marshall or Chief of Police, finishing fifth in a five-man field.

Statements given by Blacks concerning Mr. Watts indicated that Blacks were afraid of him; he prided himself as a strict law-and-order man. The Black population felt Mr. Watts was unduly harsh in dealing with Black offenders.

"Buddy Watts thought he didn't need the support of the Black vote to win--he thought he could win with the White vote."[60] The general lack of support from Blacks for Mr. Watts in 1972 can be seen in Table 3-1.

In 1975, in Eufaula's Ward Four, which consisted of 314 registered voters, the voter Registrar estimated that at least 200 (63.8 percent) of those voters were Black. In the City Marshall's race in 1975, Watts received 60 votes, 19 percent of Ward Four's total. For the whole city, out of a total of 1,132 votes, Watts received 142 votes, 12 percent of the total. In the summer of 1974, Mr. Watts expressed concern about this situation: "Eufaula is too prejudiced to elect a Negro Chief of Police . . . yet if someone was in trouble I'll bet they wouldn't care what color of skin the Marshall has."[61]

Eufaula has a Black City Councilman, Mr. G. D. Alexander, former teacher and principal, before integration of the schools, who was appointed by the Mayor in 1974 to serve out an unexpired term. He ran for re-election in March, 1975, although he had stated in an interview earlier that he would not seek re-election.

Mr. Alexander received 116 votes to his opponent's 68 in his ward, Eufaula No. 4, which according to the Registrar, in 1974 had 314 registered voters. A comment made by a White constituent in an interview seemed to indicate sentiment concerning Mr. Alexander, "At council meetings Alexander

TABLE 3-1

1972 McINTOSH COUNTY SHERIFF'S RACE
BLACK VOTE FOR BLACK CANDIDATE

County Black Precincts	Percent Black-- Registrar's Estimate	Number Registered	Vote for Watts	Percent of Vote
Eufaula 4	60	333	68	20
Checotah 2	61	527	45	9
S. Hanna	47	212	10	5
Pierce	44	277	40	14
Shady Grove	43	368	38	10

generally makes no comments other than voting--he is ineffectual."[62]

During the past 1974 election year, at a meeting of the McIntosh County NAACP, a Black who worked for Senator Henry Bellmon's office spoke on the need for Black people to get into politics with a more concerted effort. He advocated that Blacks should pick candidates who have taken stands on issues which Blacks can support and forget party labels. In this instance, the speaker urged Blacks to support Bellmon because of his position in favor of bussing. Bellmon had received the Roscoe Dunjee Award from the Oklahoma NAACP for his support of bussing.

The speaker quoted Ossie Davis:

> We can't afford to look at Party labels. We don't have permanent friends or permanent enemies. We just have permanent interests.[63]
>
> It's time to stop praying for a sack of flour and march to the ballot box. We have gone beyond having to know how many bubbles are in a bar of soap, how many grains of sand are in a square foot, or how high is up, in order to vote. Party politics is not for Black people and never has been.[64]

Matthew Holden, Black political scientist, in a recent publication[65] argues that Blacks should actively get into both political parties--not only to gain experience, but to alert Whites that Blacks will have to be dealt with. Holden argues that Blacks need to develop the capacity to use their vote strategically to shift among alternative candidates and parties--a balance-of-power approach.

> There is a fundamental rule about balance-of-power politics. Those who would practice such

> politics must have no permanent and ineradiacable commitments, hence no permanent and ineradicable enmities.[66] This model is not useful if adopted as an ideological proposition or as a secular article of faith. This is purely tactical.
>
> Another model which will make more sense in many contexts has the objective of acquiring a strategic position within the organizational decision-making process of the major political parties.[67]

Blacks in McIntosh County appear at this point in time to be vacillating between these two strategies.

McIntosh County has only 311 registered Republicans, yet Senator Bellmon garnered 277 total votes from the five Black wards in McIntosh County, indicating a distinct, if weak, movement toward Holden's balance-of-power concept.

When one considers the concept of the manipulated vote, evidence suggests that rural Blacks are apathetic and vulnerable to the White man's "suggestion as to how to vote."[68] Significant variations and exceptions arise, however, in that Blacks and Indians do normally vote their own interests on the offices of Sheriff or City Marshall and County Commissioner to protect their own self-interests.[69] Table 3-3 shows that in recent elections in McIntosh County in Black and Indian wards where County Commissioner and City Marshall races were being waged voter totals for those contests consistently were higher than for such state offices as Governor, U.S. Senator, U.S. House of Representatives, State Treasurer, and Attorney General.

In this project the indices of conventional and unconventional political participation between groups with

TABLE 3-2

SENATOR BELLMON'S VOTES IN McINTOSH COUNTY BLACK WARDS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1974

County Precincts	Percent Black Registrar's Estimate	Number Registered	Bellmon's Votes	Percent for Bellmon
Eufaula 4	60	314	71	23
Checotah 2	61	553	56	10
S. Hanna	47	245	34	14
Pierce	44	314	61	19
Shady Grove	43	348	54	16

TABLE 3-3

PROFILE OF THE MANIPULATED VOTE
SELECTED BLACK & INDIAN WARDS

1974 GENERAL ELECTION - TOTAL VOTES

	Governor	Senator	Congressman	Treasurer	Attorney General	County Commissioner
Eufaula #4	193	202	172	169	169	209
Black	193	202	172	169	169	209
Eufaula #2 Indian	249	245	208	204	204	252

1975 CITY MARSHALL ELECTION
TOTAL VOTE

Eufaula #4	193
Eufaula #2	278

regard to the followers and leaders of the three groups. Black, Indian, and White were examined and analyzed. Leaders of the three groups were determined via a comparison of names most frequently mentioned by the respondents. The question was asked all respondents: "Who do you consider an influential in the community?" Whether or not these respondents and their responses were representative of the actual political structure and attitudes in McIntoch County was unknown at the time of interviewing.

Table 3-4 shows the self-proclaimed frequencies of conventional and unconventional participation among the leaders of Black, White, and Indian groups. Whites participated to a greater extent in all categories of conventional participation than did Indians and Blacks. However, Indians led in all three categories, wearing campaign buttons, talking to politicians, and contributing money to campaigns. Blacks displayed bumper stickers more frequently than Indians and wrote to politicians more frequently than Indians. The two ethnic groups tied in terms of the actual number of people claiming that they had attended rallies, worked for a candidate, and run for office themselves. Percentages for these three categories were slightly higher for Blacks, since the Black sample N was 14, compared with 15 Indians.

In looking at unconventional methods of political participation, both Black and Indian leaders claimed to be more involved in local issues than did White leaders. Yet

TABLE 3-4

SELF-REPORTED FREQUENCIES OF CONVENTIONAL/
UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

	LEADERS														
	Black					Indian					White				
	(Yes)	%	(No)	%	N	(Yes)	%	(No)	%	N	(Yes)	%	(No)	%	N
Conventional															
Wear Button	(4)	28	(10)	72	14	(7)	47	(8)	53	15	(10)	83	(2)	17	12
Display Sticker	(10)	71	(4)	29	14	(6)	40	(9)	60	15	(9)	75	(3)	25	12
Write Politician	(7)	50	(7)	50	14	(6)	40	(9)	60	15	(11)	91	(1)	9	12
Talk Personally to Politician	(11)	78	(3)	22	14	(14)	93	(1)	7	15	(12)	100	-------		12
Contribute Money to Campaign	(2)	15	(12)	85	14	(7)	47	(8)	63	15	(11)	91	(1)	9	12
Attend Rally/ Meeting	(11)	78	(3)	22	14	(11)	73	(4)	27	15	(10)	83	(2)	17	12
Work in Campaign	(7)	50	(7)	50	14	(7)	47	(8)	53	15	(9)	75	(3)	25	12
Run for Office	(4)	29	(10)	71	14	(4)	27	(11)	73	15	(7)	58	(5)	42	12
Unconventional															
Be Involved in Local Issue	(11)	78	(3)	22	14	(8)	53	(7)	47	15	(6)	50	(6)	50	12
Boycott Store	-------		(12)	100	12	(1)	8	(13)	92	14	-------		(12)	100	12
Participate in Picket Line	(1)	8	(13)	92	14	-------		(15)	100	15	(1)	9	(11)	91	12
Participate in Demonstration	(1)	8	(13)	92	14	-------		(15)	100	15	-------		(12)	100	12

this involvement did not extend to boycotts, picket lines, or demonstrations as Table 3-4 clearly shows, indicating that the "involvement" talked about was individualized--in other words, behind-the-scenes maneuvering.

Table 3-5 shows self-proclaimed frequencies of political participation among Black, White, and Indian followers which were selected through the reputational method. Whites claim to be more involved in all facets of conventional political participation than either Blacks or Indians. However, both Whites and Indians in the samples, according to the actual numbers, were the same in running for a public office.

In terms of unconventional participation, Whites trailed both Blacks and Indians in all aspects of participation. The low response, 19 percent of Whites involved in local issues as compared to 41 percent Indian respondents and 43 percent Black respondents who claimed they were involved in local issues, is attributable to a conceptual difference over the term "involved." Both Blacks and Indians view "involved" as discussing issues without necessarily doing anything to solve them. At a McIntosh County NAACP meeting Blacks discussed ways of integrating the schools, particularly the teaching faculty. Most participants discussed the need for more Black teachers in the Checotah schools. However, no viable plan for achieving this

TABLE 3-5

SELF-REPORTED FREQUENCIES OF CONVENTIONAL/
UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

	FOLLOWERS														
	Black					Indian					White				
	(Yes)	%	(No)	%	N	(Yes)	%	(No)	%	N	(Yes)	%	(No)	%	N
Conventional															
Wear Button	(13)	47	(15)	53	28	(8)	37	(14)	63	92	(11)	52	(10)	48	21
Display Sticker	(10)	36	(18)	64	28	(7)	34	(14)	66	21	(15)	71	(6)	29	21
Write Politician	(8)	29	(20)	71	28	(7)	32	(15)	68	22	(16)	76	(5)	24	21
Talk Personally with Politician	(18)	64	(10)	46	26	(12)	57	(9)	43	21	(20)	95	(1)	5	21
Contribute Money to Campaign	(3)	11	(25)	89	28	(6)	28	(16)	72	22	(17)	80	(4)	20	21
Attend Rally/ Meeting	(22)	78	(6)	22	28	(10)	45	(12)	55	22	(20)	95	(1)	5	21
Work in Campaign	(8)	29	(20)	71	28	(4)	19	(18)	81	22	(13)	61	(8)	39	21
Run for Office	(5)	18	(23)	82	28	(5)	23	(17)	77	22	(5)	23	(16)	77	21
Unconventional															
Be Involved in Local Issues	(12)	43	(16)	57	28	(9)	41	(13)	59	22	(4)	19	(17)	81	21
Boycott Store	(1)	4	(27)	96	28	(2)	10	(20)	90	22	(1)	5	(20)	95	21
Participate in Picket Line	(1)	4	(27)	96	28	(1)	5	(21)	95	22	-------		(21)	100	21
Participate in Demonstration	(4)	15	(24)	85	28	(1)	5	(21)	95	22	(2)	9	(19)	91	21

integration was devised. Nonetheless, the members viewed their discussion as pllitical involvement.

Perhaps one factor which fosters the Black's conception of political involvement is their fear of economic reprisal. Many of the Blacks in McIntosh County rely upon the White merchants' generous credit. Thus, their meetings consist of talk rather than action. Discussion may lead to involvement, but discussion by itself is not involvement.

There are several possible sources of error that may contribute to bias in these figures and account for the high political involvement scores. Imperfect sampling methods, the possibility that the respondents overstated their involvement, and the role of politics in rural places as a form of recreation may all play a part. Table 3-5 shows that among all three groups, but especially the Whites in the conventional forms of political participation, involvement is higher than expected.

Verba and Nie in their work on participation argue that political participation is more extensive in smaller and more isolated rural areas, especially "participation of a communal sort."[70]

In examining some of the more interesting comparisons between these groups, chi-square analysis was used. The chi-square probability values were obtained by use of Program 4010-g, the chi-square distribution, for the Monroe Electronic Programmable Calculator 1655. This method allows

us to test the strength of the difference in frequency of responses of the three groups.

These data are displayed in Appendices C and D using exact probability frequencies obtained by using the chi-square value, converting that value to a Z score (Z is the square root of the chi-square value for one degree of freedom). The Z score thus represents an area under one-half of the normal curve. For example, in p = .900 this means that 90 percent of the time this value will fall in the area of the normal curve outside Z standard deviations and .100 of the time it will fall inside Z standard deviations. The lower the probability value, the less likely the distribution could have occured by chance.

Extracted from these data are three tables, 3-6 to 3-8, indicating that the differences in responses was not due to chance, i.e., if the probability is p<10, then less than 10 percent of the time could one expect the same results to occur by chance.

In determining the probability of any chi-square value, reference tables in any statistics book afford the researcher computed chi-square values for given probability levels. In using these tables, the researcher must know the degree of freedom (df) for the various chi-square values to be used. Degrees of freedom are the number of cells in the table through which data can vary freely, before the rest are controlled by the totals.

For 2x2 or larger tables, degrees of freedom are computed by the formula of (r-1)(c-1), or rows minus one times columns minus one. A bivariate table consists of two rows and two columns, so degrees of freedom = (2-1)(2-1) = 1.

In the tables, both values for chi-square are given, as well as the value for Fisher's exact test, for two-tails (Fisher's test is usually given for one-tail only), but for logical comparison with chi-square the two-tailed test is preferable. Chi-square power usually gives a lower p than the true one; chi-square Yates' usually gives a higher p than the true one, thus the true probability is obtained via the use of a Texas Instruments SR-52 Program ST1-16, Chi-Square Distribution, and Dr. Oliver Benson's own program for Fisher's exact test for the programmable calculator.

Some of these high percentages of political involvement as shown in the Tables are probably the result of some respondents' tendency to exaggerate their own involvement as well as the respondents' cultural and linguistic disparity. The problem in measuring political activity among these cultural groups stems from each group's conceptualization of such phrases as "involvement in issues," "attendance at 'rallies'," and generally "political activity." These problems are not the result of geography, but of the individual culture.

The seemingly high response from Blacks, 78 percent, who claim to be involved in local issues can be explained in

terms of confusion over the word "involved." The author believes that the common conception of the word "involved" to Blacks meant perhaps talking about issues with associates at Black meetings without actually doing anything about any issue that arose.

The Indian Culture

The Indians, the other minority, exhibit limited political participation, but for reasons that differ from the Black experience. In order to understand the Indians' stance, one must first analyze the concept of Indian community.

> The people of an Indian community generally will not sell out for individual opportunities no matter how alluring and will undergo any privations to remain part of their living community.[71]

However, the concept of "Red Power," self-government through changing the establishment to display a measure of control over Indian destinies, has "great appeal" to Indians.[72]

To gain a better understanding of cultural differences, an attempt was made to ask people--Blacks, Indians, and Whites--whether or not they felt that fear of economic reprisal or physical abuse was a deterrent to political participation. The majority of Blacks felt it was a deterrent;[73] Whites[74] and Indians[75] generally felt it was not. Indians in McIntosh County claimed that they did not consider fear of economic reprisal or physical harm as deterrents to political participation. Perhaps this can be

explained in part by the culture of the Indian which emphasizes bravery as a virtue and as a stepping stone to manhood. In a recent publication dealing with tales of the Indians, a whole chapter is devoted to hero tales and tales of bravery, with eleven different tales comprising over forty pages.[76]

Thus, the word "fear" is probably culturally slanted in a questionnaire designed for Indians. A better choice would have been: "Do you think Whites will attempt economic reprisals or physical abuse."

The following story illustrates how bravery affects the Indian through his culture:

> A certain old man had been very brave in his youth. He had gone many times on the war-path, and had killed many persons belonging to different tribes. His only children were two young men. To them he gave this advice: "Go on the war-path. It will be good for you to die when young. Do not run away. I should be ashamed if you were wounded in the back; but it would delight me to learn of your being wounded in the chest." By and by there was war with another tribe, and the two young men took part in it. Their party having been scared back, both young men were killed. When the men reached home, some one said "Old man, your sons were killed." "Yes," said he, "that is just what I desired. I will go to see them. Let them alone; I will attend to them." He found the eldest son wounded all along the back, but lying with his face towards home. Said he, "Why! he lies as if he felt a strong desire to reach home! I said heretofore that you were to lie facing that way." So taking hold of his arms, he threw the body in the other direction, with the face towards the enemy. He found the younger son wounded in the chest, and lying with his face toward the foe. "Ho! this is my own son. He obeyed me.!" And the father kissed him.[77]

Even though the Indians interviewed in this study generally claimed that discrimination was not a deterrent to political participation, this author feels that discrimination in McIntosh County against the Indian does occur, but subtly. The problem lies in the Indian's perception of what discrimination means. To the Indian, discrimination means a rejection of their ideals and life style. Discrimination to Indians does not necessarily mean being denied the vote or not being able to participate in politics as conceived by Whites. The different conceptions concerning discrimination between Indians and Whites stem from different cultural perspectives.

The Indian, like the Black, tried to adapt culturally to White expectations of beliefs and behavior. The central issue of adapting Indian culture to meet the demands of White civilization occurred roughly during the period 1786-1828.[78] That the Cherokees and Creeks saw that cultural change was their only hope of survival as an Indian people is testimony to their ingenuity.[79]

In understanding the current Indian political practices, particularly among the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, it is important to understand the key basic concepts of the Cherokee culture before the arrival of the White man and his alien social and economic concepts. In a thorough study of Cherokee law, Strickland summarizes the leading concepts of the Cherokee tribal structure, a religious, political

and social structure based on Spirit Beings, the clan, and matrilineal inheritance.

According to Strickland, fire was central to life for the Cherokees, since fire and smoke both were agents of the Being. These Spirit Beings who possessed an emotional intelligence similar to man created the world. Thus, in important matters, the Beings controlled man. In fact, these Spirit Beings provided the patterns for the Cherokee social structure, one of classes and ranks. Nevertheless, the division of the tribe into classes and ranks preserved order rather than causing a fragmentation of society. Although the members of the tribes were divided into classes and ranks, none of these classes or ranks carried any significant stigmas and the membership of certain classes provided only limited privileges. For instance, all classes of both men and women were of importance, with each class fulfilling different, yet crucial, roles within the tribe. Upon death, all ghosts of men desired to go to the afterworld or Nightland. However, a man's earthly actions or those of his clan brother could prevent the man's ghost from passage into the afterworld. Thus, the duties of blood and oaths were revered.

Although the adherence to the law of the clan was strong, the Cherokees drew their pattern for government from the Spirit Beings. The Cherokees had two separate governments, one to rule during time of peace, the white, and the other to rule during times of war, the red. For instance,

the white government was governed by the priest, who had been given secrets which would guard the welfare of the tribe. Which government was governing at the moment depended upon the popular consensus of the tribe. This popular consensus was necessary to maintain effective tribal action--in a sense much like the vote of confidence. This concept of popular consensus can also be seen in the Cherokee's concept of ownership for all national resources being free or common goods. Food supplies and wealth items were privately owned but were to be shared. Thus, property was to be used and not accumulated. As a social goal, wealth was undesirable. As for the primary social unit among the Cherokees, it was the matrilineal clan. However, marriage was viewed as a temporary state and could be dissolved at will by either party.[80]

The concept of two separate governments, both ready to function at the tribe's will, is of particular interest to this study and demands closer scrutiny. Strickland's description of this unique political structure is worthy of note and follows:

> Each Cherokee village had two distinct governmental structures, a white, or peace government, and a red, or war government. The white government was supreme in all respects except the making of war. During times of peace the white government controlled all tribal affairs. In times of war the red government was in control of all tribal affairs. The two governmental structures were never in operation at the same time. The white government was essentially a stable theocracy composed of the older and wiser men of the tribe, and who constituted a tribal gerontocracy. The red organization, on the other hand, was flexible, responsive to changed conditions, and controlled by the younger warrior.[81]

With this in mind, one must remember that this governmental structure was soon displaced by the overwhelming influence of the White man's concept of government, one based on geographical location, namely the county system as opposed to the Cherokee clan system. In trying to adapt to the White man's culture, the Cherokees' traditional cultural system went through dramatic and traumatic changes. Strickland lists a number of significant influences as factors in the Cherokees' attempt to change culturally. First, the European's demand for furs and feathers from the New World changed the economic base of the Cherokees. There was a breakdown in the traditional religious complex combined with the increased pressure from the European missionaries. The conservative war leadership was discredited and the traditional factions withdrew. What emerged from the broken theocratic government of the Cherokees was a substantial class of mixed-breed Cherokees. Finally, government policy after policy coupled with the settler's lust for land produced confusion among the Cherokees, resulting in tribal dissolution.[82]

In the midst of this cultural and political milieu, the mixed-blood elements of the Cherokee tribe rose to the top as leaders of their people. "The Cherokees more than any other native tribe in American history intermarried with the Whites."[83] This problem of intermarriage and leadership by the mixed-blood Cherokee points to the current crux of a

problem experienced among Indians today: Just who does consider himself an Indian? From which culture, White or Indian, does the individual take his cue? Current scholarship suggests at least six different ways to conceptually define Indian people.

(1) Legal definitions, such as enrollment in a recognized Indian tribe.
(2) Self-declaration, such as is used by the U.S. Census.
(3) Community recognition, such as being known by others claiming to be Indian.
(4) Recognition by non-Indians as being Indian.
(5) Biological definitions, usually specified as a certain percentage of Indian blood.
(6) Cultural definitions, however culture is defined by Indians or others.[84]

The ascendency of mixed-blood leadership was assured among the Cherokees when many recalcitrant full-blood peoples followed Chief Dragging Canoe after the American Revolution into Tennessee where they became known as the "Chickamaugans."[85]

Perhaps the culmination of the Cherokees' cultural shift occurred in 1827 with the adoption of the Cherokee Constitution. The general societal euphoria in thinking that the "red man" had significantly modified his style of living is to be found in an editorial of The New York Observer: "Their laws, if we judge from what we have seen, are superior to the wisdom of Lycurgus or Solon."[86] The gradual evolution of cultural change was again evidenced in 1839 when the two principal factions of the Cherokee Nation represented by the ancient conceptions of peace government and war government

united under a modified constitution. They coexisted until 1907 when Oklahoma's statehood brought the Cherokee government to an end. However, the Curtis Act of 1898 had already replaced Cherokee tribal courts with United States District Courts for Indian Territory.[87]

The process of amending their constitution has been called "a milestone in the achievement record of all earliest known peoples throughout the world."[88]

Former Cherokee Chief W. W. Keeler has said of the Cherokee peoples' adoption of a constitution:

> When the Cherokees arrived in their new homeland west of the Mississippi, they had their own tribal government, designed after the republican form of government, complete in all three phases. Shortly after their weary and tragic march west, and Cherokees took steps to reorganize their tribal government. . . . Pursuant to (the) Act of Union between the Eastern and Western Cherokees . . . a Constitution for the new government was drafted. . . . It is interesting to note in this Constitution, written one hundred thirty years ago, that it provided for the eighteen year old vote, and established procedures for the removal and replacement of the Principal Chief in the event of disability or impeachment. Both of these issues are receiving considerable thought and discussion throughout America today.[89]

A modern day example of the fact that many Indians have a severe case of "cultural shock," i.e., trying to adapt from one cultural norm to another, was found in the destructive inmate riot at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary in July 1973. Although only about 4 percent of the population of Oklahoma is Indian, approximately 8 percent of the prisoners incarcerated in the state penal institutions are of American

Indian descent.[90] These prisoners are the victims of severe cultural shock, economic and social demoralization and alcoholism.[91]

> Oklahoma Indians lost their vast tracts of tribal land as a result of allotment schemes, and as a result of extensive contact with the white civilization, experienced extreme tribal disorganization. Without land or hope, widespread depression and demoralization gripped the Indian population. Forced into the bewildering position of deciding whether the culture of their ancestors or the dominant white civilization would govern their lives, many Indians, unable to cope with the heavy tempo of adjustment, tragically became victims of suicide, alcoholism, delinquency, and mental illness. It should come as no surprise that many American Indians are in a state of emotional, behavioral, or mental distress.[92]

Despite this cultural shock, Indians still seek change through the political system. In regard to Indian voting patterns in McIntosh County, it is interesting to note the failures and successes of certain Indian candidates.

Ralph Keen, Indian attorney from Tahlequah, running for U.S. Congress from the 2nd Congressional district of Oklahoma on the Republican ticket, managed to garner only 31 percent of the total votes cast in the four Indian wards in the County, finishing a distant second to his White Democratic opponent, who drew 69 percent of the total vote cast.

Clarence "Chink" Douglas, Indian Sheriff of McIntosh County for twenty-seven years, longer than any Sheriff in the history of Oklahoma, was elected in March 1975 as City Marshall of Eufaula. He had earlier indicated that he was retiring from public life but decided not to. He won the

election with a plurality of 28 percent of the total vote cast in the city. Douglas received 318 of 1,132 total votes and he also drew a plurality of 15 percent in the Indian ward in the city, 65 votes for Douglas out of 253 cast.

The most interesting race among Indian candidates in recent years in McIntosh County involved a County Commissioner's race between two Indian candidates, Lehman "Poogie" Brightman, Democratic incumbent of six previous terms of 12 years versus W. Star Wilson, Republican, who works for American Airlines in Tulsa. During the campaign Wilson said:

> I have entered this race not as a Republican or Democrat, or what have you, but as a concerned citizen. As an individual, as a plain hard-working man. Yes, I am running on the Republican ticket, but bear in mind that I am for every last person in District No. 2--Democrats, Republicans, Black, White, Indians. Young and old, you name them, I'm for them.[93]

Brightman responded, "Some of my opponents have promised the moon, believe me, you cannot live on promises."[94]

In the primary, Brightman defeated Claude Bess, Jr., White candidate, 1,022 to 1,020. In the ensuing recount, Brightman had two votes discounted and Bess lost one vote, making the final total Brightman 1,020, Bess 1,019.

A knowledgeable local politician indicated in an interview that skulduggery was afoot in the recount, and that there was no doubt in his mind that a candidate from the ward where the ballot for Bess was disallowed would probably be the next County Commissioner.

In the general election, Brightman defeated Wilson 1,280 to 796. Of the Indian wards in the county, the District No. 2 Commissioner district includes only one ward (Eufaula No. 2). In that ward a total of 252 votes were cast with Brightman getting 152 of them; 72 percent of the registered voters voted in that election, indicating strong interest in that race.

The admission by the knowledgeable politician that manipulation of the vote had resulted coincides with previously cited literature on this topic and shows that manipulation occurs not only with regard to the Black vote but with the Indian vote as well.

Table 3-6 deals with the frequency with which Indian leaders and followers talk to politicians. It shows that Indian leaders claim to talk to politicians more frequently than do Indian followers. The high percentage of followers who have talked to politicians stem from the vote-getting techniques employed by rural politicians. Many of these grassroots techniques involve the politician hanging around the local cafes, the town squares, and local gas stations.

In looking at Table 3-7, the reader should keep in mind that the lower the probability value, the less likely the distribution could have occurred by chance. The complete tabulation of this data is found in Appendixes C-D using Fisher's exact probability scores for the two-tailed test.[95] Table 3-7 indicates that the differences between

TABLE 3-6

INDIAN LEADERS V. INDIAN FOLLOWERS
TALK TO POLITICIANS

	Leaders		Followers	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
Has Talked	(14)	94	(12)	58
Has Not Talked	(1)	6	(9)	42

X^2 = 5.712527473 p = .01684

X^2 Yates = 4.050989011 p = .04415

Fisher's Exact Test 2-Tails p = .0245
df = 1

TABLE 3-7

PROBABILITY LEVELS FOR SELECTED COMPARISONS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY THREE SIGNIFICANCE TESTS

			X^2 Yates	Fisher Exact 2-Tails
1.	ILF/Talk Pol	.01684	.04415	.0245
2.	BLF/Loc Issues	.0284	.06242	.04785
3.	BLF/Stickers	.0289	.96332	.0488
4.	WLF/Run Office	.0434	.10803	.0674
5.	ILF/Work Camp	.0627	.1349	.08025
6.	WFL/Buttons	.0754	.1609	.1330
7.	ILF/Rallies	.0928	.1794	.1757
8.	BLF/Write Pol	.1719	.3055	.1935
9.	BLF/Work Camp	.1719	.3055	.1935
10.	WLF/Picket	.1791	.7734	.3636

ILF = Indian Leaders and Followers

BLF = Black Leaders and Followers

WLF = White Leaders and Followers

Indian leaders and followers are that the leaders do more in such areas as talking to politicians, working in election campaigns, and attending political rallies. Among Black leaders and followers, the leaders were more likely to be involved in local issues, to display bumper stickers, to write to politicians, and to work in political campaigns. Among White leaders and followers, White leaders tend proportionately to wear campaign buttons more frequently, run for political office themselves, and do not engage in protest activities.

Table 3-7 demonstrates the direction of involvement in each of the ten categories showing a propensity for participation among leaders and followers of the three samples. Although the leaders and followers were asked for their responses to thirty-six conventional and unconventional participation questions, the ten categories presented reflect the varied styles of participation.

Among Black followers and Indian followers and White followers, Table 3-8 shows that White followers take part in conventional political activity to a greater extent across the board than either Black followers or Indian followers. In the category of "Run for Office," all three groups have five people who claim they have run for office, but the percentages who claim they have run for office differ due to different sample sizes between Black, Indian, and White followers, the White percentages being slightly higher than that for either of the other two groups.

Among the two groups, Black followers and Indian followers, Table 3-8 shows that a greater percentage of Blacks than Indians claim to be involved in local issues, talk personally with politicians, and work in someone's political campaign.

Indian followers led Black followers in only two categories--contributing money to campaigns and running for office themselves. Indians led here in percentage of Indian sample claiming to have run for office. The actual numbers of Indian and Black followers who did run for office were the same--five.

In looking at the self-reported frequencies of unconventional political participation among the Black, White, and Indian followers, Table 3-8 shows a definite desire on the part of all three groups to shun unconventional political modes of behavior. This ties in with the traditional political culture of the area and the rural outlook stressing homogeneity of political access instead of individualized heterogeneous styles of political behavior. Interestingly from this table, Black followers claim to be more involved in local issues than either White followers or Indian followers.

These claims are valid only to the extent that Black followers perceived local issues as directly affecting Black people. It was difficult to observe Blacks actually involved

in the decision-making process of solving issues that affected the county as a whole. It appeared that Black respondents exaggerated their sense of being involved in local issues. If the term is interpreted as meaning community-wide issues, this finding is in harmony with the data for leaders, which shows 78 percent of the Black leaders claiming to be involved in local issues in contrast to 53 percent of Indian leaders and 50 percent of White leaders.

The final statistical analysis of this chapter is presented in Tables 3-8 and 3-9, showing comparisons among all three groups in a 2x3 tabular format, and the resulting chi-square and probability values. Table 3-8 compares Black, Indian, and White followers on the participation items of Contributing Money, Talk with Politicians, Run for Office, Involvement in Local Issues, and Work in Campaign. The significant level of differences among the three groups is arranged in decreasing order. Based on five comparisons, it is safe to say that followers differ very little in political participation save for the sole item of contributing money. White followers have a tendency to contribute money to political campaigns more often than the Black and Indian followers. All the other listed items are beyond the range of probability usually deemed statistically interesting (p values ranging from .1632 for Talk with Politicians to .2874 for Work in Campaign).

TABLE 3-8

SELECTED COMPARISONS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY BLACK, INDIAN, AND WHITE POLITICAL FOLLOWERS IN McINTOSH COUNTY

Participation Issue		Black	Indian	White	Total	Significance Level
Contribute Money:	Yes	3	6	17	26	X^2 - 26.707
	No	25	16	4	45	df = 2
	Total	28	22	21	71	p = .0000016
Work Campgn:						
	Yes	8	4	13	25	X^2 = 9.897
	No	20	18	8	46	df = 2
	Total	28	22	21	71	p = .0071
Talk Pols:						
	Yes	18	12	20	50	X^2 = 8.63
	No	10	9	1	20	df = 2
	Total	28	21	21	70	p = .01334
Involve Local Issues:	Yes	12	9	4	25	X^2 = 3.44
	No	16	13	17	46	df = 2
	Total	28	22	21	71	p = .1795
Run for Office:	Yes	5	5	5	15	X^2 = 0.30416
	No	23	17	16	56	df = 2
	Total	28	22	21	71	p = .859

TABLE 3-9

SELECTED COMPARISONS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY BLACK, INDIAN, AND WHITE POLITICAL LEADERS IN McINTOSH COUNTY

Participation Issue		Black	Indian	White	Total	Significance Level
Contribute:						
	Yes	2	7	11	20	Chi-square = 15.528
	No	12	8	1	21	df = 2
	Total	14	15	12	41	p = .000425
Talk Pols:						
	Yes	11	14	12	37	X^2 = 3.626
	No	3	1	0	4	df = 2
	Total	14	15	12	41	p = .1632
Run for Office:	Yes	4	4	7	15	Chi-square = 3.47
	No	10	11	5	26	df = 2
	Total	14	15	12	41	p = .1764
Involve Local Issue:	Yes	11	8	6	25	X^2 = 2.797
	No	3	7	6	16	df = 2
	Total	14	15	12	41	p = .247
Work Campgn:						
	Yes	7	7	9	23	X^2 = 2.494
	No	7	8	3	18	df = 2
	Total	14	15	12	41	p = .2874

The contrast among the Black, Indian, and White followers is even higher for Contribute Money ($p = .0000016$), partly due to the larger N, but unlike the comparisons among Leaders, highly significant contrasts are found for the items Work in Campaign ($p = .9971$), and Talk to Politicians ($p = .01334$). The difference among the groups of followers on Involvement in Local Issues, discussed above with reference to the higher percentage for Blacks, is of special interest for that reason, though the contrast is not statistically significant ($p = .1795$). The Run for Office item shows least contrast, the high p of .86 in fact showing a somewhat significant similarity among the groups.

In Table 3-9 a greater contrast is found among items listed for the leaders. The items run by their significance: Contribute Money, Work in Campaign, Talk to Politicians, Involved in Local Issues, and Run for Office. As in the case of the followers, the leaders of the three samples differed in their tendency to contribute money to political campaigns. Once again, the White sample was more likely to give money then the Black or Indian sample.

The high significance which is exemplified by the low probability ($p = .000425$) of differences among the racial leaders in contributing money may, of course, be spurious--a result of differences in income rather than in political activity or interest.

Generally, the political science literature claims that ethnics' political participation is limited. In this study, the foregoing discussion and analysis of rates of conventional and unconventional political participation, on the surface, tend to indicate that ethnic peoples are indeed politically limited. However, a closer inspection of this data also indicates that within the two ethnic groups surprisingly high rates of participation on an individual basis do occasionally surface, particularly among Blacks and Indian leaders, demonstrating a degree of articulateness not frequently believed by Whites.

It should also be noted that with regard to unconventional political participation, the small number of participants in all categories tended to be the same people, i.e., the same person who claimed to have participated in a boycott also was the person who took part in other demonstrations in McIntosh County.

These data warrant the conclusion that ethnic people in this rural setting believe in trying to work within the existing democratic system, although they are slow to actually participate to a fuller extent than Whites on an item-by-item measurement of participation. The fact that Indian and Black leaders see themselves as more involved in local issues than do White leaders certainly dispels the myths of disinterest and apathy, failure to understand what is at stake, and the belief that politics is not worth their time.

These data also indicate that because of cultural differences, Indians appear to participate in the more direct methods of political influence, short of demonstrations, i.e., talking to politicians, running for office themselves, and in some cases actually being elected, writing to politicians, and contributiong money to campaigns. Historically, these avenues have probably been more open to Indian peoples in McIntosh County because of the Native American's heritage, particularly among members of the Five Civilized Tribes.

These observations further indicate that Blacks generally have been relegated to the more supportive role in politics--displaying stickers, working for others in campaigns, and attending rallies because they have been outside the mainstream of political activity in the county.

Emergent in political science literature is the concept of coalitions for Black and possibly Indian ethnic groups.[96] This conception holds that there are basically three strategies for Blacks to follow: (1) a liberal coalition to unite Blacks and "underdog" Whites and "underdog" Indians, (2) a conservative coalition to unite Blacks with "the better sort of White" (Holden calls this clientage), (3) a policy of independence and pragmatism in which ad hoc coalitions are accepted but continuing coalitions are rejected.[97] These concepts will be covered more thoroughly in a later chapter.

Based on the foregoing analysis of political participation in McIntosh County among ethnic groups, the ideas of coalitions are at best to be realized in the distant future. Lack of unity among the two ethnic groups in terms of bloc voting seems to be the current situation.

As one Black leader put it, "There are too many Black people in Checotah and Eufaula who are satisfied with nothing. It's time we get together. . . . As a race we must wipe out prejudice among ourselves before we can deal with prejudice from Whites."[98]

There is reason to believe that discrimination exists in the county, but the Indian's conception of discrimination differs from the White man's conception. To the Indian, discrimination means a rejection of their ideals and life styles, and not necessarily being denied the vote or not being able to participate in politics in the same way as Whites participate. And as explanation of this dilemma, one Indian respondent stated, in effect, that the Indian ways are difficult for the White man to understand.

On the other hand, with regard to discrimination, Black respondents generally acknowledged that they felt discrimination from Whites.[99] The exceptions to this were very few indeed.[100] "I don't feel discrimination individually as a Black man, but I do as a Black race. . . . When I deal with people I don't think of them as White or Black."[101]

Summary Material on Political Participants

This chapter reviews and supports the concepts of the manipulated vote as being operable in McIntosh County, although the White power structure generally denied its existence currently and feels as if it were a thing of the past.

Due to the plight of Black and Indian residents economically and socially, data in this chapter show that White leaders and followers are more active politically in all facets of conventional political participation over their ethnic counterparts.

Among the Black and Indian sample of followers a greater percentage of Blacks than Indians claim to wear campaign buttons, display bumper stickers, write to politicians, talk personally with politicians, attend rallies or political meetings, and work in someone's political campaign. Indian followers led in only two categories, contributing money and running for office themselves.

There is a definite desire on the part of all three groups of followers to shun unconventional modes of political behavior. One is left with the belief that the culture of the Indian has forced him to be a 150 percent man if he wants to be considered a political equal by the White power structure. For instance, in order to have power and prestige in the county, the Indian must be the sharpest, and be in a position of influence which can help Whites as well as Indians.

Blacks also must be "twice as good" as anyone else in order to gain the respect of the White power structure.

In short, being admitted to the power structure in McIntosh County has meant to both Blacks and Indians the chance that their own groups will view them as "sell-outs." A few have made the transition, but most have not. For those left behind, the political picture on a day-to-day basis is not bright.

Footnotes

[1]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, p. 155.

[2]Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins, p. 172.

[3]Ibid., p. 174.

[4]Salamon and Van Evera, "Fear, Apathy, and Discrimination," American Political Science Review 67 (December 1973): 1,288.

[5]Ibid., p. 1,305.

[6]The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973, et. seq.) as amended by Public Law 91-285 and Public Law 94-73, p. 20 (from a file copy supplied to B. Rader by A. J. Henshaw, Jr., Election Board Secretary of Sequoyah County (Oklahoma) April 19, 1976) in conjunction with another research project of the author.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Letter from J. Stanley Pottinger, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division to Mr. Vincent P. Barabba, Director, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., August 5, 1975, p. 5.

[9]"Listing of Tribes as Reported by American Indians in the 1970 Census by County: Oklahoma," N.D. A flier supplied by the Oklahoma State Election Board to all county Election Board secretaries.

[10]In May 1976 I conducted a survey in Sequoyah County (Oklahoma) of 387 Native Americans (18.8 percent of the county's Indian population). Only 44 (11.4 percent) said that having an interpreter who could speak their native Indian language at the precinct wouldmake it easier to vote.

[11]Janet Wells, "Voting Rights in 1975: Why Minorities Still Need Federal Protection," in Civil Rights Digest 70, No. 4 (Summer 1975): 14.

[12]Jerrold G. Rush, "Political Participation in America: A Review Essay," American Political Science Review 70, No. 2 (June 1976): 583.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 586.

[15]Ibid., p. 583.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Jewel Prestage argues that "Black people tend to relate rather differently to the political systen and have a far greater sense of personal alienation and political futility than do similarly located Whites . . . and that Ghetto residents tend to formulate their attitudes toward the political system largely on the basis of their contact with the systems" and that "Blacks tend to be less trusting of their political systems (local and national) than do their White counterparts." This is taken from "Black Politics and the Kerner Report: Concerns and Directions" in Blacks in the United States, eds. Norman Glenn and Charles Bonjean (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1969), pp. 538-549.

[18]Paul R. Abramson, "Political Efficacy and Political Trust Among Black School-Children: Two Explanations," Journal of Politics 34 (August-November 1972): 1,243-1,274.

[19]Ibid., p. 1,259.

[20]James W. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 185.

[21]William Keech, The Impact of Negro Voting: The Role of the Vote in the Quest for Equality (Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally, 1968), p. 94.

[22]Morris, The Politics of Black America, p. 170.

[23]Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 50.

[24]Campbell lists (1) informal and (2) discussion following politics through mass communications media. Matthews et al., Negroes and New Southern Politics, chapter 3, lists in addition to voting 1. Talking Politics, participating in campaigns, holding office, belonging to organizations.

[25]Lester Milbrath, Political Participation. This author uses a four-fold typology: Apathetic (no political activity); Spectators (some conversation, some voting); Transitionals (some proselytizing for candidates or issues); Gladiators (politics becomes a major activity).

[26]Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), chapter 5, "Participation in Elections," pp. 40-52.

[27]Ibid., p. 45

[28]Elmer Schattschneider, The Semisovern People, the Doctrine of Responsible Party Government (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960). Schattschneider argues that people who hold no definitive view of politics act as a buffer in the American system preventing the various factions in American life from serious and damaging clashes with each other. Also see Berelson et al., Voting, pp. 314-315.

[29]Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review 58 (June 1964): 376.

[30]Interview with John D. Boydston, attorney, Eufaula, Oklahoma, March 1974.

[31]Interview with J. C. Watts, Black policeman, Eufaula, Oklahoma, July 1974.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Harry Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 126-134. Also James R. Soukup, Clifton McCloskey and Harry Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), p. 124.

[35]Holloway, Politics of the Southern Negro, p. 134.

[36]Soukup, McCleskey, and Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas, p. 121.

[37]Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro, p. 66.

[38]Clubok, DeGrove, and Farris, "The Manipulated Negro Vote," p. 122.

[39]Ibid., p. 125.

[40]Taylor Branch, "Black Fear: Law and Justice in Rural Georgia," in Inside the System, 3rd ed., eds. Charles Peters and James Fallors (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), p. 127.

[41]Interview with a Black resident, July 1974.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Interview with a Black resident, July 1974.

[44]Interview with a White resident, March 1974.

[45]Interview with White respondent, June 1974.

[46]Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," quoted in Milton D. Morris, The Politics of Black America (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 121.

[47]Jewel Prestage, "Black Politics and the Kerner Report: Concerns and Directions," quoted in Morris, The Politics of Black America, p. 121.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Morris, The Politics of Black America, p. 122.

[50]Ibid., p. 125.

[51]Ibid., pp. 126-140.

[52]Ibid., p. 141.

[53]Ibid., p. 163.

[54]Ibid., p. 149.

[55]Matthews and Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics, p. 49.

[56]Morris, p. 152.

[57]Ibid., p. 153.

[58]Ibid., p. 168.

[59]This idea that Indian candidates could expect Indian votes was expressed by an Indian candidate running for office to Mr. Ted Williams, the ethnic interviewer, in September 1974. The Indian candidate said he could "count on" the "Indian" vote. However, he was unsuccessful in winning his post.

[60]Interview with a Black constituent, July 1974.

[61]Interview with J. C. Watts, July 1974.

[62]Interview with a constituent, June 1974.

[63]Comment, NAACP meeting, McIntosh County, July 1974.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Matthew Holden, Jr., Politics of the Black Nation.

[66]Ibid., p. 194.

[67]Ibid., p. 195. Emphasis added.

[68]James R. Soukup, Clifton McCloskey and Harry Holloway, Party and Factional Division in Texas, p. 125.

[69]Ibid., p. 122.

[70]Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, Participation in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 231.

[71]William Brandon, "The Indian Community," in Herbert L. Marx, Jr., The American Indian: A Rising Ethnic Force (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1973), pp. 118-121.

[72]Beatrice Medicine, "The Many Aspects of Red Power," in Marx, The American Indian, pp. 43-44. This author reviews the fact that there are at least four dichotomies of Red Power: physical, mental, spiritual, intellectual. She claims that the first public exposure to the term Red Power occurred on the February 5, 1967, Frank McGee television newscast.

[73]Mrs. Zetta Burkhalter, Chairperson of the McIntosh County NAACP, said she knew many Black people who bought clothes at a particular store in Checotah where credit was extended but who were afraid to buy anywhere else for fear that "the man" would cut off credit if he found out about it. Her impression was that "fear" of economic coercion was generally widespread among Blacks. (Interview, June 1974).

[74]Typical of Whites was the following response, "The concept of coercion in this county 'is silly as Hell.'" (Interview with Joe Whittaker, attorney, Eufaula, Oklahoma, March 1974).

[75]Ted Williams, Indian student interviewer, elicited no favorable response to the idea that fear existed among Indians from any of the thirty-seven Indians interviewed.

[76]Stith Thompson, Tales of the North American Indians (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1972).

[77]Bureau of Ethnology Third Annual Report to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1881-1882, J. W. Powell, Director (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 333.

[78]Rennard Strickland, Fire and the Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), p. 5.

[79]Ibid., p. 7.

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

[81]Ibid., p. 24.

[82]Ibid., p. 41.

[83]Ibid., p. 49.

[84]James L. Simmons, "One Little, Two Little, Three Little Indians: Counting American Indians in Urban Society," unpublished paper presented at the 1976 Southwestern Social Science Association meeting, April 1976, Dallas, Texas.

[85]Strickland, p. 48.

[86]Ibid., p. 65.

[87]Ibid., pp. 69 and 210.

[88]Ibid., p. 72.

[89]Ibid.

[90]R. D. Folson, "American Indians Imprisoned in the Oklahoma Penitentiary: A Punishment More Primitive than Torture," American Indian Law Review 2, No. 1 (Summer 1974): 85.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Ibid., p. 87.

[93]"W. Star Wilson Makes Statement," The Indian Journal, Eufaula, Oklahoma 22 August 1974, p. 1.

[94]"Brightman Seeks Re-Election," The Indian Journal, Eufaula, Oklahoma, 22 August 1974, p. 1.

[95]Letter from Professor Oliver Benson to B. Rader, July 2, 1976. Professor Benson has developed his own program for the Fisher Two-Tailed Test. According to Dr. Benson the reason the test is not run more often is that it is limited to N 69 on most machines; it thus can only be used with small sample sizes.

[96]Harry Holloway, "Negro Political Strategy: Coalition or Independent Power Politics."

[97]Ibid.

[98]Interview with Mrs. Zetta Burkhalter, McIntosh County NAACP President, July 1974.

[99]"Whites treat you like a dog for 30 years then polish you up for 30 minutes and then act like nothing is wrong." (Interview with Mrs. Zetta Burkhalter, June 1974.) "Whites through discrimination have erected a fence between Blacks and Whites similar to the fence the man put around his coconut tree to keep the monkey from taking his coconuts. It forced the money to steal coconuts and it's forcing the Blacks to steal from Whites." (Interview with Mr. J. C. Watts, McIntosh County, July 1974).

[100]"Any Black who wants to work can find a job in Checotah." (Interview with Mr. Richard Hatch, barber, Checotah, July 1974).

[101]Interview with Mr. Ruben McClendon, Mayor, Rentiesville, Oklahoma, July 1974.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHITE, BLACK, AND INDIAN: LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONS

In McIntosh County where political leadership and participation is derived mainly from the White community, one may ask: Are there any ethnic leaders? Indeed there are leaders from the Black and Indian communities. But in studying these groups, in seeking out their leaders, and in visiting their organizations, the author found that each community --Black and Indian--demanded distinct and different qualities of their leaders, and yet in their own organizations--social, political, and religious--they sought ethnic identification, the commonness of being Black or being Indian, the fulfillment of a dream.

Now that each of these groups will be discussed, it is necessary for the reader to remember the underlying rural tradition of McIntosh County in regard to each group. McIntosh County belonged first to the Creek Indians. After the Civil War freedom-seeking Blacks founded Black communities. When the dust settled, the boundaries were drawn, and the fences nailed into place, the White power structure

prevailed. While this study is concerned with the influence and outlook of the White power structure in regard to the ethnic communities, this study dealt primarily with discovering and delineating the present ethnic organizations, their leadership, and the organization's social and political effectiveness.

Thus, all three power structures, White, Black, and Indian, must be compared. Here it is necessary to reiterate an Indian respondent's comment in regard to political participaton--that the Indian ways are difficult for the White man to understand. Thus, the comparison of these three culturally distinct groups, White, Black, and Indian, is difficult. Despite this difficulty in comparing the foundations of social life of the White, Black, and Indian communities in McIntosh County, one can safely say that all three communities can be viewed as a stage where major issues and problems are played out.[1]

De Tocqueville more than a century ago observed that the life of most communities centers around organized group activities. These organizations serve a wide range of purposes and functions, and play an important part in the public life of the community. A survey of a one-page handout available at the Eufaula (Oklahoma) Chamber of Commerce lists thirty-eight different clubs and organizatons which are active in the immediate Eufaula area, not counting other clubs and organizations which are active in other towns in the county.[2]

White Leadership and Organizations

Among these organizations in McIntosh County, the majority of the ones listed by the Chamber of Commerce were White organizations simply because their active membership is drawn from the White leadership. These leaders generally control the decision-making apparatus and the economic sphere. In contrast, one will find that the Black and Indian leaders figure differently in the structure of their own cultural organizations. Thus, the author found that White shopkeepers make up the bulk of the business community and have maintained a high class position in relation to the other social groups in the community. These White elites are known to the community primarily through their occupational circumstances, and their relationships are based upon being entrepreneurs and having a clientele; yet as individuals they are important to the communities they serve and the county generally due to their widespread influence.

To illustrate, in this study of White elites in McIntosh County, four out of the top twelve White leaders were store owners. Because of the agricultural nature of the county and the rural peoples' dependence upon these merchants through credit practices, these merchants and bankers were in a position to provide leadership in organizing the rural peoples' interests. They frequently act as spokesmen for the rural communities.[3]

The influence of mass societal pressures detracting from the otherwise insular quality of McIntosh County causes

a high degree of ambivalence among county residents with respect to their dependence on and dislike of the institutions and dynamics of urban mass society. The members of the rural community and their political spokesmen, resenting their own dependency and powerlessness, channelize it into anti-urban politics and policies.

One store owner in talking about Muskogee, Oklahoma, which lies thirty miles to the north and is the major urban center in proximity to McIntosh County, said Muskogee "had sucked the blood and guts"[4] out of the economy of small towns in McIntosh County. The small towns remained in a dependent status since residents were forced to go to Muskogee to get good jobs.

Vidich and Bensman said that "slight changes in the policies and dynamics of the mass institutions can have profound effects on the rural way of life and on its major social and economic classes."[5] That is, state regulations or federal regulations serve to prove that the penetration of "isolated" communities is accomplished by the agencies of mass institutions. Because of this fact residents of McIntosh County tend to hold negative images of the major urban institutions. Vidich and Bensman describe this attitude thus;

> Washington is populated by corrupt politicians, influence peddlers and communists. Cities are hotbeds of radicalism and atheism. Industrial workers led by racketeers are lazy, highly paid, and incapable of performing the complex managerial practices necessary to success in farm and small business management. Big universities and city churches are seats of secularism and the city influence is held responsible for local

> immorality and corruption. These images in their complex articulation enable the rural resident to take pride in his situation, to meet the psychological threat of his powerlessness in a mass society and to organize political action which expresses both his economic interest and his psychological needs.[6]

An additional example of this reluctance of rural people to accept mass cultural beliefs is expressed by Presthus:

> Broadly speaking, economic leaders penetrate the local power structure rather easily, while political types find access somewhat difficult. Whereas economic success is often accepted as a legitimate basis for membership, political experience at the local level is less likely to be offered or to be honored as a necessary qualification.[7]

This ambivalence toward politics and politicians is associated with social class; those of higher status tend to deprecate politics. Presthus notes, "Ordinarily, the very best people in a small community will never run for office because they get batted around."[8] Many noted individuals in small communities prefer not to display or test their influence in the political arena where the fruits of political activism are minimal and the issues often mundane.[9]

It is important to emphasize, however, that prestige is relative within any community. "Although economic elites deny prestige to local political figures--most ordinary citizens respect local office-holders."[10] This observation is borne out in McIntosh County.

Among White elites in McIntosh County a split between the old and the young was emerging, a situation not found in the two ethnic samples where young people were generally not

thought of as leaders. A level of intermarriage between White elite families was also noticed that was not found in the two ethnic samples of elites.

Table 4-1 deals with the profile of White elites in McIntosh County, a sample which the author interviewed in person chosen via the reputational approach discussed in an earlier chapter. Nine of the twelve leaders, or 75 percent, had some college credits. Five held degrees. One of the top five, or 20 percent, was a woman, the same figure as for the Black sample; the White woman, however, was the only woman elite member in this entire sample. The average age for the top five leaders was 55.

To provide an overview of White leadership in McIntosh County and to aid the reader then the author compared White leadership types to ethnic leadership types, it was necessary to develop original typologies and names for the typologies. The typologies were based on the characteristics found in the leaders of McIntosh County. Of course, the author also used as a basis for his development the definitive work Men at the Top by Robert Presthus.[11] In the early 1960s, Robert Presthus studied the communities of Edgewood and Riverview in order to develop general categories for leadership within the communities. From his study two elite patterns emerged--the political and economic leaders. Each exhibited patterns of influence. In turn, each jockeyed for power with the other. The economic leaders generally withdrew

TABLE 4-1

PROFILES OF WHITE ELITES
IN McINTOSH COUNTY

Rank	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Typology Number*
1	M	64	B.S. Degree	Banker	2
2	F	50	Some College	Newspaper Editor	2
3	M	56	Some College	Mayor	1
4	M	47	High School	Store Owner	1
5	M	59	Some College	Store Owner	2
6	M	Not Given	Some College	Free Lance Writer	1
7	M	27	B.S. Degree	Partner in Store	3
8	M	31	J.D. Degree	Lawyer	3
9	M	28	B.A. Degree	Newspaper Owner and Editor	3
10	M	53	B.A. Degree	Store Owner	2
11	M	43	High School	Elected Politician	1
12	M	63	High School	Retired Utility Company Manager	3

*Typology Numbers:

1. Mr. Public
2. The Owl
3. Flip-Flop Motivator

from being involved with community affairs, while their political counterparts sought the "out front" positions. Instead, the economic leaders shunned public visibility and chose to manipulate from behind the scenes.

The present study found similar characteristics as those found by Robert Presthus, but these characteristics did not follow the same pattern of development or interaction. Thus, the following typologies were developed from analyzing the responses made by the leaders interviewed, drawing specifically from comments given or volunteered about themselves or others. Also considered were the responses of the followers of the White sample. Thus, the typologies used in this project are the author's educated perceptions of the actual leaders of each group.

Different geographic settings produce different actual leaders. In McIntosh County the White leaders attained their position and reputation through economics, politics, and social status. Therefore, the following typologies are based on the degree of public visibility desired by the leader. For instance, in the White leadership there were three types: The Owl, the Flip-Flop Motivator, and Mr. Public. Because not one single White leader operated entirely behind the scenes, the author chose to begin with Mr. Owl, who generally operated from behind the scenes, yet peeps out from time-to-time in order to let the public know who is behind the scenes. Usually this peeping out takes the form of verbal or economic

TABLE 4-2

TYPOLOGY OF WHITE LEADERSHIP

Typology Number	Definition	Number of Leaders	Percent of Total
(1) Mr. Public	Active participant, member of civic, church, community organizations. An opinion shaper.	4	33 1/3
(2) The Owl	Behind the scene participant. Subtle influence used. Try to keep out of public eye.	4	33 1/3
(3) Flip-Flop Motivator	Vacilates between personal motives and altruistic public concerns--lack of sophistication in certain situations.	4	33 1/3

arm-twisting and public cajoling. Thus, the Owl chooses to stay out of the public eye because he perceives limited advantages to himself through public participation; whereas the Flip-Flop Motivator emerges up front from time-to-time, usually when one of his special interests is threatened. These special interests can run the gamut from economic advantage to altruistic crusades. In fact, the Flip-Flop Motivator is closely aligned with Dahl's "power seekers."

> In sum, many political philosophers have argued that leaders should seek power in order to exercise authority for the good of all. But probably no student of politics has ever really argued that this is the only reason, or even the principal reason why men do in fact seek power. . . . Men seek power, it has been argued, in conscious pursuit of their self-interest.[12]

Nevertheless, for whatever the reason the Flip-Flop Motivator seeks power, from time-to-time he feels compelled to come forward and exert his power in the form of public pressure. The last and most active is Mr. Public. His power stems from his visibility to the public in his active participation in the political system, and in civic, church, and community organizations.

In developing these typologies, this study found that within the actual leadership in McIntosh County there was no Mr. Private, a leader who worked entirely behind the scenes. One must remember the communities studied were small rural towns where land, store ownership, and reputation are primarily acquired by inheritance. One must remember that the rural

setting fosters individualism. Thus, the limited political arena means that by necessity a leader does exhibit a degree of visibility.

This typology of Mr. Public stems from his being "visible" to the public in a community as opposed to working behind the scenes.[13] His leadership is part of a structure based on popular consent and in the generalized support of the political system.[14]

In looking at these leadership types, the Owl, the Flip-Flop Motivator, and Mr. Public, the author found that no single type emerged as a dominant leadership type from the White sample. In contrast to this study, Robert Presthus' work in studying leadership in Edgewood and Riverview led him to argue that in these communities economic influence appeared to be the major base of power. At times it was challenged by political influence which was or was not directly tied to economic power.[15]

In regard to White organizational power, it was discovered that the major organizations of power within McIntosh County appeared to be the Chamber of Commerce, the Lion's Club, the Kiwanis, and the Business and Professional Women's Club. The author found that the principal economic, business, and civic people were active members in these organizations as well as being active members in their respective churches. Among the White influentials the majority of the individuals belonged to the Methodist and Baptist churches. At this

point it is interesting to note that ministers did not figure prominently in the typology of White elites. As organizations, the ministerial alliances in the major towns in McIntosh County were rendered impotent primarily because "when you get together a Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, and a Mormon and ask them to solve a community problem you'll have chaos on your hands."[16] Seemingly, theological differences would not allow these ministers to compromise. Thus, each church is only as powerful or influential in its community as the power and influence of its members. Therefore, the solution of any community problem or the implementation of any community project is effected when a given individual's Christian duty is engaged. In turn, the White influential engaged the support of a particular civic organization. The job is discussed, planned, and accomplished. Thus, in that sense McIntosh County is no different from any other rural county dominated by White leadership.

White Leadership Summation

Since the White leadership in McIntosh County founded, subsidized, and controlled the major organizations, it is interesting to note that these merchants must rely on clientele who receive substantial paychecks from urban jobs, jobs found and held outside of McIntosh County, usually in Muskogee. Even though these moneyed White merchants derive a substantial profit from the inflow of outside money, they continue to moan

about the number of residents who must travel outside of the county to work. They blame the cities for this situation, thus divesting themselves of any responsibility for inept civic planning or the lack of civic planning. They view Muskogee as an economic blood-sucker. Even though the churches may be the prime movers of social change, the church must rely on the Christian duty of their members in order to effect and support any social changes within the county.

Black Leadership and Organizations

Political science literature dealing with Black leadership is fairly voluminous.[17] However, the significant works dealing with Black leadership can be narrowed down rather quickly,[18] and works dealing exclusively with Indian leadership are practically non-existent.[19]

For the purpose of this study, the reputational approach was used in identifying the leadership,[20] and a typology of leadership for the Black, Indian, and White samples has been developed.

Scholars, especially political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists, have argued that Black communities had leadership structures and status hierarchies long before the era of civil rights.[21] Early scholarly analysis of the 1930s and 1940s demonstrated that two fairly well-defined sets of social systems operated in the American society with regard to Black leadership. First, there was a

"caste system" dividing Whites from Blacks; second, a "class system" within each caste.[22] Writing in 1973, Salamon reports that:

> In virtually every locale a small clique of Blacks--usually preachers, teachers, morticians, and those with light skins, managed to set themselves apart from the masses of Black sharecroppers, plantation laborers, and maids.[23]

Analysis reveals that traditionally, to middle class Blacks, there were several positive reasons for perpetuating this "class" within a "caste system." This system guarantees "protected markets" for preachers, educators, and moticians to insure a certain life-style that few are eager to endanger by acts of protest. And Blacks can secure important status simply by establishing contacts with Whites. Through this system the White need for trusted Black leaders worked in nicely with Black middle class desire for status and prestige. Through this mechanism, Whites were easily able to co-opt the Black elites, drawing the most influential Blacks into the service of White goals.

The traditional system of caste and class in the South did not produce a leadership vacuum among Blacks; instead, a Black elite merged, an elite firmly bound to the caste system. These middle class Blacks were frequently not leaders in any formal sense and often retreated from active leadership roles; yet frequently, in the absence of formalized leadership structures these people exerted considerable influence in a decidedly conservative manner. These traits emerged in the literature as the accommodationist.[24]

Some scholars have argued that the civil rights movement of the early 1960s, in addition to being a challenge to the Black caste system, was also a challenge to the Black class structure, and its traditional Black leadership strata. As the electoral arena opened up through the civil rights movement, a host of new Black leadership roles, some relatively independent of White control, emerged. A basic restructuring of the whole pattern of Black leadership seemed to occur.

The civil rights movement of the early 1960s also challenged White conceptions of their dominance and influence over Black leaders, as Bryce and Myrdal long ago pointed out. White Americans assume an individualistic attitude in which people rise on their effort, emerging from the masses to take the lead to solve problems. As James Bryce observed:

> I doubt if there be any country (except the United States) where a really brilliant man, confident in his own strength, and adding the charm of a striking personality to the gift of popular eloquence, would find an easier path to fame and power, and would exert more influence over the minds and emotions of the multitude. Such a man, speaking to the people with the independence of conscious strength, would find himself appreciated and respected.[25]

It has generally been possible to associate the dynamic forces of society with individuals when White people want to influence Black attitudes or behavior in one direction or another. Myrdal says:

> To get the Negro farmers to plant a garden around their shacks, to screen their windows, to keep their children in school, to cure and prevent syphillis, to keep Negroes more respectful to the Whites,

> to prevent them from joining trade unions, and to frighten them against "outside meddlers" or "red" seducers--the national device (besides the long-range one of "education"), is to appeal to the "community leaders." These leaders are expected to get it over to the Negro masses, who are supposed to be rather passive.[26]

Because the American population is split between the White majority and many minorities, including Blacks and Indians, and because minorities are socially isolated by the caste system, tradition dictates that direct contact be established only between the leaders. In effect, an invisible glass wall exists: Whites, Blacks, and Indians see each other but they cannot hear each other, except dimly, through their leaders, and they sometimes have trouble understanding what they hear from the other side of the glass wall.

Like foreign nations, Blacks, Indians, and Whites in America deal with each other through the medium of plenipotentiaries,[27] and yet it must be remembered, as Myrdal says, that:

> In practically every Southern Negro community, there is this partial voluntary retreat of the Negro upper class from active leadership. Thus, the common assumption among Whites that upper class Negroes in general are leaders of their people is not quite true. Upper class Negroes pretend that it is true in order to gain prestige. It is also an expectation on the part of the White community leaders who happen to know about them, observe their superiority in education, manners, standards, and wealth, and take their influence among the common Negroes for granted. It must always be remembered that the White's actual knowledge about the Negroes in their own community nowadays is usually rudimentary.[28]

With this in mind, the author felt that a careful study of the leadership styles found in the works of leading

scholars in Black politics would aid in comparing the actual Black leadership of McIntosh County to that leadership which was found in similar areas. Therefore, Table 4-3 gives a capsulated version of the various Black leadership styles derived from works in Black politics over the past four decades. The leadership types cover urban and rural Black leaders. This table does not incorporate all of these leadership typologies delineated in the earlier works, but does include many which will perhaps aid the reader in grasping the wide range of typologies found. This table also illustrates, in terms of time, the span of the study of Black leadership. Hopefully this analysis suggests why it was felt necessary to develop a set of indigenous typologies for the Black leaders in McIntosh County.

The majority of material dealing with the Black leadership comes from studies in urban Black communities.[29] At this time the studies of rural Black leadership are few. Nevertheless, the same titles of leadership remain but with modernized definitions attached to them.[30]

Even though the bulk of the contemporary research in Black leadership has been drawn from studies of urban areas, there are two impressive facts about the contemporary scholarship. First, the early studies in Black leadership began forty-five years ago. Second, the scope and breadth of the research is laudable. In devising Table 4-3, the present study drew upon typologies in many works. These works are listed in footnote eighteen.

TABLE 4-3

BLACK LEADERSHIP TYPOLOGIES IN NINE LEADERSHIP STUDIES

Study	Leadership Types	Locale and Time
Myrdal	Accommodationist Protest	United States 1930s
Johnson	Gradualist Revolutionary	United States 1930s
Wilson	Moderate Militant	Chicago 1959
Burgess	Conservationist Moderate Liberal Radical	Durham, N.C. 1960
Thompson	Uncle Tom Race Diplomat Race Man	New Orleans 1963
Ladd	Conservationist Moderate Militant	Winston-Salem, N.C. Greenville, S.C. 1960s
Matthews: Prothro	Traditional Moderate Militant	Mississippi 1960s
Walton & McLemore	Rhetorical Politician Black Boss Black Activist Accommodationist	United States 1970s
Holden	Clientage Opposition Withdrawal	United States 1910s to 1970s

In looking at Table 4-3, Everett Ladd, Jr., reminds the student of political science that an understanding of the continuum of race leadership styles must include the conception that goals, means, and rhetoric or the lack of goals, means, and rhetoric is determined by local Black leaders.[31] Nevertheless, the various styles of leadership found in Table 4-3 are related to one another in terms of the degree of opposition to segregation and in terms of the patterns of discriminatory treatment.[32]

The patterns of discrimination between the White and Black communities can be seen in the writings of Hanes Walton and Leslie Burl McLemore.[33] According to these authors, as Black political power grew, Whites began practicing the "politics of selected recognition."[34] For instance, one or two Blacks who were chosen by the White leaders were permitted to run for public office. Thus, the Black politicians, the Black leaders of the early 1930s, were actually selected by Whites. Hence these Black politicians adopted an attitude of separation from the problems of the Black community. They felt that the Black community's needs, problems, and racial injustices fell under the jurisdiction of the Black civic groups because "politics is politics and civic leadership is civic leadership."[35] The explanation frequently given for the separation of Black politics from Black civic protest campaigns was the view that "politics is the art of organizing a community for the purpose of electing candidates to political

office and not a vehicle for the public expression of grievances."[36]

According to Walton and McLemore, politics became almost dysfunctional for the Black community because symbolism or tokenism caused Black politicians to suffer from "finitism--great limitations in terms of power";[37] their powers were limited by conditions that they did not create. In reponse to these conditions, Walton and McLemore contend that several different styles of Black politicans developed.[38] For example, the rhetorical politician, such as Adam Clayton Powell, provided a temporary psychological uplift for the Black people. On the other hand, there was the Black boss who gained his power by granting favors to well-placed community leaders, such as Black ministers and civic leaders. In return, the Black Boss expected votes--votes for the White power structure. Another type of leader, the Black Activist politician, has also emerged. He gathers support by employing whatever programs the local, state, or national government agencies have created to help solve the pressing socioeconomic needs of his Black constituency. However, the new style of leader, the Accommodationist, represents those Black public officials who serve predominantly White constituencies. Because of this constituency, this Black politician alienates himself from the Black community. He does not want to be too closely identified with Blacks. Therefore, the Accommodationist is Black in skin color only, commonly known as an Oreo, Black on the outside and White on the inside.

The degree to which any one Black politician serves the Black community is a relative matter. According to Walton and McLemore, any one style or typology of Black politician will not be able to adequately satisfy any single Black constituency. Thus, compensations for the Black constituency will come from different political leadership styles.

> Theoretically speaking, while there are distinct categories of Black political styles, several traits might be found in varying degrees in each Black politician. On the other hand, each Black politician might adopt one style over another because it is in line with his personality or it will prove helpful in winning one election but not another.
>
> It is not inconceivable that with the growing dissatisfaction of the Black community neither style or a combination of styles will meet the needs of Black people. Black politicians may be forced to change styles or even develop newer forms. In every case the environmental needs of the Black community will be a major factor.[39]

In looking more specifically at these leadership types, it is noteworthy that Holden, himself a Black political scientist, postulates that Black leadership generally does not come from the same resource base as White leadership. Whites make leaders of people who possess monetary assets, the prestigious office, or maintain an electoral office, whereas Black leaders tend to come from organizations active within the Black community, such as the NAACP, or the National Urban League. These organizations, according to Holden, create an interdependency through other Black organizations, such as churches providing structures within which

> . . . deliberation about purposes and strategies might take place, doctrinal disputes might be mediated,

> means for action arrived at, resources aggregated, and techniques devised for adjustment in the light of feedback.[40]

The interdependency of the Black organizations is crucial to an understanding of Black leadership, according to Holden, because within each organization Black leaders do not command a sufficient share of the resources of the Black community to be effective on their own.[41]

The apparent confusion over whether or not Black leadership patterns exist, Holden argues, is an expression of factional or centrifugal tendencies arising from an inevitable competition over scarce organizational resources within the Black communities. Holden does not feel anyone can argue that the Black population is demoralized or leaderless, but that Black leadership comes from different cultural and community backgrounds than Whites are accustomed to. Therefore, although unrecognized by Whites, Black leadership within the community does exist.

In the studies dealing with urban Black leadership, trends have been changing since the 1950s. James Q. Wilson, the author of early seminal concepts in Black leadership which over the past two and one-half decades have been supported by other authors, argues that since the 1950s the old order of established leaders who were accepted and "arrived" in terms of occupational and social position has given away to a more specialized type of leadership. This is leadership that has gained by its involvement with Black organizations,

clubs, and associations which are becoming more specialized. Thus, the leadership type, by specializing in a specific area of interest, gains competence in that area. Needless to say, this new type of leadership does not exist among the leaders in McIntosh County.

Nowhere, according to Wilson, is this change more evident in an urban setting than in the lessened role of the ministry.

> Whereas before the clergy had been universally conceded to be the principal source of Negro leadership, today it is rapidly becoming simply one group among many which the race relations professionals call upon for support, resources, and publicity.[42]

In urban areas the new Negro leadership is distinctly middle class[43] and there is an upsurge of militancy evidenced in the urban setting among middle class Blacks over the last one and one-half decades, a militancy not generally associated with the more pacified rural Blacks.

Wilson also cites another major difference of significance between leadership patterns in the cities and rural areas among Blacks.

> Another area in which the change from the old to the new order is evident is found in the relations between Negroes and Whites. Contacts are gradually becoming broader, more frequent, and less ritualized. Nowhere is this more evident than in the decline of the token leader.[44]

While the rise of a more articulate Black middle class in urban settings has not meant the elimination of lines of division within the Black community, Wilson argues that this

middle class has brought a new type of solidarity to the urban Black community based on the desire for unity, leadership, and the elimination of the color line. This newly created stability is expressed through the ability of urban Blacks to create and sustain organizations. Although most of these organizations are social, civic, and political, these clubs are increasing in number. To achieve effectiveness, these organizations are addressing themselves more and more to redressing Black community grievances.[45]

The complexity of the organizations that have emerged to cope with complex social and political phenomena is explained by Ladd in a quote by Myrdal:

> Myrdal referred in his Dilemma to an interview with an urban deep-South Negro leader. The leader identified himself as the President of the local NAACP branch. He was then asked if there were other similar organizations in the city, and he said that there was also a League of Civic Improvement. The interviewer then asked why Negroes bothered with two organizations each having the same purpose of trying to improve the position of the Negro. The leader answered:
>
> "Sir, that is easily explainable. The NAACP stands firm on its principles and demands our rights as American citizens. But it accomplishes little or nothing in this town, and it arouses a good deal of anger in the Whites. On the other hand, the League for Civic Improvement is humble and "pussy-footing." It begs for many favors from the Whites, and succeeds quite often. The NAACP cannot be compromised in all the tricks that Negroes have to perform down here. But we pay our dues to it to keep it up as an organization. The League of Civic Improvement does all the dirty work."
>
> The Interviewer then said: "Would you please tell me who is the president of this League for Civic Improvement? I would like to meet him." "I am,"

> the leader replied. "We are all the same people in both organizations."[46]

The above quote from Myrdal, although taken from a work of his published in the early 1940s, has much applicability to the current effectiveness of Black leadership and organizations in McIntosh County. This author found that the same people who were influential in the local NAACP tended to be the same people influential in the local churches, study clubs, and the senior citizens' center.

In a sense, leaders in rural areas make the issues to be addressed by the Black community. But Ladd postulates, in urban settings issues may determine the leadership rather than structured leader-follower relationships. There is a high degree of "fluidity potential."[47] Thus, rural Black leadership and urban Black leadership differs in the method of choosing leaders. Rural Black leaders are chosen by their reputation, whereas Ladd writes, "Negro political leadership in the urban South is issue leadership."[48]

Thompson, in a study of Black leadership in New Orleans, argues that despite the fact that Black women occupy dominant positions in the home and in the cultural life of Black society, "the vast majority of Negro leaders in New Orleans are men. . . ."[49] "Rarely do Negro women in New Orleans initiate, stimulate, coordinate, or direct the activities of the Negro masses in the solution of major social problems affecting them."[50]

In summary, the reasons or apologies that other women had offered in refusing to accept leadership positions were proffered by women leaders in the following statements:

> Most women are unalterably resigned to "let men get the headlines." Some women feel that their community responsibilities are fulfilled when they encourage their husbands to contribute, in some way, to worthwhile causes.
>
> A surprisingly large number of women still feel that community leadership is a man's job. A few even feel that when women start trying to be leaders, or working to improve the lot of Negro masses, they only make themselves ridiculous, because they are convinced that no "self-respecting" man would follow a woman leader.
>
> Women are just plain lazy. Most of them will not participate in any constructive movement because they don't want to take time out from their social activities long enough to attend meetings.
>
> A large number of women feel inferior. They have no confidence in their ability to contribute to human betterment. They would be frightened out of their wits if they were called upon to plan some important community program or activity.[51]

In McIntosh County it was found that many Black and Indian women held positions of leadership and influence. This aspect will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

The final overriding factor in an analysis of Black leadership is a cautious reminder that each community generates its own styles of leadership. According to Burgess, "Structures of power are often dependent upon local conditions. History, immediate traditions, and specific institutional and social characteristics appear to mold the form of power structures."[52] A knowledge of different localities and leadership characteristics, however, can be instructive

in affording an individual background knowledge with which to judge his own community's leadership structure.

Holden writes that Blacks have their own political system in each community where leaders are the elites of these various institutions. Thus, the leaders' viewpoints become the judgment of the Black community. In short, Blacks operate with a quasi-government held together by the interdependent nature of their leaders.[53] Ladd in his study of Black leadership in the South during the 1960s argued that Black leadership has been seen as a response to particular societal situations,[54] and that although the old bi-racial system may have begun to fade away in urban areas, it is still prevalent in rural areas.[55] Thus, "Negro leaders operate under extraordinary pressures. They face strong White opposition whenever they attempt to achieve significant changes in the Negro's position."[56]

Table 4-4 presents the fourteen top ranked Black leaders based on the analysis of McIntosh County. The table shows the sex, age, education, occupation, and typology classification of these leaders. An analysis of Table 4-4 indicates that only four of the leaders, or 28 percent, have any college education. Only one of fourteen is a college graduate. Forty-two percent are women. The mean age for the top five leaders is 68; the mean age for all fourteen leaders is 55.

The different types of leaders emerging from the study of these elites are found in Table 4-5. There are

TABLE 4-4

PROFILE OF BLACK ELITES IN McINTOSH COUNTY

Rank	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Typology Number*
1	M	86	Some College	Minister	2
2	F	72	Some College	Minister	2
3	M	72	8th Grade	Mayor	3
4	M	56	High School	Minister	4
5	M	57	High School	Retired Civil Servant	1
6	F	55	High School	Director of Community Service Center	3
7	F	Not Given	B.A. Degree	Children's Counselor	3
8	F	56	Some College	Teacher	5
9	M	79	6th Grade	Mayor	3
10	F	63	9th Grade	Post Mistress	2
11	M	50	7th Grade	Law Enforcement	2
12	M	29	High School	Minister	4
13	F	40	High School	Housewife	5
14	M	67	9th Grade	Barber	1

*Typology Numbers:

1. Uncle Tom
2. Accommodationist
3. Black Activist
4. Moderate
5. Black Achiever

For fuller descriptions, see Table 4-5.

TABLE 4-5

TYPOLOGY OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Typology Number	Definition	Number of Leaders	Percent of Total
(1) Uncle Tom	Functions as a go-between for the White and Black community. Claims to provide token services to the Black community. He is out for what he can get.	2	14.6
(2) Accommodationist	Accepts lack of power. Resents dominance of Whites but works covertly with Whites to gain community improvements for his people.	4	28.0
(3) Black Activist	Attempts to combine rhetoric and organization with programs. Is always hustling for the community.	4	28.0
(4) Moderate	Understands lack of Black power but believes Blacks should attain a certain degree of power. Uses organizations to achieve goals but does not compromise his priorities as willingly as the Accommodationist.	2	14.6
(5) Black Achiever	Is a believer in a new manifesto, the public declaration of political principles. Views White dominance of the Black community as unsuitable. Uses individual and collective diplomacy and is slow to yield in his goals and demands.	2	14.6

five types with no one style dominating. In fact, there seems to be a bifurcation of power among Blacks in the county in the sense that there was not any real feeling of "county power" among Blacks in McIntosh County. It depended on what town a Black person lived in as to whom he named as influential. One also got the impression that among Blacks there was a good deal of suspicion and doubt as to the Black leaders and their motives.[57]

This pattern of leadership among Blacks that apparently has emerged in McIntosh County illustrates that the people who conform to the dictates of the White system and do not protest policies tend to rank higher in the eyes of the Whites. The Uncle Tom, who in the eyes of many Blacks sells himself out totally to Whites, is neither respected nor trusted by other Blacks. By the same token, Blacks who are innovative in trying to gain concessions are generally labelled "trouble-makers" by Whites in McIntosh County.

The term Accommodationist seems to coincide with Holden's definition of clientage. As stated by Holden it means: "Find a basis for co-existence by choosing objectives which the more influential outsiders (whites) will support, and by their support offer protection against those outsiders who are your irreconcilable enemies," or "If you haven't got power yourself, keep powerful friends."[58]

In McIntosh County the actual Black leadership pattern illustrates that Black leaders who conform to the

existing pattern of politics without "selling out" in the eyes of the Black community command the greatest respect among the Black people. The most respected leadership types were the Accommodationist and the Black Activist. In this study, these two leadership types comprised eight out of the fourteen leaders, or 56 percent. As for Uncle Tom, the general sentiment in the Black community was that the Uncle Tom would sell them out.

The Black community viewed the Black Achiever as one who would cause the Black community trouble by forcing the Black community to take stands on certain issues, such as demanding the McIntosh County and towns' school boards employ more Black teachers. Since the Black community is still struggling for unity and cohesion among its members, it does not feel it is prepared for the confrontation with outside forces. Thus, the most respected and effective leaders were the Black Activist and the Accommodationist. The Black Activist leaders in McIntosh County were found to be the most effective with the specific clientele they served, such as the senior citizens. However, the majority of the Black people in the sample viewed the Accommodationist leaders as the most respected and the most trusted.

It is this author's observation that the Black population in McIntosh County is just now beginning to understand that the civil rights struggle of the early 1960s created new roles for Black leaders through political modernization,

particularly in the political arena. As yet, unlike the pattern in vast portions of the South, the few Black industrial workers, artisans, clerical and sales workers, and farmers in the county have not emerged through civil rights organizations as competitors for influence with the more traditional Black elites such as ministers and teachers. The Black elite in McIntosh County thus has not had any infusion of new blood or new ideas.

Milton D. Morris[59] argues that the tasks ahead for Black leaders are to identify and communicate to other Blacks the broad range of public issues, to articulate the interests and aspirations of the Black community to appropriate White politicians, and to develop and maintain among Blacks contacts with the implementors of public policies that affect their daily lives. Current scholarship also argues that there is nothing inherently militant, moderate, or conservative about a given leadership style. Instead, the limits and content of the continuum of race leadership styles are determined by the prevailing pattern of race relations, which varies with time and geography.

This kind of treatment of Black leadership tends to be based on generalized characteristics of large aggregates of people. Of necessity, such large and abstract generalizations cloud over the nuances and variety of political life, particularly for a rural ethnic people whose styles of politics are generally considered different from those of their

urban brethren. Focusing specifically on rural Blacks and contrasting their leadership with that of their urban counterparts, several interesting points emerge.

Rural Black leadership, especially in McIntosh County, is determined by the reputational method; whereas, in the urban setting leadership comes, according to some authors, from the elected positions of authority.[60] In these urban areas, the concentration of the Black population figures from 20 percent to 40 percent of a county's total population, thus producing a potentially meaningful bloc of votes. These blocs of votes seem effective in supporting Black candidates and tend to indicate a degree of urbanness. In McIntosh County the Black population comprises only 10.6 percent of the the total population. This small percentage produces no hope of electing many Black officials. Because the Blacks in McIntosh County lack voting clout, the concept of policy-influence or decision-making approach where leadership emerges through those Blacks who influence local policy is not an adequate measurement of leadership in McIntosh County. In McIntosh County few Blacks have been able to influence the general public policy. Nevertheless, there are people most frequently thought of by Black citizens as being their leaders. Thus, Blacks in most communities think that they have leaders even though these Black leaders may not hold office nor have a relatively great or direct influence on those who do hold office. In other words, Mathews and Prothro stipulate, "Some

leaders, by almost any definition of the term, are found in all groups."[61]

Another aspect that varies in rural and urban leaders is the educational background. Rural Black leaders have poor educational backgrounds accompanied by a lack of geographical mobility, lessening their chances for experience in other communities. McIntosh County Black leaders were no exception.[62] Urban leaders generally have a better educational background and a high degree of mobility. A varied educational background coupled with economic independence is seen by the Black community as prerequisites for status from which leaders will emerge. Because the rural areas offer only limited educational attainment and few chances for economic independence, the socially defined base for potential political leadership for Blacks is very small.[63] Thus, one can see that the urban Blacks with their concentrated populations, their variety in educational attainment, and their propensity for geographic mobility, and finally their chances for economic independence, can produce viable leaders from the Black community. However, for rural counties like McIntosh County where the population of Blacks is below 20 percent of the total population, where educational attainment is limited, where geographic mobility is nil, and where economic independence never comes, Black leaders tend to remain politically limited. They lack the militant consciousness of the urban Blacks and regard politics as

White folks' business. Thus, they do not make voting a comprehensive and significant act.[64]

The following comments are excerpts about the top five Black leaders from journals kept by the ethnic interviewer.

The Black Sample

> Leader 1. The most respected leader in McIntosh County . . . more of a position of respect rather than power due to his age--not active in civil rights work for past five years. His rating is enhanced by the fact that the people remember his work for Eufaula and that he heads up a major Black congregation.
>
> Leader 2. Power due to her position as head of large congregation in Rentiesville. Works behind the scenes. Her ideas and plans are adhered to by her followers and through the use of an emissary (brother) this leader aids in community development.
>
> Leader 3. Powerful because of his elected position. His strong suit in aiding White county officials.
>
> Leader 4. Is the most effective Black in McIntosh County overall when it comes to getting concessions from Whites. I predict he, one day, could become the head of a consolidation of power among county Blacks--something which now does not exist. As a prominent minister, he carries a good deal of weight with the school board and city officials.
>
> Leader 5. Has an air of imaginary influence which has not proven true--most Black Checotans feel he has a line to city hall and as a result have their lines on him. He is generally credited as having caused general community improvement.

It can be successfully argued that the Black population and the Indian population in McIntosh County can be viewed as developing nations attempting to reach a state of "modernization" but lacking leadership. Thus, Holden's comments on the ethnic political circumstances serves well here:

> If any two groups differ significantly with regard to cultural styles and outlooks, levels of

> capital and income, political habits, and habits of communication then it may be quite reasonable to describe them as separate "nations."[65]

In this project the conception of Blacks and Indians as constituting separate "nations" served as a guiding framework for determining through which methods these ethnic peoples linked themselves to the overall power structure of the cities and the county generally under study. Descriptions of those vehicles of linkage follow.

Black Organizations

This study uncovered the fact that among Black people in McIntosh County the principal organizations through which politicization occurs are: (1) the NAACP, (2) churches, and (3) town meetings or study clubs. The McIntosh County chapter of the NAACP was currently being reorganized. Two earlier efforts to reorganize in the early and mid-1960s failed. The former effort failed in 1962 because many Blacks thought the organization was not militant enough, and the latter effort in 1968 failed because they thought it was too militant.[66] The only overt success attained by the NAACP in McIntosh County in recent years, specifically the early 1960s, has been integrating the Eufaula Municipal swimming pool.

As of the summer of 1974 the McIntosh County chapter of the NAACP claimed fifty-five members, although only ten to fifteen people generally attended the meetings.[67] The chairperson stated that she generally had to call and beg people to attend the meetings.

> People who are on welfare are afraid of becoming too political because they think their aid will be cut off. People are just afraid of cutting away from their old pattern of living. We are not asking people to become violent, just to be selective and use their heads with what is happening in McIntosh County.[68]

At the first NAACP meeting the author attended in July 1974, a discussion ensued over the national platform adopted at the 1974 NAACP National Convention in New Orleans on how to implement some of the planks of that platform in McIntosh County. The five-part 1974 national NAACP program consisted of:

1) How to stop the elimination of Black teachers in the school system;
2) How to force the Post Office and other federal departments to hire Blacks;
3) How to stop urban renewal projects from leaving many Blacks homeless;
4) How to stop the expelling of Black children from schools en masse;
5) How to stop police brutality.

The discussion on this occasion centered around hiring more Black teachers in Eufaula and Checotah, and investigating ways to obtain employment for Blacks with the postal service. There were at the time of this meeting five Black teachers in Eufaula and one in Checotah. A prospective new Black teacher in Checotah tried to rent a house from Blacks in town but was turned down by the Black owner. This example was used at this meeting to point out the extent of provincialism and bickering among Blacks. Much of the five-part national NAACP program was not discussed because of the three-hour discussion devoted to the issues of hiring Black teachers and postal employees.

Discussion at two other NAACP meetings the author attended consisted of similar grievances. However, no one offered any plan of action. One participant pointed out that for the NAACP to be influential in McIntosh County, White support and membership was needed. One discussant said that he felt that Whites in Oklahoma had a general feeling that Blacks were inferior and that if Blacks challenge anything they are cut away and left on a limb. The general consensus was that without White support any program would have limited success and that the State NAACP structure needed reworking because one person, the State president, could not adequately oversee fifty local chapters.

Black Churches

The literature tends to substantiate the belief that Black churches and their preachers are a vital linchpin in the Black community where Blacks can be themselves without fear of reprisal from Whites. The church as an institution offers a vehicle through which Blacks receive their social and political, as well as religious, experiences and information.[69] Frazier says:

> As a result of the elimination of Negroes from the political life of the American community, the Negro church became the arena of their political activities--the church was the arena in which the struggle for power and the thirst for power could be satisfied.[70]
>
> For the Negro masses, in their social and moral isolation in American society, the Negro church community has been a nation within a nation.[71]

Scholarship on the question of Black leadership by preachers seems mixed as to whether it is a good or bad thing, but there can be no doubt that it exists as a vital link in the Black community. Cohn says:

> White and Negro students of the question agree that preacher leadership is unfortunate. He is nearly always a man of much native charm, smooth-mouthed, plausible, and exerting great power as a toiler in the vineyards of the Lord. He is also, however, addicted to the fleshpots, mighty at the board and in the bed, and seeking to retain or enlarge his perquisites, he is forever scheming. Among Negroes as Whites, the most ardent churchgoers are the ladies, and the Negro preachers, for reasons lay and secular, carefully cultivate their friendship. For one thing, he sees that every lady member of the congregation is appointed upon a committee and when all of the ordinary committees have been filled, a toilet committee is sometimes organized. The duty of its members is to show new communicants where the toilet is.[72]

Cohn asked a successful rural preacher what were the qualities that brought him success.

> "Cap'n," he said, "A nigger preacher ain't got to have but two things--a bass voice and make de bedsprings moan."[73]

Stymied by this comment, Cohn writes:

> In an effort to reconcile doctrine with behavior I said, "How can you mess about with the sisters all week long, and be a Christian man in the pulpit on Sunday?" His reply was, "If a Christian man goes to bed with a Christian lady day's just like rubbing two clean sheets together: day can't soil each other."[74]

The Black church, sometimes thought of as a "non-political" agency, is in fact sometimes the most likely agency to organize and direct Black political activity in a region.[75] Yet a reasonable amount of independent individualized

Black political participation is a necessary condition to a political church.[76] The Black church supplements rather than substitutes for more explicitly political organizations.[77]

Scholarship also contends, and this author's observations support the belief, that preachers in rural Black churches rarely deal with a person's day-to-day problems from the pulpit. Instead they concentrate on other-world topics.

In reference to the spirituals and the literature of the Black churches, Myrdal says:

> They are neither developed nor interested in terms of social rehabilitation. They are conducive to developing in the Negro a complacent, laissez faire attitude toward life. They support the view that God in His good time and in His own way will bring about the conditions that will lead to the fulfillment of social needs. They encourage Negroes to feel that God will see to it that things work out all right: If not in this world, certainly in the world to come.[78]

If the rural Black churches in McIntosh County claim to deal with day-to-day problems, they deal with these problems only in a supportive fashion by hosting a monthly NAACP meeting or selling cakes and pies at a political rally in a Black neighborhood. Other than this, there was no evidence of any direct political activity by any Black church or congregation. However, the visibility and the idea that the church was an ever-present vehicle waiting to move into action was an identifiable, but unspoken, fact.

Among Blacks in McIntosh County the most active church politically was Mount Calvary Baptist Church in Checotah, Oklahoma, with seventy-three members. Tommie Riddle,

the 29 year old pastor, commutes three times a week from Hartshorne, Oklahoma. Riddle "got the call" to be a preacher as opposed to having formal ministerial training. Pastor Riddle stated that he found Blacks in Checotah organized very poorly for political activities as compared to other churches he had dealt with in other Oklahoma counties. Riddle claimed that Blacks in Checotah and McIntosh County in general were not used to speaking up.

> Blacks here (McIntosh County) just aren's concerned enough with politics yet, because everybody is for themselves; there is not enough communication among one another to sustain a political effort.[79]

Black churches foster the belief that God, working through the body of Christ, can offer hope, if not immediately, at least in the future. This hope can be offered if people are involved with the church. Thus, the following ideas on church participation are taken from a McIntosh County church bulletin.

WHAT MAKES A GOOD CHURCH

MEMBERS MAKE THE CHURCH

1. If all the lazy folk would get up,
2. And all the sleeping folk would wake up,
3. And all the discouraged folk would cheer up,
4. And all the gossiping folk would shut up,
5. And all the estranged folk would make up,
6. And all the dishonest folk would look up,
7. And all the despressed folk would look up,
8. And all the disgusted folk would sweeten up,
9. And all the luke-warm folk would fire up,
10. And all the satisfied folk would show up,
11. And all the true soldiers would stand up,
12. And all the leading folk would live up,
13. And all the vowing folk would pay up,

WE WOULD HAVE A GOOD CHURCH

WHICH KIND ARE YOU?

1. A lot of church members are like wheel-barrows, not good unless pushed.
2. Some are like canoes, they need to be paddled.
3. Some are like kites, if you don't keep a string on them, they will fly away.
4. Some are like kittens, they are more contented when petted.
5. Some are like a football, you can't tell which way they will bounce next.
6. Some are like balloons, full of wind and ready blow up.
7. Some are like trailers, they have to be pulled.
8. Some are like lights, they keep going on and off.
9. And there are those who always seek to let the Holy Spirit lead them.[80]

While serving as the focal point of Black communities in terms of social and political programs, Black churches wish they could do more. However, before churches can do more, their congregations must demand more.

In summary, most of the Black churches in McIntosh County are not communicating adequately with their Black congregations. Black churches do not offer the range of public issues which Blacks need to know to be politically aware. Besides failing to present public issues, the Black churches have not sustained enough contact with White politicians so that those politicians can fully understand the Black community's interests and aspirations. According to some Black respondents, if the White politicians knew of these interests and aspirations, they would be able and willing to work toward their fulfillment. However, of those churches which perceive their congregations as concerned about social issues in the Black community, none are large enough in

congregational size to be considered as representative of the interests of the majority of Black residents in the county.

Social Organizations and Study Clubs

The McIntosh County Black leader sample displayed low levels of political participation. However, individual Black leaders perceived themselves as competent civic leaders. An individual's sense of competence helps to stimulate his social and political activity. Among Blacks, to maintain a personal sense of civic competence would seem difficult when attempts to influence governments would in many instances prove futile. Yet a sense of competence and actual influence are not the same thing.

Almond and Verba in a study of political attitudes in five western democracies argue that one's attitude about his ability to affect politics and government is crucial to the operation of a democratic political system. Almond and Verba call this belief in the efficacy of one's own political action, subjective civic competence.[81] This concept demands that the individual hold the belief that public officials can be and are influenced by ordinary citizens, that the individual have some knowledge about how to proceed in making this influence felt, and that this individual have sufficient self-confidence to try to put this knowledge to work at appropriate times and places.[82] Authors dealing with Black people in America contend that feelings of subjective competence and political participation are linked together.[83]

The next step was to find evidence of this concept of subjective competence in McIntosh County. One example was a club of Black women meeting in Checotah and Eufaula to instill a sense of awareness in the Blacks in McIntosh County. This group was the Checotah chapter, Gardenia Art Club, of the National Federation of Colored Women and Girls. The motto of the national organization is "Lifting as We Climb."[84] The local chapter in Checotah had twenty-two members and they claimed they recently "sent pennies to the President" in support of the continuation of the school lunch program for children.

The author subsequently wrote to the Oklahoma State Federation person in charge of legislation for this organization, Mrs. V. R. Lilly of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, to ask specifically what types of political activities the organization sustained. She replied in a two-page letter, but it was difficult to categorize some of her citations of state legislation. In a subsequent response to a letter to the Chief Clerk of the Oklahoma State Senate, there was evidence that Mrs. Lilly was in error in her citations. Mrs. Lilly stated that basically the political involvement of the clubs centered around encouraging members to "write their Representatives and Congressmen during times they are in session to pass needed bills."[85] Thus, the conclusion to be drawn is apparently that the Gardenia Art Club is more social than political.[86]

Another active organization for all citizens of McIntosh County, but particularly for Black citizens since the center is in the Black community of Checotah, is the Senior Citizens' Center. The general consensus was that this Center was the source of community involvement from which Black community leaders emerged. In the Center the total number of workers, eleven, were paid by the Community Action Program, Mainstream or Green Thumb, Farmer's Home Administration, Head Start, or the National Youth Council.

Various programs, such as crafts, sewing, and reading, were sponsored by the Center in addition to a hot lunch served four days a week for forty cents to the elderly and seventy-five cents to the general population. During the time of this study no overt political activities taking place either in the Senior Citizens' Center or sponsored by them could be observed. Thus, the main thrust of the Center was to provide for people's daily needs. The Director and former Director of the Senior Citizens' Center have been ranked sixth and seventh in the profile of Black elites in McIntosh County because of their influence with and contact with the community. Whites tended to rank them higher than Blacks.

There was also talk in the county of a Democratic Study Club at Rentiesville, Oklahoma, which at one time was supposed to be a powerful political force. Subsequent follow-up interviews on this subject indicated that the club had not met in the last five to seven years because of the

"lack of interest and the death of some members." In its heyday sixty to seventy people reportedly would turn out for its meetings. At these meetings White politicians would appear and give the club money to dispense among the electorate in exchange for promises of "getting out the vote."

Issues generally discussed involved the blacktopping of roads, keeping the town's post office open, and not consolidating the schools. The impetus behind organizing the group, which occurred in the late 1950s, was the painful realization that according to Mr. Essie Carney, "For Blacks to get anything in McIntosh County they have to ask--we must work as a group to get compromise situations. The Black man can't pull by himself. We must pull together."[87]

The research team attended one town meeting in September 1974 in Rentiesville, an all-Black town which had a population of one hundred people in 1970. In November the team attended a town meeting in Vernon, also an all-Black town. At both meetings the residents of the two towns who came to the meeting came to see and hear the research team rather than to discuss substantive political issues among themselves.

At the town meeting in Rentiesville they discussed the annual budget for the town. Of the total budget of $1,100, approximately $300 came from revenue sharing. In Vernon, which has a population of eight, the only money they have is $1.25 per month per household for electricity. There

are no other services and no other sources of income for the town unless as one citizen said, ". . . somebody comes in here and wants to give us something."[88]

In Vernon the meetings are under the auspices of the Vernon Citizen's League, of which all residents are members. There is no formal governmental structure in the town--no mayor, no town council. However, in Rentiesville there is a mayor and three council persons, all women, who serve two years each.

Some representative thinking from these meetings were:

> Blacks in Rentiesville can't help themselves as they must rely on Whites. If it hadn't been for good White people, Blacks would not be where they are today. Yet some Whites don't want Blacks to get any farther ahead.[89]
>
> Lots of Black people because of training don't think much of politics. They say whatever will happen will happen. When you don't know much about a thing, youstay away from it.[90]
>
> Younger people know more about politics and expect more because of politics--good politics is all right, but it carries things with it that is bad (money). Money has put people into office that should not be there--a better class people needs to take a firmer stand in politics.[91]
>
> Blacks feel they can't get anything out of politics because they have been lied to by the politicians. You must be an active part of something to be more interested in it.[92]
>
> The leaders on the Black side have, in the past, sold out in McIntosh County so that today I doubt we (Blacks) could pick a person who could get the people together--yet I know that this is the only way you can get Blacks back together through leadership.[93]

> White politicians with money get the greedy colored behind them; Blacks were taught from slavery to expect something like money from Whites.[94]

Summation of Black Organizations and Leadership

In McIntosh County the various organizations have not forged any inter-organizational power throughout the county. This has left each organization with its own small clientele unable to wield any broad-based power against the dominant broad-based White organizations. Individual leaders of these Black organizations have experienced difficulty establishing themselves as genuine power brokers in the eyes of the White community. As a result, Whites tend to deal with Black organizations and Black leaders on a hit-or-miss basis by generally relying on a handful of "trusted" Blacks to carry out the wishes of the White community and their county leaders.

The rural Black person of McIntosh County in the past has seen Black togetherness work, as seen in the Rentiesville town meetings of the 1950s. Yet at the time of this study, Black leadership was, in fact, fragmented. There was a definite lack of togetherness due to excessive bickering and in-fighting. To make leadership matters worse for the Blacks in McIntosh County, the NAACP was ineffective, suffering from a past image as a militant group. Understandably, the Democratic and Republican parties within the county view the ethnic person as the "forgotten man."

In this research it was difficult to find evidence of input from any of the sample populations into the actual daily workings of the local political parties. Churches functioned effectively as mobilizers of community projects, but were in a political sense not "activist." Other social clubs served as limited vehicles for political awareness in terms of raising issues for discussion. Here also there was no evidence of any "activist" orientation from these groups in generating, organizing, or implementing any political program to achieve a desired goal.

Despite these ineffective organizations and the lack of Black political togetherness, there existed among a certain number of Blacks a general sense of subjective civic competence. Interestingly enough, this sense of civic competence did not endow these rural Black leaders with a sense of the future. Instead, these leaders endorsed a posture of enduring, hoping for a reward in the afterworld. They remained meek and ineffectual. Symptomatic of this posture was their rural location and the fact that Blacks in this setting resembled a developing nation.

Indian Leadership and Organizations

The bi-cultural nature of the Indian made it difficult to identify Indians. It was even more difficult to gain the interviewee's confidence in order to illicit an honest opinion of any given political issue. In fact, the Indian interviewer used in the study found that with many of the

Indian leaders, two interviews were needed to gain their confidence so that they would speak freely. In these difficult cases the ethnic interviewer related that the Indian leaders when questioned either adopted the stoic Indian stance of not knowing, not caring, or not being affected by a given issue, or donned the pseudo-Indian stance by mouthing White generalizations about the given issues. Even though the ethnic interviewer was an Indian, that was not enough for the interviewer to gain the trust of the interviewee. Thus, in measuring the attitudes of these Native Americans, the self-anchoring striving scale did not fail. Instead, either the Indian interviewer was not sufficiently trained in using the instrument or the interviewee was suspicious of an Indian from outside the county, viewing the interviewer as a pawn of White power. In fact, before productive interviewing took place, the Indian leadership within McIntosh County had the Indian interviewer investigated as to the purpose of the project.

Since the Indian's cultural background is less familiar than that of Whites or Blacks, it is most important to understand the Indians' conception of group cohesiveness. The Indians' concept of leadership and of a public servant is connected to the idea that a leader is a person who has the respect of all the different segments of the tribe, and that the person who is selected as the leader is chosen on the basis of what he or she has been doing to serve the

group.[95] An Indian gains the trust of the people through levelheadedness and showing through his actions that he can handle bigger problems and contribute to the guidance of the group.

When the group voices its opinion that a particular person should be in charge of a certain task, it is usually an indication of the accumulation of trust in his behavior. It takes many years for this trust to build up with regard to a certain person. Because patience is a virtue to Indians, Deloria says, "patience counteracts reactionary behavior; tolerance counters impulsivenesss."[96] Patience refers to the physical behavior of people; tolerance deals with emotional discipline.

To speak of Indians as a homogeneous group in reference to Indian religion or Indian Art is to risk great inaccuracy, error, and oversimplification, yet all Indians generally agree that "The Indian Way" is a superior style of life to others. Because of tribal and cultural diversity, it is hazardous to ascribe certain values to all tribes, yet there are a substantial number of shared values. Haddox lists the following as typical of most Indians.[97]

(1) Freedom: The ability to life, to be, and to create in one's own way. "Of course, if our way of life turned out to be better, more human, than yours, that would be your problem, not ours. We would never force anyone to live as we do. We never have."

(2) Community: The ability to have a strong sense of generosity, and interpersonal harmony. Both are the outgrowth of the extended family of kinship group with a majority related either by blood or by "adoption in the Indian way." The Indian lives within himself, but not for himself. The tribe shelters a man's family within the umbrells of kinship --the extended family.

(3) Sharing: The ability to share possessions with others and to take care of each other.

(4) Cheerfulness: The ability to be cordial, hospitable, cooperative, and content. Indians shun selfishness, economic competition, resentment, and aggression.

(5) Present-Oriented: The ability to be concerned with the here and now.

(6) "Indian time:" The ability of the Indian to remain spontaneous in a world governed by schedules and clock-watches. The Indian is not bound by any clock, for he does things when he feels like doing them.

(7) Punishment: The Indian does not view punishment as a form of revenge, but if possible for restitution. This is exemplified by an extremely democratic judicial process.

(8) Reverence: To the Indian every living thing is sacred, so all of life, both plants, the trees, corn, and flowers; and animals, the bison, deer, and birds, are to be cherished. In fact, all of nature--the sky, the waters, and the land--are treated with reverence. This general concept

is called harmony with nature, where all natural forms, living and non-living, interrelate without domination, as opposed to the master-over-nature principle that prevails in western societies wherein man is seen as the superior force in nature.

According to Steiner, the guidelines to becoming an Indian leader include:

> (1) Find the willingness to listen to what your group desires.
> (2) Be willing to humble youself to be a servant of the group you wish to represent.
> (3) Learn to wait and be patient for the real issues to come to the surface before drawing your conclusions.
> (4) Cultivate within yourself a desire to meet anyone without the belief that there are superiors and inferiors and be able to say along with the rest of them that there is no product of the Great Spirit that you can hate.[98]

To understand Indian leadership and the role of Indian organizations, a knowledge of Indian beliefs and the "Indian Way" is essential.

> The Indian people still follow a man simply because he produces. The only difference between two centuries ago and today is that now the Bureau of Indian Affairs defines certain ground rules by which leaders can be changed. These rules are called tribal elections. Otherwise leadership patterns have not changed at all.[99]

Deloria argues that a mythology was created by the White man to make Indians comprehensible when they began to appear in American life. This mythology "overlooked the centuries of bloodshed between White and Red, effectively neutralizing historical betrayals of the Indian by the government."[100] Tonto, the friendly Indian companion, was the

archetype of this mythology. These quotations from Deloria are illustrations.

> Tonto was everything that the White man had always wanted the Indian to be. He was a little slower, a little dumber, had much less vocabulary, and rode a darker horse. Somehow Tonto was always there. Like the Negro butler and the Oriental gardener, Tonto represented a silent subservient subspecies of Anglo-Saxon whose duty was to do the bidding of the all-wise White hero.[101]

> Indians have no concept of teamwork as it is known by White society. Assignment of personnel to component jobs within an action plan leaves Indians cold. Rather, they expect leaders to charge ahead and complete the task. If anyone wants to assist in the job, so much the better. But there is no sense or urgency or need for efficiency in anything that is undertaken.[102]

> Because Indian people place absolute independence on their leaders, they exhaust more leaders every year than any other minority group.[103]

Considering this background of Indian life and Indian values, this study developed Table 4-6 to indicate the profile of Indian elites in McIntosh County. This profile shows seven of fifteen people, or 46 percent, have some college education. Four are college graduates, including an Ed.D., as compared with four of fourteen people, of 28 percent, having some college among the Black elite sample. Among Indian elites, three of the top five are women, or 60 percent, compared to one Black woman among the top five Black elites, or 20 percent. The average age of the top five Indian leaders is 59, as compared to 68 as the average age for the top five Black leaders. The typologies used in this sample came in part from Steiner's work <u>The New Indian</u> because they closely

TABLE 4-6

PROFILE OF INDIAN ELITES IN McINTOSH COUNTY

Rank	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Typology Number*
1	F	60	High School	Housewife	3
2	M	64	High School	Minister/Retired Health Service	3
3	F	61	Some College	Social Worker	3
4	F	76	9th Grade	Housewife	4
5	M	36	Some College	Construction	4
6	M	64	High School	Minister/Retired Mechanic	1
7	M	73	7th Grade	Minister/Retired Farmer	3
8	F	58	Ed.D. Degree	School Administrator	3
9	M	81	B.A. Degree	Real Estate/Former Creek Chief	1
10	F	71	7th Grade	Housewife	4
11	F	28	B.A. Degree	Indian Education	3
12	F	67	Some College	Housewife	2
13	M	64	High School	Law Enforcement	1
14	M	58	High School	County Commissioner	3
15	F	68	B.A. Degree	Housewife	3

*Typology Numbers:

(1) "Apple" Indian
(2) Pseudo Indian
(3) Bi-cultural Indian
(4) Cultural Nationalist

For a fuller description, see Table 4-7.

paralleled what this research found in McIntosh County. No other works could be found that dealt with the topic of Indian leadership in this systematized fashion.

Table 4-7 shows the Indian typology of leadership developed for this study. The majority of the leaders, or 47 percent, fit into the "Bi-cultural" category. That is, these leaders operate in both traditional Indian culture as well as the White culture as the occasion arises and without losing touch with traditional Indian values.

On looking at these Indian leadership typologies, the difference between the "Apple" Indian and the Pseudo-Indian stems from the degree to which the Indian takes his cues from White society. For instance, the Pseudo-Indian leader manifests only a slight degree of credibility within the Indian community; whereas the Indian community views the "Apple" Indian as a complete and total sell-out to the values of the White society. Thus, the two typologies are distinct enough to warrant separate consideration rather than being lumped together.

The following comments are excerpts about the top five leaders from journals kept by the ethnic interviewer.

Indian Leaders

> Leader 1. Most informative and knowledgeable of people interviewed. Provided assistance and guidance to interviewer, yet felt like she was wary and at times did not tell the truth, being distrustful of this study. This person was the most respected and best-known of all the people I contacted.
>
> Leaders 2 and 3. (Husband and wife) The woman was very talkative but many of her remarks were

TABLE 4-7

TYPOLOGY OF INDIAN LEADERSHIP

Typology Number	Definition	Number of Leaders	Percent of Total
(1) "Apple" Indian	Is Indian but thinks he is White. Lack of interest in native culture.	3	20
(2) Pseudo Indian	Is Indian but lacks contact with Indian culture. Takes cues from non-Indian sources.	2	13
(3) Bi-cultural Indian	Is Indian--able to operate in traditional Indian culture as well as in non-Indian culture.	7	47
(4) Cultural Nationalist	Rejects non-Indian ways.	3	20

giddy and not of much value. The man was reserved and considerate. All answers well thought out. Quite outspoken and critical of tribal government, yet I also sensed a wariness and suspicion on his part.

Leader 4. Statements brief yet to the point. Felt as if conditions were breaking up Indian life style and as a result there were no longer influentials among the Indians like there used to be.

Leader 5. Seemed to have the best comprehension of the study of anyone interviewed. Head of a major Pow-Wow club, as a result probably constantly involved with politics through that organization.

From the above journal entries one notes that the Indian respondents in answering questions were characterized as generally reticent. This possibly illustrates the degree to which bi-culturalism works in the rural setting. For here the Indian leaders do not feel alienated and seemingly are concerned with the fate of their people. Aside from the cultural differences, Indian leaders on an average view participation in civic clubs as a means to establish inroads into the White leadership. The overall view of Indian leadership with regard to White politicians is that White politicians rarely discuss Indians or their problems in any kind of broad context. The Indians' view is that local and county officials are hard to convince that they should pay some attention to the Indian and his problems. But the monumental task of getting other state officials, i.e., representatives, the Governor, Attorney-General, etc., to be cognizant of Indian problems in the Indian view will require a concentrated effort on the part of the various county Indian leadership people that has not yet developed.

Indian Organizations

The sense of subjective civic competence among Indian peoples in McIntosh County manifests itself principally through their churches, social organizations such as pow-wow clubs, individual families, and through the media. Herbert Hirsch in a study of Appalachian Whites[104] and their methods of political socialization argues that "the primary agents of cultural socialization quite probably differ from sub-culture to sub-culture, and moreover, the content of what is socialized also differs--it is extremely important to note, however, that the process by which learning occurs would be the same."[105] Hirsch argued that for his sample (Appalachian Whites) the media were the primary agents of information transmission for all age groups, and that the family played an important civic competence role as well. Within the family, "the father is the primary source of voting advice and the mother is the primary source of party identification."[106]

Among Indians in McIntosh County several respondents offered the observation that in their estimation the mass media, especially nationally circulated Indian newspapers such as Akwesasne Notes and television programs such as "Inside Native America" shown once a month on KOTV (CBS) in Tulsa, were very important as vehicles of political information being transmitted to Indian people. Frequently on the program "Inside Native America" guests include Indians seeking elective public office. This no doubt helps Native

Americans watching this program to decide the relative merits of those candidates.

Also from television, radio and the written media, Indians are attuned to the problems of Indian tribes other than their own. McIntosh County Indians are interested in what these other Indian tribes within the state or within the region are doing to solve their problems. Thus, television or radio shows that provide a forum for the Indian viewpoints perform a function much like the more traditional pow-wow or stomp dance in that they bring together the spokesmen of various tribes where they can discuss common problems and common goals.

Another influential organization among Indians is the church. Churches, according to Deloria, are moving through an ideological period of church involvement with American Indians.

> As the Civil Rights movement gained momentum, church people began a subtle program to involve Indians in Civil Rights. Indians became, in their eyes, a subgroup of the Black community; many lessons learned in working with American Blacks were considered applicable to American Indians in spite of the cultural differences between the groups.[107]

The insular nature of the county has been affected by the institutions of mass society--namely television and daily metropolitan papers--which correlates with the findings of Vidich and Bensman with regard to rural areas.[108] The dependence of ethnic peoples upon these instruments of mass culture cannot be minimized, for without them life would be sterile

for these ethnic peoples who for the most part are excluded from the mainstream of life in the county in terms of social, economic, or political life.

> When the Civil Rights movement aborted and the "power movements" began, the churches abruptly switched their support to the more militant members of the Indian community. Much of the recent activism, both good and bad, was supported by church funds and given emphasis by church magazines and newsletters.[109]

In McIntosh County the more militant Indian organizations, such as the American Indian Movement, have not caught on. And because Indian people in the county generally tend to shun militant extremism, the programs offered by the churches tried subtly to inculcate the general overview of civic awareness and civic competence. However, these attempts suffered from the fact that the Indian has been and is to a certain extent wary of the image of modern Christianity. Contemporary Christianity in the Indian mind revolves around the exploitation of human and natural resources, creating a lack of integrity within Christianity, and as a result is alien to the Indian mind.

Different manifestations of this phenomenon, according to Deloria, exist and are discussed in the following paragraphs. In the settler's theory God is seen as the mayor of the old frontier town. The citizens never see him, but they are certain he exists because they have law and order. The townsmen are scared to death of the mayor, but he keeps the old payroll coming in and, after all, that's what made America great.

Whereas, the absolutism of the Jesus movement leads to a violent intolerance of other ideas. One portrayal particularly offensive to Indians has the church as a battered covered wagon, God as the trail boss, and Jesus as a scout who rides out in front of the wagon train. Still others view Christianity as the performance of feats superior to those found in the New Testament via the use of judo, karate, weight-lifting, and yoga, to equate athletic ability to Christianity.

In some cases religion and business are merged. Some churches are the owners of companies and factories, including churches with drive-in confessionals. One church has plans for a proposed Biblical Disneyland in Alabama to attract three million souls for salvation and to erect a 157-foot statue of Jesus, taller than the Statue of Liberty.

Extreme Christian fundamentalism is the right-wing of Christianity and the perpetual identification of Christianity is the opponent and mortal enemy of Communism, socialism, free-thinking, and long hair. This fundamentalism ignores social problems because these fundamentalists argue that these problems are already accounted for in the Bible and signal the end of the world. Christian social reform, the left-wing of Christianity, thrives on social movements and fads. These Christians seek to solve the problems of society through the church because they see themselves as God's self-annointed. Christian mysticism is the revival of demonism,

devil worship, astrological and numerological sciences and manifestations of the occult. The evidence of these sects attests to the present spiritual crisis of the world.[110]

But religion has traditionally played an essential role in the lives of Indian people. Haddox and Nez assert that:

> Some Indians believe that their Christianity is more real, more authentic, more truly Christian than the White man's because they can live by its teachings better in their loving communities than can the isolated White man in his urban covetous society.[111]
>
> We shall learn all these devices the White man has. We shall handle his tools for ourselves. We shall master his machinery, his inventions, his skills, his medicine, his planning; but we'll retain our beauty, and still be Indian.[112]

The type of politics that emerges from these Indian Christian churches in McIntosh County can be characterized as centering on a discussion of candidates and issues among church members if an election is approaching. More generally church members will review the "news" in town, what the mayor is doing, who has seen him, and the like. The types of political discussions taking place within the Indian Christian churches involve testimonials from members of the congregation centered on estimates of political figures. Generally because the man or woman is highly respected, his or her viewpoint may carry a lot of weight in terms of influencing the conduct of others toward those politicans.

The churches discussed here are Indian Christian churches as opposed to Nativist or "Native Churches" in

which peyote is used.[113] Some of these are found in McIntosh County, although no Indian leader "claimed" to be a member. The consensus from the Indian interviewers was that some leaders on occasion attended peyote services. Stewart argues that Oklahoma was the first political jurisdiction to outlaw peyote in 1899. Oklahoma repealed its anti-peyote laws in 1908, allowing peyote if used in conjunction with religious ceremonies. Subsequently, the first peyote church incorporated in Oklahoma was the First Born Again Church of Christ in Redrock, Oklahoma, on December 8, 1914.[114]

The current corporate name of churches using peyote is Native American Church of North America founded in 1955 to protect their freedom to practice the peyote religion.

> The Indians use peyote primarily in connection with their religious ritual. When thus consumed, it causes the worshiper to experience a vivid revelation in which he sees or hears the spirit of a departed loved one, or experiences other religious phenomena; or he may be shown the way to solve some daily problems, or reproved for some evil deed or thought. Through the use of peyote, the Indian acquires increased powers of concentration and introspection, and experiences deep religious emotion. There is nothing debasing or morally reprehensible about the peyote ritual.
>
> The use of peyote is essential to the existence of the peyote religion. Without it, the practice of the religion would be effectively prevented.[115]

The author was not able to attend any festivals or dances connected with the pow-wow club activities. It was necessary to rely on respondents' statements backed up by personal inquiries over the past two years in Eastern Oklahoma

to the effect that political discussions do emanate from pow-wow meetings.[116]

Indian Leadership Summation

In conclusion, one sees that the Indian leadership is more supportive of the system, as compared to the Blacks. Since most of their leaders fall into the bi-cultural typology, one can conclude that their leadership does not feel alienated from the total power structure at work in McIntosh County. The Indian leadership is broader based and, in comparison to the Black leadership on the whole, the individual leaders are younger and have more education. Of course, one must remember also that in determining who was an Indian it was necessary to rely upon the Indian community in selecting reputed leaders.

Within the Indian sub-culture, organizations play no great part in politics except in providing a forum for discussion of candidates and issues. However, the Indian community has several avenues of cultural exchange not found in the Black sample, namely the Indian newspapers, magazines, and television shows. Just recently in Tahlequah the local theater showed "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." After the opening night the word went around about the character called Chief, a huge, supposedly deaf and dumb Indian who became the hero in a White man's movie. The next night many Indians were waiting in line to buy tickets. With these mass cultural

avenues of exchange the Indian in the rural area generally adopts a bi-cultural posture.

Because of this bi-cultural posture the political tactic of manipulation by White leaders is often successful among Indians. If inducements are generous enough, many Indians will co-opt their Native American power base for the satisfaction of their own desires. The manipulative effect seemed to work equally as well for Whites with regard to both the Indian and Black population. The most insidious forms of manipulation, however, appear when Black leaders try to manipulate other Blacks, and Indian leaders try to manipulate other Indians not so much to satisfy the desires and demands of the White society as for their own designs and aspirations to ingratiate themselves to the dominant White leaders. Evidence of both types of manipulation being practiced among the ethnic groups in McIntosh County was found.

General Conclusions

With regard to leadership and organizations among Whites, Blacks, and Indians in McIntosh County, certain comparisons emerge. Indian leadership is more matrifocal in nature than either the Black or White sample, which is explained by the matrifocal nature of the Indian culture. Because of different cultural backgrounds explained in earlier chapters, the typologies of leadership between the various groups do not lend themselves to comparison. However, some interesting similarities do exist between the actual

personages in McIntosh County who fit into these typologies. All three groups had people who were active participants in community activities and who tried to shape public opinion. All three groups had leaders who appeared to vacillate between altruistic and personal motives for being involved in public affairs.

In drawing comparisons between the White, Black, and Indian leaders, a difficulty arises in that each set of leaders has been motivated and shaped by its distinct culture. Cultural factors determine how an individual thinks and acts with regard to certain issues. Thus, comparisons drawn from these three leadership groups in McIntosh County must be viewed from the different cultural perspectives. Cultural differences, however, lend themselves toward understanding different individual leadership styles.

Nevertheless, several factors of interest did emerge in a general comparison of the three leadership groups. In identifying and interviewing the leaders of the White and Black leadership samples, there was little difficulty. However, in obtaining the names of Indian leaders, it was found that many Indian people who thought they were knowledgeable on Indian matters gave erroneous information. Thus, many Indian residents of McIntosh County who view themselves as self-proclaimed spokesmen were not in the mainstream of Indian activity.

Interestingly, it was found that the Black and Indian communities had more leaders who tried to manipulate from behind the scenes. The true leaders were in effect hidden from casual inspection, particularly for inquiries. In the White leadership sample, three-quarters of the leaders were readily visible to the public and easily recognizable. Within the Black community, the Black leaders were easily recognized and accessible.

Another interesting difference in the leaders was the geographic range of influence and age. Indian leaders were known throughout the county; whereas, the Black and White leaders were usually recognized by their influence in specific towns within the county. The average age among the top five leaders was older for both the Black and Indian sample than for the White sample. Two factors that might account for this is that the younger ethnic people are moving out of McIntosh County. And within both ethnic communities prevailed the concept that age and length of residence induces trust. In the White sample of leadership, there were newly arrived leaders.

In comparing organizations, it was found that on the whole the organizations for ethnic people in McIntosh County were ineffectual in achieving political and social goals. A definite lack of sense of togetherness among the Black and Indian communities contributed to this situation. This situation in turn created a dependence among Black organizations

and Indian organizations. Organizations serving the Black community and Indian community need to work together to achieve success, but in McIntosh County this has not happened with enough regularity to be effective.

The extent of participation in organizations seems to depend more on the individual than on the group--at least for minority groups used as the basis for this study. Black leaders generally listed two to three memberships besides the church. Black followers generally only listed church membership.

Indians generally, without regard to being either a leader or a follower, listed two memberships, church and powwow clubs. Apparently, there was for the Indian no equivalent in McIntosh County to the White women's clubs. Also, Indians who were in a position of leadership have not chosen to join the Kiwanis, Elks, Masons, or either were not in a position to join for fear of endangering their position within the Indian community.

This study could not uncover any evidence of inroads by Indians or Blacks into the existing Democratic or Republican county party structures. Whites seemed to control party workings and manipulate politics within the county.

Footnotes

[1]Vidich and Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, introduction to revised edition.

[2]"Clubs and Organizations, Eufaula, Oklahoma," a flyer published by the Eufaula, Oklahoma, Chamber of Commerce, Spring 1974.

[3]Vidich and Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, p. 92.

[4]Interview with store owner, Checotah, Oklahoma, Spring 1974.

[5]Vidich and Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, p. 101.

[6]Ibid., p. 104.

[7]Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 205.

[8]Ibid., p. 207.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., p. 210.

[11]For a review of these characteristics see Presthus, Chapter 7, "Elite Politics and Power Structures," pp. 204-239.

[12]Robert Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 65. Also, see especially Chapter 6, "Political Man," for a review of this flip-flop characteristics.

[13]Presthus, Men at the Top, pp. 204-239 and Chapter 9, "Community Social Structure and Political Behavior."

[14]Ibid., p. 321.

[15]Ibid., p. 211.

[16]Interview with a church leader, Spring 1974.

[17]For an excellent review of this literature see Charles M. Bonjean and David M. Olson, "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," in Administrative Science Quarterly 8 (December 1968): 279-300.

[18]The basic sources on Black leadership are Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Row, 1944); Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," The American Journal of Sociology 43 (July 1937): 56-72; James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (New York: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 214-254; M. Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 176-186; Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 58-79; Hanes Walton, Jr. and Leslie Burl McLemore, "Portrait of Black Political Styles," Black Politician 2 (October 1970): 9-13; Lester M. Salamon, "Leadership and Modernization: The Emerging Black Political Elite in the American South," Journal of Politics 35 (1973): 615-646; Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leadership in the South (New York: Atheneum, 1969), especially Chapter 4, "Styles of Race Leadership"; Matthew Holden, Jr., The Politics of the Black Nation, Chapter 2, "Clientage, Opposition, and Withdrawal: Three Forms of External Politics" (New York: Chandler Publishing Company, 1973); and Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, 1966), Chapter 7, "Negro Leaders."

[19]See Stan Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1968), especially Appendix F, pp. 305-307, "Which One Are You? Five Types of Young Indians," by Clyde Warrior, President, National Indian Youth Council, reprinted from ABC: Americans Before Columbus, II, No. 4 (December 1964), and Appendix G, "So You Want to Be a Leader," unsigned editorial in American Aborigine, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1965), published by National Indian Youth Council; and Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins (New York: MacMillan, 1969), especially Chapter 9, "The Problem of Indian Leadership."

[20]See Robert Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 50-53, and Bonjean and Olson, "Community Leadership."

[21]Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership, p. 4.

[22]Salamon, "Leadership and Modernization," p. 623.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Myrdal, An American Dilemma, pp. 720-735.

[25]Ibid., p. 710.

[26]Ibid., p. 711.

[27]Ibid., p. 724.

[28]Ibid., p. 731.

[29]Only Matthews and Prothro did any concentrated work with Blacks in rural county settings. At least one scholar has questioned the data generated from the Matthews and Prothro study with regard to actual Black population and "double counting" of occupations and the influence of farmers as leaders in one particular county, "Crayfish." Salamon, "Black Political Elite in the South," p. 631, ff. 40.

[30]Walton and McLemore define the accommodationist as a person who is Black in skin color only, as an Oreo (Black on the outside, White on the inside), a definition derived from Myrdal's term used in the 1930s.

[31]Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South, p. 146.

[32]Ibid., p. 151.

[33]Hanes Walton and Leslie Burn McLemore, "Portrait of Black Political Styles," Black Politician 2 (October 1970): 9-13.

[34]Ibid., p. 9.

[35]Ibid., p. 10.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 11.

[39]Ibid., p. 12.

[40]Holden, Politics of the Black Nation, p. 6.

[41]Ibid., p. 7.

[42]Wilson, Negro Politics, p. 298.

[43]Ibid., p. 300.

[44]Ibid., p. 303.

[45]Ibid., pp. 307-308.

[46]Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South, p. 232, and also found in Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 277.

[47]Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South, p. 133.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, p. 25.

[50]Ibid., p. 26.

[51]Ibid.

[52]M. Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, p. 189.

[53]Holden, Politics of the Black Nation, p. 4.

[54]Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South, p. 319.

[55]Ibid., p. 7.

[56]Ibid., p. 321.

[57]This will come out later in the discussion of the county NAACP. Myrdal in An American Dilemma, pp. 774-775, cites frequent complaints in Black communities about bad leadership. Complaints such as imcompetence, selfishness, corruption, and the fact that "three are few Negro leaders who are not suspect immediately when they attain any eminence" are cited. This also provides Whites with the ammunition to "divide and rule" by playing on the rivalry, envy, and disunity in Black communities.

[58]Holden, Politics of the Black Nation, p. 73.

[59]Milton D. Morris, The Politics of Black America, p. 285.

[60]Matthews and Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics, p. 176.

[61]Ibid., p. 178.

[62]Ibid., p. 185.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Holloway, The Politics of the Southern Negro, p. 75.

[65]Holden, The Politics of the Black "Nation," p. 1.

[66]Interview with Mrs. Zetta Burkhalter, Chairperson of the McIntosh County NAACP, July 1974. Protests over school

board decisions on integration and hiring practices brought the charges of militancy. One other interviewee said the NAACP really needs right leadership. The same interviewee said, "You can't force militance down people's throats."

[67]There were at that time over fifty chapters of the NAACP in Oklahoma, two of which were all-White (interview with Mr. Wade Watts, State NAACP Chairman at McIntosh County NAACP meetings, November 1974). It should be noted also that the author did not interview a single White person who knew a reorganized NAACP chapter existed in McIntosh County--which is indicative of the scope of the racial and cultural gap between ethnic groups in the county.

[68]Interview with Z. Burkhalter, Checotah, Oklahoma, July 1974.

[69]David Cohn, Where I Was Born and Raised (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967); and Myrdal, An American Dilemma, especially Chapter 40, pp. 858-879. Also E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1963).

[70]Frazier, The Negro Church in America, p. 43.

[71]Ibid., p. 44.

[72]Cohn, Where I Was Born and Raised, p. 270.

[73]Ibid., p. 183.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Matthews and Prothro, Negores and the New Southern Politics, p. 232.

[76]Ibid., p. 233.

[77]Ibid., p. 234.

[78]Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 873. A quote cited from The Negro's God, by B. E. Mayes, p. 245.

[79]Interview with a respondent, Checotah, Oklahoma, July 1974.

[80]Reprint from Church Anniversary and Homecoming program, Mount Calvary Baptist Church, Checotah, Oklahoma, November 25, 1973, p. 2.

[81]Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verga, The Civic Culture (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 182.

[82]Ibid., pp. 215-216.

[83]Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization (New York: Free Press, 1971).

[84]The Gardenia Art Club meeting, Checotah, Oklahoma, October 1974.

[85]Letter from Mrs. V. R. Lilly, to B. Rader, February 28, 1975.

[86]Some of the programs mentioned in Mrs. Lilly's letter supported by the Oklahoma Federation of Colored Women and Girls were:

1. Keep Langston open and strengthen its curriculum, thus making it an integral part of the Oklahoma System of Higher Education;
2. The E.R.A.;
3. Crime and delinquency prevention;
4. Economic development;
5. Increased Federal funding of nutrition for elderly program, Title 7, Older Americans Act;
6. Revamp state inheritance tax laws for widows;
7. Revitalize National Housing Act, Sections 202 and 236 (involving direct loans for housing).

[87]Interview with Mr. Essie Carney, past president, Democratic Study Club, Rentiesville, Oklahoma, July 1974, conducted by Mr. Edwin Pompey.

[88]Comment by Mr. Arthur Hunter, president of the Vernon (Oklahoma) Citizens' League, November 1974, who also tried to solicit a donation from the author.

[89]Statement by Mr. Reuben McClendon, Mayor, Rentiesville, Oklahoma, September 1974.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Arthur Hunter, president, Vernon Citizen's League, July 1974.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Steiner, The New Indians, p. 310.

[96]Deloria, Custer Died for Your Sins, p. 204.

[97]J. H. Haddox, "American Indian Values," in Chicanos and Native Americans, eds. Rudolph de LaGarza, Anthony Kruszewski, and Thomas Arciniege (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 61-78.

[98]Steiner, The New Indians, pp. 307-311.

[99]Deloria, Custer Died for Your Sins, p. 204.

[100]Ibid., Chapter 9, "The Problem of Indian Leadership," pp. 196-221.

[101]Ibid., p. 199.

[102]Ibid., p. 212.

[103]Ibid., p. 214.

[104]Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization.

[105]Ibid., p. 140.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Vine Deloria, Jr., The Indian Affair (New York: Friendship Press, 1974).

[108]Vidich and Bensman, Small Town and Mass Society, pp. 101-105.

[109]Ibid., p. 55.

[110]Vine Deloria, Jr., God is Red, Chapter 13, "Christianity and Contemporary American Culture," pp. 223-247.

[111]Haddox, "American Indian Values," p. 72.

[112]David Martin Nez, "New Way: Old Way," taken from New Indians, Stan Steiner, p. 131.

[113]Omer C. Stewart, "The Native American Church and the Law," in Deward E. Walker, Jr., ed., The Emergent Native Americans (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1972), pp. 382-397.

[114]Ibid., p. 384.

[115]Ibid., p. 391.

[116]Eufaula, Oklahoma, is nationally known for its National Indian Festival in September of each year. In

September 1974 heavy rains forced cancellation of the bulk of the program and nullified opportunities for observation.

CHAPTER FIVE

ISSUES AND STRATEGIES

To ascertain the issues of relevance among the three racial groups in this project, this study used a modified version of the self-anchoring striving scale developed by Hatley Cantril and Franklin P. Kilpatrick.[1] This device is generally used "as a means of discovering the spectrum of values a person is preoccupied or concerned with."[2] The self-anchoring striving scale is a ladder device consisting of eleven rungs from 0 to 10 with the scores ranging from good or best to bad or worst.

To make it similar to a Likert-type scale, the self-anchoring striving scale was narrowed down to five rungs. The Likert-type scale was devised by Rensis Likert in 1932 and consisted of an agree-disagree format covering 1 to 5 in which 5 is high and 1 is low or vice-versa.[3] In this study a score of one meant "good," a score of five meant "bad," and a score of three meant neutral or no response. The self-anchoring striving scale has been used in over thirty different cultural settings to measure people's aspirations.

To parallel Cantril's method, the issue questions used in this study were arranged to elicit from the interviewee responses as to his feelings regarding the issue at the present time and how he felt about the issue five years ago.

A good index or scale should be valid in that it measures what it is supposed to measure. It is reliable if it produces the same results when used like variations of the same property over and over again at different times and places and it should be simple and useful by encompassing ease of computation and understanding.[4]

In this study, in trying to use the futuristic concept, methodological problems resulted when some ethnic respondents were asked how they thought they might feel about an issue five years from now. Some did not know how to respond. In the Indian sample, this problem developed when seven of the thirty-seven respondents, 18.9 percent of the total sample, had considerable difficulty dealing with the concept of "future."[5]

This problem initially caused the author to conclude that the ladder device was neither valid or reliable; however, in closely rereading Cantril, it was discovered that in other cultural settings, principally among Filippinos and Brazilians, Cantril encountered similar problems with regard to the "futuristic" aspirations of those people.

> Filipinos are preoccupied with matters that are rather narrow and highly personalized in their scope; their concerns are with those aspects of living that very directly and very immediately affect them and their families.[6]

Cantril reports that Brazilians who are illiterate, those in the lower income group, and those in rural sections of the country rated themselves if at all with low ladder ratings and seemed preoccupied with immediate personal economic problems.[7]

These comments seem to indicate that the self-anchoring striving scale is reliable. But perhaps in the eyes of the McIntosh County ethnics in the sample it is not very simple to understand. Both the Indian and Black samples were definitely preoccupied with the "here and now" of their existence. They tended to react in terms of a span of time or space more or less unique to the context of their own lives, ages, and circumstances.[8] This preoccupation with the present is not unique to the ethnic peoples of McIntosh County. Edward Banfield in The Unheavenly City Revisited writes that "The traits that constitute what is called lower-class culture or lifestyle are consequences of the extreme present-orientation of that class."[9] Thus, according to Banfield, "The lower-class person lives from moment to moment, he is either unable or unwilling to take acccount of the future."[10] He defines this situation more fully by writing, "At the present-oriented end of the scale, the lower-class individual lives from moment to moment. If he has any awareness of a future, it is of something fixed, fated beyond his control: Things happened to him, he does not make them happen."[11]

The illiteracy rate in McIntosh County, particularly among Indian and Black peoples, is also a significant factor in their inability to successfully deal with problems of the future as conceptualized by Cantril.[12] Thus, although data on the future were obtained from the Black and White sample, it was thought desirable to concentrate on the analysis of data relating to two periods of time, five years ago and the present, rather than dealing with the future for all groups.

In the analysis of the answers based on this scale measure, the *t* statistic was used. The *t*-test measures the significance of mean (average) score differences between two independent sample populations. In these cases the test was applied to Black Leaders *v*. Black Followers, Indian Leaders *v*. Indian Followers, and White Leaders *v*. White Followers. To find the relevant *t* value for any level of significance, the researcher must know the appropriate degrees of freedom (df) as defined as *n* (total sample size) minus two. In the case of the sample size for the Black population of this project, the (df) is 41, which is the total sample size for both Black leaders and followers minus two. The size of the Black leadership sample was 14.

In determining the leaders and the followers for the samples, Black, White, and Indian, use was made of the reputational method.[13] This reputational method of identifying community leaders involves using the general opinions of the local population as to whom they consider influential.

As the interviewing progresses, eventually the same names will crop up and a consensus of opinion will emerge, indicating that so-and-so is influential. On the other hand, if a respondent's name was mentioned but not frequently enough to warrant consideration as a leader, then the respondent was considered as a follower. In order for a respondent to rank as a leader, his name was to be mentioned by no less than five other respondents. Thus, if the respondent's name failed to be mentioned frequently enough, he was identified as a follower. Because the reputational method was used, a follower's name was mentioned at least once.

Because one ethnic group cannot know another ethnic group as well as each ethnic group can know itself, more reliance was placed on the answers from the ethnic respondents as to whom they thought were influential within their own ethnic group. Despite some criticism of it, the reputational method was used.[14] The most severe criticism of this technique is that it does not really measure power, but instead the reputation for power. Also, the reputational approach assumes that what the informants observe and report accurately reflects what occurs.[15] In many projects the decision-making approach to leadership is considered best for ascertaining leadership power.[16] However, in McIntosh County, because the ethnic people do not hold any decision-making positions, the reputational approach had to be used.

With regard to the Black sample, issues of significance were determined by asking the respondents to

discuss issues they felt were of significance. By using that pattern, the respondent was allowed to initiate self-generated issues which were double-checked by the author against other issues other respondents mentioned. In this fashion the issues of racial integration, employment, corruption in government, governmental change, and making the government more responsive to Blacks were identified as being the common concerns of most Black people in McIntosh County.

The respondents viewed the issue of integration as being achieved in the public schools rather than in the neighborhoods where, because of custom and tradition, segregation still exists. To the Blacks the lack of jobs was a real concern. Most of the Blacks were looking for any job. In actuality, jobs for skilled and unskilled laborers in McIntosh County were scarce. Thus, because of their low socio-economic status and their race, Blacks said they could not find jobs. Despite the frequent comment that anyone in McIntosh County can work if he wants to work, that was not found to be the case.

In Table 5-1 the "mean score for leaders and followers relates the scores for all leaders on integration; for example, divided by the total number of Black leaders.

In looking at Table 5-1, the mean scores for the Black followers are in every instance higher (rankings of 4 and 5 indicate an unfavorable attitude toward the issue)

TABLE 5-1

BLACK LEADERS V. BLACK FOLLOWERS:
t SCORES ON THE ISSUES

Issue	Mean Score Leaders	Mean Score Followers	df	t	p*
Integration Now	2.21	2.55	41	1.05	<.40
Integration Five Years Ago	3.07	3.38	41	.797	<.60
Employment Now	3.64	3.89	41	.764	<.60
Employment Five Years Ago	4.00	4.45	41	1.375	<.20
Corruption in Government Now	4.36	4.83	41	2.75	<.01
Corruption in Government Five Years Ago	2.86	3.10	41	2.178	<.05
Changes in American System vis-a-vis Blacks Now	2.43	3.27	41	2.33	<.03
Changes in American System vis-a-vis Blacks Five Years Ago	3.07	3.90	41	2.58	<.02

*p is given for Two-Tailed Test

than for the Black leaders. This indicates that Black followers had stronger feelings about the issues. This also can indicate that Black leaders are out of touch not only with Black followers but with the political needs of the Black community. Black followers thought each issue was worse for the general Black population than the Black leaders thought. The two issues that were the worst to both Black leaders and followers were corruption in government now and national government employment five years ago. However, employment for Blacks in McIntosh County in the last five years has not improved appreciably.

The issue receiving the best consensus of opinion by both Black leaders and followers was the issue of "integration now." It is interesting to note, however, that generally the Black responses to this question were concerned with national integration first and then local integration. And yet, generally responses showed that the Blacks felt that both national and local levels of integration were not as good as they should be. Of course, this general sentiment may stem from the inability of the Blacks to break down further barriers to integration. This barrier may be derived in part from fear--the fear of economic reprisal. For instance, many Blacks in McIntosh County feel that if an individual actively supported any serious move to integrate the White neighborhoods, then something economically terrible would befall one so foolish. At least, one Black leader

confided in the interview that she understood the extent to which fear served as an impediment to her people in McIntosh County in gaining economic and social independence. However, she felt helpless individually.[17]

Although many respondents in all three groups, Black, Indian, and White, expressed concern over some of the same issues, each sample had its own distinct set of issues. From the interviews of the members of the Indian sample, the data substantiated that there were more issues of concern to the Indian population than issues of concern to the Black or White population.

In looking at Table 5-2, the low, or positive, responses to the questions of fear and discrimination indicate that most Indian respondents felt that fear among Indians was not a force hindering them from taking political action. This may be attributable to the cultural blending of Indians and Whites in McIntosh County. Thus, the Indian respondents felt that discrimination toward the Indian was occurring less frequently than discrimination toward the Blacks.

In Table 5-2 the different "df's" are attributable to the fact that not every Indian would answer each question. Many did not know or did not choose to answer. The low "df's" with regard to the questions of fear and discrimination stem from the seven full-blood Indians surveyed for this project. They spoke no English, and, as a result, the interpreter accompanied the Indian student interviewer. The

TABLE 5-2

INDIAN LEADERS *v.* FOLLOWERS:
t SCORES ON THE ISSUES

Issue	Mean Score Leaders	Mean Score Followers	df	t	p*
Education Now	1.38	1.54	24	.548	<.60
Education Five Years Ago	2.38	1.84	24	1.35	<.20
Hospitals Now	1.87	1.67	25	.503	<.80
Hospitals Five Years Ago	2.72	2.26	24	1.0535	<.20
Tribal Government Now	3.35	2.41	21	1.8096	<.10
Tribal Government Five Years Ago	2.36	2.60	19	.438	<.80
Property Rights Now	3.20	2.70	18	.773	<.60
Property Rights Five Years Ago	3.00	2.45	20	1.003	<.40
Fear Now	1.75	1.89	19	.2195	<.90
Fear Five Years Ago	1.40	1.71	15	.506	<.80
Discrimination Now	2.00	1.44	15	.939	<.40
Discrimination Five Years Ago	2.37	1.62	14	1.106	<.40

*p is given for the Two-Tailed Test

two of them could not get some of these seven respondents to conceptualize the terms "fear" and "discrimination" sufficiently enough to elicit substantive answers. Of these seven, three spoke only Creek, two did not have enough contact with Whites to answer the question, and two could not conceptualize fear and discrimination.

The Indian sample was comprised of thirty-seven re-respondents, but only twenty-six questionnaires were complete enough to use in comparing the responses to the issues. In the Indian sample (Table 5-2), both leaders and followers have lower numbers on the ladder scores on all their issue questions than did Black leaders and followers on their issue questions. This indicates that the Indian sample responses expressed a stronger degree of faith and trust in the political system than did Blacks. On certain issues, such as Education Five Years Ago, the Indian leaders' mean responses were higher on the ladder than the Indian followers', indicating a less positive feeling on the part of the leaders than the followers.

Of the issues examined in Table 5-2 the ones of particular interest due to the contrasts between the leaders and the followers are in order: Tribal government now; Hospitals five years ago; and Education five years ago.

With the issue of tribal government now, the leaders thought that the government was better five years ago than now. The followers thought that tribal government was beter

now than it was five years ago. Both leaders and followers felt that their hospitals and education were better now than five years ago.

The strongest difference between the Indian leaders and followers was concerning Tribal Government Now ($p<.10$) where the Indian followers thought that Tribal Government was in better shape than did the leaders. Also on the topics of Education Five Years Ago ($p.<20$) and Hospitals Five Years Ago ($p<.20$), Indian followers once again exhibited more positive responses to the quality and condition of Indian education and hospitals than did Indian leaders.

Because of cultural differences, the Indian perceives fear as an emotion the individual learns to control. Therefore, to the Indian fear is no impediment to his political activity, although the Indian respondents' reticence in being interviewed might be construed as a type of fear.

Table 5-3 shows the results of the White sample and includes only four issues. Efforts to generate responses from White county residents to questions of local importance to test responses between White leaders and followers ran into problems. There was little consensus among White respondents as to what the current issues of importance might be. As a result, the only issues that seemed to touch all White respondents were the issues of the economy and corruption in government. Issues of a county-wide nature

TABLE 5-3

WHITE LEADERS V. FOLLOWERS:
t SCORES ON THE ISSUES

Issue	Mean Score Leaders	Mean Score Followers	df	t	p*
Economy Now	3.92	4.25	30	.7655	<.40
Economy Five Years Ago	2.83	2.25	30	1.394	<.20
Corruption Now	4.54	4.55	29	.015	<1.00
Corruption Five Years Ago	3.93	3.30	29	1.434	<.20

*p is given for the Two-Tailed Test

in which residents from the various towns took an interest in a single issue did not emerge during the interviewing. As a result, the comparisons throughout this project are within groups, i.e., leaders v. followers, more than they are between groups, i.e., Whites v. Blacks or Indians.

The ethnic respondents were at times concerned with national developments, among them integration, employment, and education. However, both Blacks and Indians, because of their lower socio-economic position within the county, preferred to view these problem areas as areas of local concerns with the hope for immediate relief to them personally. This attitude did not transcend any genuine expression of futuristic hope for additional jobs or more education for the national Black or Indian population.

Table 5-4 shows that generally Black leaders and followers are either in the middle or toward the bad or negative side of the issues both five years ago and now. Only four out of a total of sixteen mean scores for the Black population are less than 3.00, indicating their skepticism about the political system.

Table 5-4 shows that the Indian sample is far more trustful and optimistic about the governmental system than the Blacks. Of twenty-four different mean score responses among Indian leaders and followers, twenty-one of them were less than 3.00, or on the optimistic side, and ten of those were less than 2.00, indicating a fairly strong degree of

TABLE 5-4

THREE GROUP LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS: DIFFERENCES ON ISSUES FIVE YEARS AGO AND NOW AND *t* SCORES

Issue	Group	Mean Score 5 Yrs. Ago	Mean Score Now	df	t	p*
Integration	Black Leaders	3.07	2.21	26	2.13	<.05
	Black Followers	3.38	2.55	56	2.85	<.01
Employment	Black Leaders	4.00	3.64	26	.812	<.60
	Black Followers	4.45	3.89	56	1.88	<.05
Corruption	Black Leaders	2.86	4.36	26	4.65	<.001
	Black Followers	3.10	4.83	56	4.99	<.001
Change Political System	Black Leaders	3.07	2.43	26	1.76	<.10
	Black Followers	3.90	3.27	56	2.16	<.025
Education	Indian Leaders	2.38	1.38	24	3.11	<.01
	Indian Followers	1.84	1.54	24	.840	<.40
Hospitals	Indian Leaders	2.72	1.87	24	2.09	<.05
	Indian Followers	2.26	1.67	25	1.42	<.20
Tribal Government	Indian Leaders	2.36	3.35	20	1.98	<.10
	Indian Followers	2.60	2.41	20	.322	<.70
Property Rights	Indian Leaders	3.00	3.20	18	.520	<.60
	Indian Followers	2.45	2.70	20	.549	<.60
Fear	Indian Leaders	1.40	1.75	18	.620	<.60
	Indian Followers	1.71	1.89	14	.243	<.80
Discrimination	Indian Leaders	2.37	2.00	14	.513	<.60
	Indian Followers	1.62	1.44	15	.338	<.70
Economy	White Leaders	2.83	3.91	22	1.86	<.10
	White Followers	2.25	4.25	38	6.37	<.0001
Corruption	White Leaders	3.91	4.54	20	1.59	<.10
	White Followers	3.30	4.55	38	3.89	<.001

*p is given for the Two-Tailed Test

optimism. The generally low mean scores among both Indian leaders and followers demonstrated a more "trustful" attitude toward the American political system in comparison to the attitude held by Blacks.

In the White sample the comparison of both White leaders and followers produced higher *t* scores on the questions of the status of the economy and corruption. For instance, there was a decided difference in attitudes between the items about "what is happening now" as compared to "what happened five years ago." High numerical *t* scores indicate a large difference between leaders and followers with regard to these issues which may be up or down from one issue to the next, with the probability values ranging from ($p<.10$) to ($p<.0001$).

It is also true that the interviewing of these White leaders and followers occurred during the continuing exposure of the Watergate scandal during the Summer of 1974, which is evident in the negative responses to corruption. During this period the economy also continued its inflationary spiral. Perhaps for these reasons both White leaders and followers viewed the economy and governmental corruption as worse today than five years ago. At that time issues of poverty and discrimination were secondary to White interests in corruption in national government. The reader is reminded that the larger mean score indicates the respondent's lack of confidence and dissatisfaction with the issue, whereas the

TABLE 5-5

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES
ON CORRUPTION AMD ECONOMY

Issue	Group	Mean Score Blacks	Mean Score Whites	df	t	p*
Economy Now	Leaders	3.64	3.91	24	.5133	<.80
	Followers	3.89	4.25	47	1.03	<.40
Economy Five Years Ago	Leaders	4.00	2.83	24	2.43	<.025
	Followers	4.45	2.25	47	7.73	<.001
Corruption Now	Leaders	4.36	4.54	24	.56	<.80
	Followers	4.83	4.55	47	1.68	<.10
Corruption Five Years Ago	Leaders	2.86	3.91	23	2.75	<.02
	Followers	3.10	3.30	47	1.01	<.40

*p is given for the Two-Tailed Test

lower mean score indicates the respondent's favorable attitude or confidence in this particular issue.

Table 5-4 seeks to show all of the issues for all three groups and the mean scores and t scores and probabilities for both the leaders and the followers of all three groups. This table was devised by drawing together data appearing in Tables 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3 into capsulated form.

Although the questions on the issues asked of the different groups were phrased differently, in this study it is still possible to draw inter-group comparisons. For example, in Table 5-5, extracted from Table 5-4 for closer scrutiny, some comparisons are attempted. Thus, the question of "Employment" asked of Blacks is equated with the question of the "Economy" asked of Whites, because generally Blacks and Indians did not own a great deal of property or business interests. Therefore, Blacks and Indians thought of the issue of Economy as Employment. The table shows that Blacks had decidedly stronger views five years ago. They felt the economy was in poor shape as compared to the Whites' feeling of well-being [($p<.10$), to ($p<.001$)]. Black followers also thought corruption in government now was worse than did White followers ($p<.10$), and Black leaders thought corruption five years ago was far worse than did White leaders ($p<.02$).

Ethnically related local issues having to do either with discrimination or deprivation were related in the

interviews. Respondents talked of "years ago," presumably in the late 1950s, when Blacks could not swim in the municipal pool in Eufaula. One day a group of Blacks went to the pool, confronted the manager, and in a subsequent city council meeting were successful in getting the policy of exclusion changed. Another topic of discrimination during the time this survey was taken involved the lack of Black teachers in the public schools of McIntosh County. Only a few Blacks were employed, generally as janitors and cooks. Discussions of NAACP meetings centered on the idea of causing a confrontation with the local school board over this issue. But it was decided that the local NAACP would have to "get itself together" in terms of cohesion and leadership before undertaking such a project. Some two years after these NAACP meetings no such confrontation had taken place as far as can be determined.

Other local issues were generally not clearly voiced, but did influence people's votes and outlook on the local political scene. Toward the conclusion of the interviewing for this project,[18] a city councilman from Eufaula mentioned an impending Grand Jury investigation in McIntosh County.[19] There has been no mention by any other source of possible corruption and laxness of the Eufaula city government or McIntosh County government. Further interviewing did not provide any verification of these charges from any other sources.

Interestingly, however, 260 county residents did sign a petition asking for a Grand Jury to be called. And a twelve-member Grand Jury, four men--eight women, was empanelled on November 15, 1974.[20] In four days of hearings only nine witnesses appeared; of the nine, three were volunteer witnesses who were not among the 260 signers of the petition presented to the court.[21]

The jury report admonished the citizens who signed the petition for "possessing feelings strong enough to compel them to sign a petition demanding a Grand Jury and then refusing or neglecting to appear before the Grand Jury."[22] The judge in charge told the jury he "heartily concurred" with their findings and "regretted having to drag hard-working people away from their homes" to be on the Grand Jury.[23]

Of the three witnesses who appeared who had not signed the original petition, two were cattlemen who testified about the problem of stray cattle. An attorney from the State Attorney-General's office quipped, "That might be the most pressing problem we find here."[24]

The initial informant of the Grand Jury investigation[25] was the initiator of the petition drive to call the Grand Jury. Around town he was generally dismissed as a meddler, kook, chronic complainer, or a political opportunist seeking the mayor's job. Mary Rule, editor of the *Indian Nations Journal*, stated "Clark wants to run Eufaula

like New York City, but it can't be done."[26] Because Clark had only been in Eufaula for two years, he was considered an outsider and was attacked in the press. "We have some new councilmen who didn't seem to like Eufaula. . . . It might be well to check into Mr. Clark's background. He says he came here from a small town in Kansas, but no one seems to know him."[27] Mr. Clark, who had been appointed to fill in an unexpired term on the council, subsequently resigned following the Grand Jury fiasco and did not seek re-election in the April 1975 city elections.[28]

The difficulty with having a Grand Jury investigation lingering over the heads of McIntosh County residents while this study was in the final stages of interviewing was that on occasion respondents were less than candid. One was also left with the impression that on some occasions respondents were telling the interviewer what they thought he wanted to hear, "Giving him some dirt" with which to write false conjectures about the county.

Fortunately because the bulk of the work on this project had been concluded before the news or and work of the Grand Jury started, it does not appear that the Grand Jury investigation was a serious impediment to this project. However, with the T.V. and radio coverage of the Watergate investigation, corruption in government as an issue overshadowed other issues on a local level.

Strategies

In McIntosh County what can ethnic people do to maximize their chances for success? How can these ethnic peoples, both individually and collectively, improve their approach to problems? And what can the Indian learn from the Black?

Political strength as exemplified in slogans such as "Black Power" and "Red Power" means to build up within ethnic communities political and economic clout. Scholarly literature indicates that easing tensions between groups is essential to satisfying the aspirations of minority groups.[29] "If we are to ease the tensions between groups then we must be prepared to make radical changes in our political structures," says Deloria.[30] Another author, Holden, urges a detente between Blacks and Irish, Italian, and Polish in large cities as a starting place for a cooling off of tensions.[31] Holden's prescription for power-seeking ethnic leaders will work as long as his assumption that the Black and Irish suffer from the same type of discrimination is correct. However, Holden does concede that politically "Euro-Americans are generally better off than Afro-Americans, but they are not incomparably better off."[32]

The nature of the system in McIntosh County clearly reflects Holloway's conclusion as to the dominance of Whites. Whites, being the majority of the population, "have great economic resources at their disposal including the wealth

and prestige of top businessmen. They have the skills and established organization, and they dominate all the organs of government."[33] Blacks and Indians in McIntosh County are currently emerging politically from a background of repression and deprivation. Thus, any attempted coalition among Blacks and Indians in McIntosh County over specific shared objectives could hardly result in anything but White domination. Currently in McIntosh County both Blacks and Whites have aligned themselves into a conservative coalition, so that in Holloway's framework, Blacks can deal with those at the top of the hierarchy in political, economic, and racial matters.[34] The same point could also be made for the Indians of McIntosh County.

Frequently, White elites confided to the interviewers that when they wanted something done in the Black or Indian community or had some favor to extract from those communities they would establish contact with certain key influentials and that individual would "deliver" for them. Whites generally believes that Blacks and Indians who considered themselves as influential "expected" politics to be conducted in this manner because it gave them prestige in their communities to state that they had access to centers of White power. If White politicians did not deal with them in this fashion, then Black and Indian leaders would call or come by and want to know why they had not been contacted about some issue or problem. Deloria's prescription is appropriate here:

> With the continued threat of co-optation facing minority groups as they are presently constituted, it is imperative that the basic sovereignty of the minority group be recognized. This would have the immediate effect of placing racial minorities in a negotiating position as a group and would nullify co-optation. While there would be the constant desire to co-opt, the chances of such behavior would be lessened and a balance of power could be achieved through political alliances.[35]

Since the ethnic people in McIntosh County want to enter into the existing economic and social mainstream of the county as opposed to wanting some form of fundamental change within the current economic system or social system within the county, the most useful political strategy available to ethnic peoples appears to be clientage.[36] This is a fundamental relationship in nearly all politics. Clientage is based on the assumption that as Holden puts it, "If you haven't got power yourself keep powerful friends."[37] Clientage purports to accept the structure of race relations as it currently exists, biding for time to unite the various factions within an ethnic group around certain common objectives. This approach contrasts to opposition as a strategy which seeks to change the pattern or structure of race relations. Separatism or tactical withdrawal are further alternatives.

Integration of the teachers of the McIntosh County public schools is a good example of clientage at work for both Black and Indian groups. Both groups seem interested in this objective and are working together to get more Black and Indian teachers into the public schools while at the same time trying to unite the various factions within each

group to be more cohesive when grappling with other problems in the future. In McIntosh County clientage could be effective as a political tool for any issue deemed mutually beneficial by both Whites and ethnic peoples.

Holden mentioned other possible political strategies for Black people to consider, such as using opposition, both constitutional and moral, including withdrawal, separatism, tactical withdrawal, and value withdrawal.[38] These so-called solutions are not practical for McIntosh County, however. Constitutional opposition involves the use of law suits to challenge White dominance under the belief that legal action would force Whites to change their pattern of political dealings with Blacks. Moral opposition implies "non-violent direct action,"[39] such as was practiced by the late Martin Luther King. The primary limitation of moral opposition is that it is a weapon best directed at specific objectives[40] and in McIntosh County there are no issues that command the measure of Black support needed to effectuate the tactic of moral opposition. The political tactics of genuine separatism, cultural, political, or both, are not suited to the interests of Blacks living in McIntosh County, who want to get into the mainstream of activities rather than withdraw.

In McIntosh County at this time and probably for a long time to come the politics of separatism or withdrawal for ethnic peoples will be doomed to failure, mostly because of inept leadership which cannot gain the confidence of the Black followers. As Holloway puts it:

> Independence as a pragmatic approach to bargaining is a strategy full of peril. These perils include leadership isolation from followers as leaders shift from one alliance to another, and the leaders must know their followers and have their trust and confidence.[41]

Some forms of direct action such as demonstrations, having local churches place all their collections in escrow until the national churches come to their aid locally, or having public surveillance programs pinpoint administrative bureacurats who are inefficient and corrupt, could be used in the future. But it would depend upon ethnic people in McIntosh County coming together in a more coherent fashion than is presently the case.

Currently in McIntosh County, the reluctance of Whites to recognize the ethnic peoples as having their own legitimate power base could be a significant political factor. If the ethnic groups emerge as self-assertive in McIntosh County, Whites will have to be prepared to deal with them on a more equal footing than they have. Generally, the Whites have relegated minority people to a position of having little negotiating power vis-a-vis Whites. Ethnic peoples collectively need to take some stands on issues through their groups to demonstrate to the dominant White society their desire and demand to function within the political arena as separate entities.

Both groups, Blacks and Indians, need to become active within the structures of both political parties. This activity would be purely a tactical move having as its objective the acquiring of key positions within the organizational

decision-making processes of the major political parties. The tactic would be to penetrate the political party structure, not merely to deliver votes for that party.[42] The function of Blacks and Indians within the local party structure would increase the need for more aggressive politics and would alert Whites to the realization that Black and Indian peoples are an upcoming political phenomenon in the future that must be dealt with, and cannot be easily dismissed.[43]

At the present time in McIntosh County the political strategies employed by both Blacks and Indians can be described as conservative. According to Matthew Holden, "'Why haven't you got accepted leaders?' is the White man's version of the Black man's question, 'Why can't we get ourselves together?'"[44]

Until a more sophisticated form of clientage is developed in McIntosh County, coupled with involvement within the workings of the Democratic and Republican parties, ethnic peoples will continue to be generally overlooked and underrated by the dominant White power structure in the county.

Conclusions

One conclusion drawn from the research experience in this rural area is that the present orientation as opposed to the future orientation of the respondents made the implementation of the self-anchoring striving scale difficult. It was particularly so with regard to questions concerning the issues and how the respondents felt about the issues projected

ahead five years in the future. The fact that Banfield and Cantril have found that lower socio-economic groups are more concerned with the present, not with the future, was verified by this research project.

This study also shed light on the question of determining ethnic leaders by demonstrating that the reputational approach was the only technique available. Blacks and Indians were virtually non-existent in positions of power and contributed little, if any, input into the county's decision-making process that reflected the Black or Indian communities' point of view.

The project indicates that with regard to the Black sample the Black followers tended to consider the plight of the Black man worse than the Black leaders in each issue area examined. Because of the cultural blending between Indians and Whites in McIntosh County, the Indians felt better equipped to influence decision-making in McIntosh County than the Blacks felt. The Indian respondents were more optimistic about the way things were going in McIntosh County than were the Blacks.

This chapter also examined several theoretical political tactics reviewed in the literature with regard to ethnic group tactics in approaching the dominant White power structure. The tactic that has the greatest chance of success in McIntosh County is clientage. In this case ethnic peoples align themselves on an issue-by-issue basis with powerful

Whites who share a common interest with ethnic people in seeing that those certain issues are resolved for the mutual benefit of the community.

Attempts to uncover what the three groups in McIntosh County felt were salient issues and what, if anything, had been done about these issues, led to the conclusion that in fact ethnic people identified issues of concern more readily than did Whites. However, because the ethnic people had been unable or unwilling to pursue any issue of concern, individually or through a group, no action had been taken on any issues. Of course, one can also conclude that it is perhaps politically idealistic to assume everyone is interested enough in issues to seek action through the interest group process.

Again, one must consider that there was possibly some lack of candor on the part of all respondents regarding what they had done about certain issues. One always doubts that pat answer, "no issues of importance have come up in McIntosh County recently."[45] Besides this problem, the difficulty experienced in administering the self-anchoring striving scale to Indian people should be instructive to future researchers. Other researchers may want to develop more precise methods of measurement.

Footnotes

[1]Hadley Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), p. 22.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Clare Sellitz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, revised edition (New York: Henry Holt Company, 1959), p. 367.

[4]Oliver Benson, Political Science Laboratory (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 235-236.

[5]Of these seven respondents, three spoke only Creek, and two additional respondents had trouble understanding the difference between good and bad. The final two respondents claimed they did not have enough contact with Whites to understand the questions dealing with fear and discrimination.

[6]Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns, p. 150.

[7]Ibid., p. 73.

[8]Ibid., p. 13.

[9]Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City Revisited (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1974), p. 54.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., p. 61.

[12]In McIntosh County in 1970, 12.2% of all persons over the age of 25 had less than five years of schooling, which is the Federal government's definition of illiterate. The national average for illiteracy in 1970 was 4.7% of the population. Source: Health Planning Data, Linda Smith, Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1974, Eastern Oklahoma Development District, Table 13, p. 22. Also see Table 1-1, p. 8.

[13]The earliest and still one of the most significant reputational studies of community power structure is Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[14]Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 150-153.

[15]Ibid., p. 153.

[16]Ibid., pp. 149-150, and 153-155.

[17]Interview with Mrs. Zetta Burkhalter, Summer 1974, in which she related that many Black women bought from only certain stores in Checotah and were afraid to buy from other stores for fear that their credit would be taken away at the original stores because of their trying to shop elsewhere.

[18]Total elapsed time for all facets of interviewing including pre-test and follow-up work was one calendar year.

[19]It was very fortunate for this project that this development did not occur sooner or the author would have been unable to complete the interviewing because of suspicion on the part of the county residents.

[20]"County Grand Jury Investigation Underway," The Indian Journal, Eufaula, Oklahoma, November 21, 1974, p. 1. There were eleven different charges of poor government and management eventually brought by this interviewee before the County Grand Jury. Included were:

(1) Mayor of Eufaula illegally drew two salaries of Mayor and City Manager;
(2) Laxity of City Police Department resulting in upswing of crime (30 burglaries in ninety days in Eufaula alone);
(3) An illegal $10 per month pay raise for city officials without council approval;
(4) A "less than precise manner of adopting, deleting, or amending city ordinances";
(5) Legality of a one-cent city sales tax to build a new city hospital.

[21]"No Indictments Returned by Eufaula Grand Jury," Muskogee Daily Phoenix, November 31, 1974, p. 1.

[22]"No Indictments Returned by Eufaula Grand Jury," The Indian Journal, Eufaula, Oklahoma, November 28, 1974, p. 1.

[23]Ibid.

[24]"Grand Jury Finds Little Information," McIntosh County Democrat, Checotah, Oklahoma, November 21, 1974, p. 1.

[25]Interview with Mr. Clint Clark, Councilman, Eufaula, Oklahoma, November 1974.

[26]Interview with the Editor of The Indian Journal, Eufaula, Oklahoma, November 1974.

[27]Ibid.

[28]He expressed amazement to this interviewer over the fact that people would not come before the Grand Jury. He was convinced that the county was being tightly run by a clique, a throwback to a few years ago when "The Seven Horsemen of the Apocalypse" ran the county. When pressed for specific names he either acted like he could not remember some of them or he refused to divulge them.

[29]Vine Deloria, Jr., We Talk, You Listen, Chapter 3, "Tactics or Strategy," pp. 45-70, and Chapter 6, "Another Look at Black Power," pp. 104-119; Matthew Holden, Jr., The Politics of the Black Nation; Chapter 7, "The Next Five Years: Modifying Political Tactics," pp. 187-212; Henry Holloway, "Negro Political Strategy: Coalition or Independent Power Politics," reprinted in Jack R. Van Der Sills, Black Conflict with White America (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 89-107.

[30]Deloria, We Talk, You Listen, pp. 111-112.

[31]Holden, Politics of the Black Nation, pp. 188-189.

[32]Ibid., p. 190.

[33]Holloway, p. 100.

[34]Ibid., p. 101.

[35]Deloria, We Talk, You Listen, p. 118.

[36]Holden, Politics of the Black Nation, p. 43.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., pp. 53-83.

[39]Ibid., p. 63.

[40]Ibid., p. 65.

[41]Holloway, p. 101.

[42]Holden, Politics of a Black "Nation," p. 196.

[43]Holden argues that Blacks should run for political offices even if they know that politically and demographically they can't win because it gives ethnics good experience in politics and it alerts the White citizenry to the potential possibilities Black participants may have in the

future. There is reason to believe this concept also holds true for Indians.

[44]Ibid., p. 43.

[45]Similar comments made by all three ethnic groups--but mostly by Whites.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH AREAS

Instead of choosing the more traditional areas of research such as the presidency, Congress, or legislative behavior, a lesser known area of research, that of ethnic political behavior, was chosen. As the study progressed two unique features emerged. First, the study was done in a rural area. The second unique feature deals with the two ethnic groups studied. Most studies of ethnic political behavior have been done in urban settings. However, this study deals with ethnic political behavior in a rural Oklahoma county. The two ethnic groups in the study live in the same geographic location. In fact, the two ethnic groups, Blacks and Native Americans, have never been studied together.

The study develops typologies of leadership not only for the two ethnic groups but also for the White sample as well. Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale was used. Ryan's measurement of conventional and unconventional political participation was used to measure the respondent's political participation. The Chi Square, Fisher's Exact

Two-Tailed Chi Square, and the t test were employed to analyze the data. In order to complete the field research, two ethnic interviewers were trained in the unstructured interview method. The sample of respondents consisted of 115 people.

Since scholars argue that the size of the Black population in a county and the rural setting of a county are major factors contributing to a region's politics, the size of the county's ethnic population was an important consideration in choosing a county in Oklahoma to study. V. O. Key in his seminal work on Southern politics[1] argued that opposition to racial change in the South would be strongest in rural counties with substantial Black population.[2] This argument has been referred to by scholars as the "Black Belt Hypothesis"[3] and the phrase connotes ruralism as well as a large Black population. Although Key's research dealt primarily with electoral politics, the usefulness of his Black Belt Hypothesis is that it is stated in sufficiently general terms to be potentially applicable to any aspect of race and politics in the South.[4] Two other scholars, Matthews and Prothro, demonstrated empirically in their study of Black voter registration that there existed a critical point, at about 30 percent Black county population, at which White hostility to Black political participation became severe.[5] However, a certain hostility, a perverted paternalism, exists at lower levels by granting ethnics impulse freedoms.

In McIntosh County, Oklahoma, the percentage of Black population based on the 1970 census was 10.6 percent. This percentage was the highest percentage of Blacks in thirteen counties in Eastern Oklahoma which comprise the Cherokee Nation. Only Muskogee County, a decidedly urban county, ranked higher in its percentage of Black population. As for the Indian population, McIntosh County ranked as one of the highest, having 12.6 percent. Because of this high concentration of Blacks, plus the rural nature of the county with its poverty, the ethnics of McIntosh County live within a traditionally structured society where the power rests largely with the Whites. Blacks and Native Americans are, in fact, political outsiders, since neither group has penetrated the barriers to participate in the actual decision-making process of the county. Modernization has lagged. The lack of political modernization in McIntosh County has meant that the basic values of the citizenry have not been changed enough to mobilize individuals for more active roles in political life.

In agricultural rural settings, a paternalistic type of race relations is likely to occur in which a master-servant pattern of relationship exists. Social distance is maintained through time honored dominance of Whites and subservience is reinforced by economic dependence and tradition.[6] This study shows that pattern to exist in McIntosh County. There is an absence of political leaders or political

entrepreneurs among Blacks and Indians. Such leaders should function to translate their own political interest to other ethnic people and in the process instill a sense of expanded political participation into stable patterns of influence within a particular ethnic group. This role of party politician or political entrepreneur has been defined as "the single most important role in the area of political modernization."[7] This study indicates that racial discrimination in McIntosh County is in part a function of the lack of power ethnic people have in the political system. Group cohesiveness is needed among Blacks and Indians in order to overcome this lack of political power.

Of special interest to this study are the findings in Chapter Three, entitled "Political Participation." Overall, the ethnic people in McIntosh County believe in the democratic system and believe in trying to work within the democratic system and within each ethnic group. There have been at times relatively high levels of political participation despite the fact that generally the ethnic resident and his vote have been manipulated. In McIntosh County the ethnic voters turn out in greater numbers for local elections than they do for national elections. Of course, it must be remembered that a portion of the turn-out consists of ethnic persons who are more interested in local elections because they must deal daily with the local Sheriff or County Commissioner. The study also showed that ethnic people do not always vote

for a candidate of their ethnic group just because of his skin color. Both the Black and Native American Indian candidates had unsuccessfully sought elective office. The reason for their failure, according to ethnic respondents, was that neither candidate had earned the respect or trust of his ethnic community.

Chapter Three also indicates that because they enjoy more cultural and racial mobility than Blacks, Indians have had the option of taking their cues from either the White society or the Indian society. As a result, Native Americans appear to participate in more direct methods of political influence than Blacks. Native Americans have talked to politicians, run for office themselves, and, in some cases, actually have been elected. They have also written to politicians and contributed money to political campaigns.

On the other hand, Blacks in McIntosh County generally have been relegated to the more supportive means of participation. For instance, they have displayed stickers, worked for others in campaigns, and attended rallies. Blacks have limited their political participation generally out of fear, particularly out of fear of economic coercion. The Blacks in McIntosh County economically are dependent on the White merchants for credit. One must note here that, culturally, the Indian perceives fear differently from the Blacks, who traditionally have lived with fear and intimidation. The Native American is taught to be brave.

In Chapter Four of this study, the cultural differences between the three groups made the comparison of leadership typologies difficult. However, some interesting similarities between the actual leaders in the typologies did emerge. All three groups, Black, Indian, and White, had leaders who were active participants in community activities and who tried to shape public opinion. All three groups had leaders who appeared to vacillate between altruistic and personal motives for being involved in public affairs.

Two interesting differences between the three groups of leaders studied was the geographic range of influence and the leaders' ages. Among the Indian respondents, Indian leaders were known throughout the county. Black and White leaders were usually recognized for their influence in specific towns within the county. In both the Black and Indian sample the average age for the top five leaders was older than the average age of the top five White leaders. And the Black leaders were the oldest of all. Two factors that might account for this are the fact that the younger ethnic people have been leaving McIntosh County and the tendency within both ethnic communities to believe that with age and length of residence comes trust.

In both ethnic samples, women seem to hold key positions since three out of the top five leaders were women. The women leaders in the Indian sample were younger and better educated than the Black women leaders. However, in the White sample there were no women leaders.

Not only was ethnic leadership in McIntosh County fragmented, but the leaders of the Black sample could not identify any Indian leaders, and Indian leaders were equally ignorant of Black leadership. The study showed that White leaders thought they knew who the leaders of the Black and Indian communities were, but when the leadership data were analyzed, the results proved the White leaders were incorrect in their assessment of ethnic leadership in McIntosh County.

Perhaps it is the organizations to which ethnic and Whites belong that describe the separatist situation in McIntosh County. This study indicates that ethnic organizations are generally ineffectual in achieving political goals. Blacks and Indians do not hold offices in the leading White organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce or the Democratic and Republican parties, which influence political and social politics. Thus, Blacks and Indians have their own organizations which are politically ineffectual. However, these organizations provide a public forum for ethnic grievances. For the Blacks, the NAACP provides a place for discussion of national policies in relation to McIntosh County. However, effective action is limited, namely, to discussion. Of course, the Black community has its social and religious organizations, but they do not try to effect any political pressures.

The Indian had no organization which is equivalent to the Black's NAACP. Instead, the church and Pow-Wow

clubs provide the social atmosphere for ethnic consciousness raising. However, at this time, mass media such as the Indian newspapers, magazines, and an Indian television show, are more instrumental in shaping Indian political opinion than the social or religious organizations.

In illiciting issues of importance to all three samples, Black, Indian, and White, the interviewers found that Blacks were interested in national issues such as unemployment rather than issues of local interest. Indians were interested in issues that dealt with tribal health and education, and Whites were interested in corruption in government and national economics. Many Whites claimed that there were no local issues. Of course, the respondents were expected to self-generate issues rather than being prompted by the interviewer. Since the data were gathered during the spring and summer of 1974, the height of the Watergate scandal, most respondents were more concerned with national issues than local issues.

In interviewing the ethnic people in McIntosh County, the interviewer found that these people had difficulty in conceptualizing issues that might be of importance to them in the future. The measuring device used was Hadley Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale. This difficulty arose because of the respondents being present-oriented.

Because of weak leadership and ineffectual organizations within the ethnic communities and because of the

cultural and demographic factors of this rural county, it was concluded that both groups, in order to achieve a viable role in politics, needed to employ the clientage approach rather than withdrawal or opposition. Thus, Blacks and Indians must promote issues that are of concern to them and to Whites.

Much research remains to be done in ethnic politics, particularly in the rural setting. This study dealt with a people who seem to need radical changes to move into the political mainstream. Therefore, research needs to be done in such fields in Black and Indian political movements and organizations, in Black and Indian economic and cultural behavior, and in the interaction between the formal and informal political systems of the Blacks and Indians. Research also should be done on the role of the women as opinion shapers within their ethnic communities. Most importantly, there is a need for new instruments to measure accurately the Native American cultural pluralism. In this study, the author found that in administering interview instruments to the Native American sample, there existed a language barrier. In some cases, an interpreter was needed; in others, it was a matter of language content. To this end, political scientists need to be trained in gathering research data from ethnic groups, particularly Indians, whose culture presents special problems of political analysis and understanding.

This study was limited in scope but did accomplish many objectives. The major accomplishments were the

development of leadership typologies for two ethnic groups living in the same rural locality and shedding some light on the modes of political participation that occur within this setting. Of course, in retrospect, it is seen that the study would have been stronger if the ethnic interviewers had been people from McIntosh County. Academic disciplines reflect in some degree the society in which they develop. These disciplines are framed by philosophical systems which reflect the reality of certain groups.[8] This study has shown that there are alternative political realities which exist between different cultures. The task remains the same--delineating the dancer from the dance.

As a pilot project dealing with two ethnic groups, Blacks and Indians, in a rural setting this study has merit if it does little more than add to the interest of other scholars in pursuing similar lines of inquiry. The difficulties are real enough but so are the opportunities.

Footnotes

[1]V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Knopf, 1949).

[2]Ibid., p. 5.

[3]Earl Black, "The Militant Segregationist Vote in the Post-Brown South: A Comparative Analysis," Social Science Quarterly 54, No. 1 (June 1973): 66.

[4]Ibid., p. 67.

[5]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration," American Political Science Review 57 (March 1963): 29.

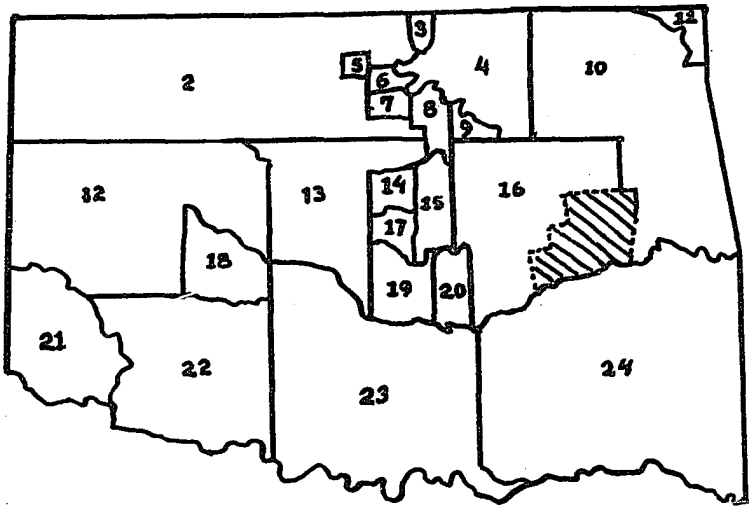
[6]Milton D. Morris, The Politics of Black America, p. 17.

[7]Lester M. Salamon, "Leadership and Modernization: The Emerging Black Political Elite in the American South," The Journal of Politics 35 (1973): 618.

[8]Ronald Walters, "The Social Construction of Black Political Reality," The Black Scholar (April 1976): 29-73.

Appendix A

Indian Nations

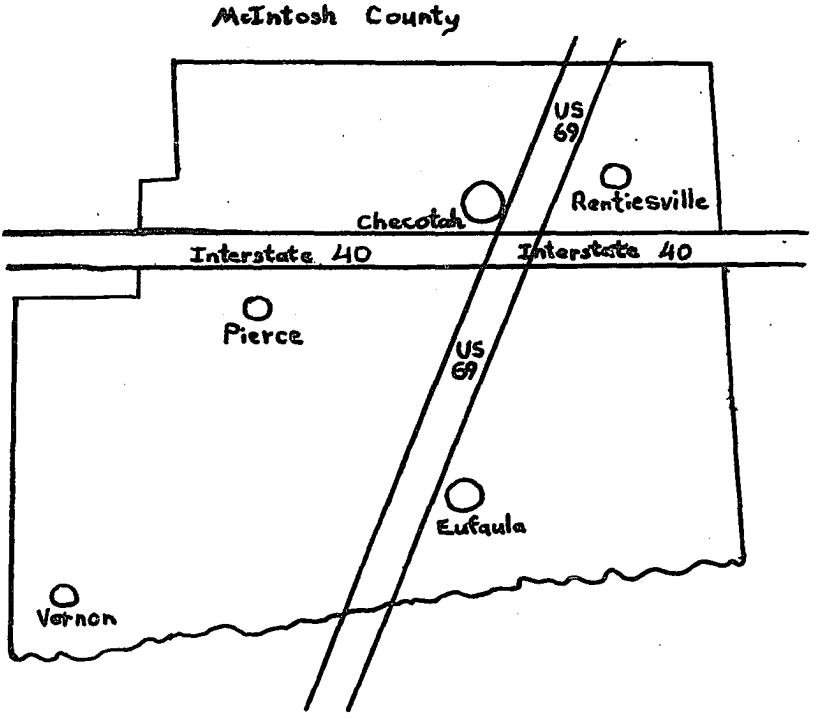


1

1. No Man's Land
2. Cherokee Outlet
3. Kaw
4. Osage
5. Tonkawa
6. Ponca
7. Oto and Missouri
8. Pawnee
9.
10. Cherokee
11. Peoria, Quapaw, Modoc, Ottawa, Shawnee, Wyandotte, and Seneca
12. Cheyenne
13. Unassigned Lands
14. Iowa
15. Sac and Fox
16. Creek
17. Kickapoo
18. Wichita and Caddo
19. Pottawatomie and Shawnee
20. Seminole
21. Greer County
22. Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache
23. Chickasaw
24. Choctaw

*Redrawn from Reconstruction in Indian Territory (M. Thomas Bailey, Kennikat Press, 1972, p. 82)
///// McIntosh County

Appendix B



Checotah 1970 Population = 3,074
Eufaula 1970 population = 2,355

APPENDIX C

WITHIN GROUP LEADER V. FOLLOWER CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL PARTICIPATION RATES

	INDIAN LEADERS	INDIAN FOLLOWERS
Talk to politician	14	12
Does not talk to politician	1	9
(N)	(15)	(21)
p = .0168 Fisher Exact .0245		
Attend political rally	11	10
Does not attend political rallies	4	12
(N)	(15)	(22)
p = .0929 Fisher Exact .1757		
Work in campaign	7	4
Has not worked in campaign	8	18
(N)	(15)	(22)
p = .0629 Fisher Exact .0802		
Wears button	7	8
Does not wear button	8	14
(N)	(15)	(22)
p = .531 Fisher Exact 1.00		
Displays sticker	6	7
Does not display sticker	9	14
(N)	(15)	(21)
p = .682 Fisher Exact 1.00		
Writes to politician	6	7
Has not written to politician	9	15
(N)	(15)	(22)
p = .6087 Fisher Exact 1.00		

	INDIAN LEADERS	INDIAN FOLLOWERS
Contributes money to campaign Does not contribute money (N) p = .2251 Fisher Exact .3003	7 8 (15)	6 16 (22)
Run for office Has not run for an office (N) p = .784 Fisher Exact 1.00	4 11 (15)	5 17 (22)
Involved in local issue Not involved in local issue (N) p = .4566 Fisher Exact .5164	8 7 (15)	9 13 (22)
Participate in boycott Has not participated in boycott (N) p = .2301 Fisher Exact .5045	0 15 (15)	2 20 (22)
Participate in picket line Has not participated in picket line (N) p = .4026 Fisher Exact 1.00	0 15 (15)	1 21 (22)
Participate in protest Has not participated in protest (N) p = .4026 Fisher Exact 1.00	0 15 (15)	1 21 (22)

	BLACK LEADERS	BLACK FOLLOWERS
Talk to politician	11	18
Does not talk to politician	3	10
(N)	(14)	(28)
p = .3452 Fisher Exact .4852		
Attend political rally	11	22
Does not attend political rallies	3	6
(N)	(14)	(28)
p = 1.00 Fisher Exact 1.00		
Work in campaign	7	8
Has not worked in campaign	7	20
(N)	(14)	(28)
p = .1707 Fisher Exact .1935		
Wears button	4	13
Does not wear button	10	15
(N)	(14)	(28)
p = .2670 Fisher Exact .3308		
Displays sticker	10	10
Does not display sticker	4	18
(N)	(14)	(28)
p = .0293 Fisher Exact .0488		
Writes to politician	7	8
Has not written to politician	7	20
(N)	(14)	(28)
p = .1707 Fisher Exact .1935		

	BLACK LEADERS	BLACK FOLLOWERS
Contributes money to campaign Does not contribute money (N) p = .4814 Fisher Exact 1.00	2 12 (14)	3 25 (28)
Run for office Has not run for an office (N) p = .4249 Fisher Exact .4508	4 10 (14)	5 23 (28)
Involved in local issue Not involved in local issue (N) p = .0285 Fisher Exact .0478	11 3 (14)	12 16 (28)
Participate in boycott Has not participated in boycott (N) p = .6084 Fisher Exact 1.00	1 13 (14)	1 27 (28)
Participate in picket line Has not participated in picket line (N) p = .6084 Fisher Exact 1.00	1 13 (14)	1 27 (28)
Participate in protest Has not participated in protest (N) p = .5003 Fisher Exact .6496	1 13 (14)	4 24 (28)

	WHITE LEADERS	WHITE FOLLOWERS
Talk to politician	12	20
Does not talk to politician	0	1
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .4425 Fisher Exact 1.00		
Attend political rally	10	20
Does not attend political rallies	2	1
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .2526 Fisher Exact .5381		
Work in campaign	9	13
Has not worked in campaign	3	8
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .4425 Fisher Exact .7026		
Wears button	10	11
Does not wear button	2	10
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .0751 Fisher Exact .133		
Displays sticker	9	15
Does not display sticker	3	6
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .8259 Fisher Exact 1.00		
Writes to politician	11	16
Has not written to politician	1	5
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .2670 Fisher Exact .3792		

	WHITE LEADERS	WHITE FOLLOWERS
Contributes money to campaign	11	17
Does not contribute money	1	4
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .4088 Fisher Exact .6301		
Run for office	7	5
Has not run for office	5	16
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .0477 Fisher Exact .0674		
Involved in local issue	6	4
Not involved in local issue	6	17
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .0629 Fisher Exact .1142		
Participate in boycott	0	1
Has not participated in boycott	12	20
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .4427 Fisher Exact 1.00		
Participate in picket line	1	0
Has not participated in picket line	11	21
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .1802 Fisher Exact .3636		
Participate in protest	0	2
Has not participated in protest	12	19
(N)	(12)	(21)
p = .2713 Fisher Exact .5227		

APPENDIX D

BETWEEN GROUP LEADERS V. LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS V. FOLLOWERS: CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL PARTICIPATION RATES

	WHITE LEADERS	BLACK LEADERS	INDIAN LEADERS
Talk to politician	12	11	14
Does not talk to politician	0	3	1
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.163			
Attend political rally	10	11	11
Does not attend political rallies	2	3	4
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.822			
Work in campaign	9	7	7
Has not worked in campaign	3	7	8
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = .0288			
Wears button	10	4	7
Does not wear button	2	10	8
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = .0188			
Displays sticker	9	10	6
Does not display sticker	3	4	9
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.111			
Writes to politician	11	7	6
Has not written to politician	1	7	9
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = .0186			

	WHITE LEADERS	BLACK LEADERS	INDIAN LEADERS
Contributes money to campaign	11	2	7
Does not contribute money	1	12	8
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = .00043			
Run for office	7	4	4
Has not run for office	5	10	11
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.177			
Involved in local issue	6	11	8
Not involved in local issue	6	3	7
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.248			
Participate in boycott	0	1	0
Has not participated in boycott	12	13	15
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.373			
Participate in picket line	1	1	0
Has not participated in picket line	11	13	15
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = .0541			
Participate in protest	0	1	0
Has not participated in protest	12	13	15
(N)	(12)	(14)	(15)
p = 0.373			

	WHITE FOLLOWERS	BLACK FOLLOWERS	INDIAN FOLLOWERS
Talk to politician	20	18	12
Does not talk to politician	1	10	9
(N)	(21)	(28)	(21)
p = 0.0134			
Attend political rally	20	22	10
Does not attend political rallies	1	6	12
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = .0008			
Work in campaign	13	8	4
Has not worked in campaign	8	20	18
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.007			
Wears button	11	13	8
Does not wear button	10	15	14
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p =0.566			
Displays sticker	15	10	7
Does not display sticker	6	18	14
(N)	(21)	(28)	(21)
p = 0.018			
Writes to politician	16	8	7
Has not written to politician	5	20	15
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.0016			

	WHITE FOLLOWERS	BLACK FOLLOWERS	INDIAN FOLLOWERS
Contributes money to campaign	17	3	6
Does not contribute money	4	25	16
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = .0000016			
Run for office	5	5	5
Has not run for office	16	23	17
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.861			
Involved in local issue	4	12	9
Not involved in local issue	17	16	13
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.18			
Participate in boycott	1	1	2
Has not participated in boycott	20	27	20
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.691			
Participate in picket line	0	1	1
Has not participated in picket line	21	27	21
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.375			
Participate in protest	2	4	1
Has not participated in protest	19	24	21
(N)	(21)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.52			

	BLACK LEADERS	INDIAN LEADERS	BLACK FOLLOWERS	INDIAN FOLLOWERS
Talk to politican	11	14	18	12
Does not talk to politician	3	1	10	9
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(21)
p = 0.089				
Attend political rally	11	11	22	10
Does not attend political rally	3	4	6	12
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = .057				
Work in campaign	7	7	8	4
Has not worked in campaign	7	8	20	18
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.137				
Wears button	4	7	13	8
Does not wear button	10	8	15	14
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.653				
Displays sticker	10	6	10	7
Does not display sticker	4	9	18	14
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(21)
p = 0.108				
Writes to politician	7	6	8	7
Has not written to politician	7	9	20	15
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.55				

	BLACK LEADERS	INDIAN LEADERS	BLACK FOLLOWERS	INDIAN FOLLOWERS
Contributes money to campaign	2	7	3	6
Does not contribute money	12	8	25	16
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = .046				
Run for office	4	4	5	5
Has not run for office	10	11	23	17
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.854				
Involved in local issue	11	8	12	9
Not involved in local issue	3	7	16	13
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.116				
Participate in boycott	1	0	1	2
Has not participated in boycott	13	15	27	20
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.62				
Participate in picket line	1	0	1	1
Has not participated in picket line	13	15	27	21
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.790				
Participate in protest	1	0	4	1
Has not participated in protest	13	15	24	21
(N)	(14)	(15)	(28)	(22)
p = 0.346				

APPENDIX E

Interview Name BL BF IL IF WL WF

Date of Interview

Name

Age

Length of Residence in County

Education

Occupation

Party Preference (strong or weak)

Voted in 1972 Presidential election?

Ever voted in local or tribal elections? When? Most recent?

Degree of Indian Blood Tribal Affiliation

Organizational memberships (church, civil, fraternal, social, political) (or which you are interested in)

Self Reported Frequencies of Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation.

Conventional	In your lifetime/percent who had
1. Wear button	
2. Display Sticker	
3. Write letter to Political Figure	
4. Talk Personally with Political Figure	
5. Contribute Money to Political Campaign	
6. Attend Political Meeting/ Rally	
7. Work in Election Campaign	
8. Run for Political Office	

Unconventional	Name Issue
Be Involved in Local Issue	
Boycott Store or Business	
Participate in Picket Lines	
Participate in Demonstration or Protest	
Participate in Community Organization	Name Organization

Black Sample

Issues	Now	5 Years Ago	5 Years From Now
Employment			
Integration			
Corruption in Government (Watergate)			
The American System (changing the restructuring)			
Other Issues			

Indian Sample

Issues	Now	5 Years Ago	5 Years From Now
Health and Hospitals			
Education			
Tribal Government			
Property Rights			
Other Issues			

Indian Sample

Issues	Now	5 Years Ago	5 Years From Now
Health and Hospitals			
Education			
Tribal Government			
Property Rights			
Other Issues			

White Sample

Issues	Now	5 Years Ago	5 Years From Now
Corruption in Government (Watergate)			
The Economy			
Other Issues			

APPENDIX F

McINTOSH COUNTY LISTING OF INDIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN MUSKOGEE, SEMINOLE, WICHITA ASSOCIATION

Church and Location		Membership
Artussee 3 Mi. SW Eufaula	Dan Scott	Unknown
Big Arbor Fame, Oklahoma	Boney McIntosh	Unknown
Deep Fork Hilliabee 4 Mi. SW Checotah	Wiley July	72
Grave Creek 1 Mi. W. Hitchita	Victor Wesley	Unknown
Hickory Ground #1 6 Mi. S.W. Henryetta	Willie Saumka	Unknown
Hickory Ground #2 7 Mi. SE Henryetta	Solamon Lee	Unknown
Hilliabee 4 Mi. NW Hanna	Austin Barnett	Unknown
Hutchechuppa	Oscar Harjo	Unknown
New Arbor 2 Mi. W. Eufaula	Luke McIntosh	Unknown
Silver Spring 9 Mi. E Henryetta	Felix Tiger	Unknown
Tuskegee 6 Mi. W Eufaula	James McComb	82
Weogufkee 2 Mi. W Hanna	David McCombs	32
West Eufaula	Washie Lewis	28
Yardika 7 Mi. SE Henryetta	None	11

NOTE: According to Mr. B. Frank Belvin, Indian Field Consultant of the Southern Baptist Convention in a letter to the author dated July 29, 1974, only four of these churches make annual reports to the M.S.W. Indian Baptist Association; thus, the sketchiness of membership rolls.

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