ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATORY RESEARCH

REPORT #12

OAKLAND'S AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY: HISTORY, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO CENSUS UNDERCOUNT

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INTRODUCTION

This report has two sections: first, an overview of the historic development and the social organization of the Bay Area American Indian community with an emphasis on the Oakland area, and second, a discussion of those cultural factors which contribute to a census undercount of American Indian people in the area. The Oakland American Indian community has a unique history and configuration, but also exemplifies characteristics that are found in numerous other urban American Indian communities throughout the United States. Thus, this report illuminates widespread patterns, the understanding of which will assist in correcting problems of census undercount. The data on which this report has drawn were obtained from the Intertribal Friendship House Community History Project archives which was begun in 1978. (1.) This research project is a community resource archives containing oral histories, photographs, and documents that focus on the history of the American Indian community in the Bay Area since the 1940's. Because the Community History Project is housed at Intertribal Friendship House, 'is under its control, and is an integral part of an American Indian community-based organization, indepth, long term ethnographic techniques have played a key methodological role in the project's development during the past eleven years. Additional data for this report were obtained during the fall, winter, and spring of 1989-90.

I. HISTORY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The concept of"Community" is very important to American Indian people living in the Bay Area, and is essential to understanding American Indian self-identity and other behavioral aspects that affect census undercount. However, the very nature of the urban American Indian community in the Bay Area, as well as the conceptualization of their community by Indian people, differs in many respects from existing and widespread assumptions held by non-Indians as to what constitutes "a community", and the specifics of urban American Indian communities. To American Indians living in the Bay Area, the Community is not a location with clustered residency or neighborhoods, but rather it is a widely scattered and frequently shifting network of relationships with locational nodes found in organizations and activity sites. In order to clarify this complex and abstract definition of community, this section of the report views "community" from three different perspectives: generic characteristics, specific

characteristics of the Bay Area Indian Community, and the conceptualization of community from an American Indian perspective. This approach is the first step in explaining the potential for a census undercount of American Indians, and it is hoped, will assist in generating strategies for improving census-taking in the future.

A. FACTORS THAT CONSTITUTE A COMMUNITY

One traditional focus of ethnographic research has been the community. What are the fundamental characteristics of "a community" in a generic sense? As Arensberg (l955:ll43) has pointed out,

> It is the minimal unit realizing the categories and offices of their social organization. It is the minimal group capable of reenacting in the present and transmitting to the future the cultural and institutional inventory of their distinctive and historic tradition.

The Wilsons (l967:244) also note that communities are defined both historically and geographically, and "are areas and periods of common life of more or less intensity." For a discussion of the nature and function of the boundaries that define and delimit ethnic communities, see Barth (l969). Thus, communities encompass elements of time or history, of space or territory, of scale as a reflection of the total society, and they are bounded in such a way as to distinguish the community from beyond the community. What are those elements that signify the existence of a social group that can be designated a community, rather than simply a random grouping of people? It is both a self designation of the existence of a community, and the recognition by others, those outside, that signifies the existence of a community. The American Indian community In the Bay Area is characterized in this report as a social group:

* in which there are shared values and a shared identity by community members;

* in which basic institutions have been created and sustained; and

* in which there have emerged consistent features of social organization such as those related to social control, and the definition of distinctive and specialized roles.

These are the basic elements that constitute a community in a general sense and as they will be discussed in this report. Gaining an understanding of each of these elements gives insights into the structuring of the American Indian community, as well as the dynamics of change within the community, and relates directly to the effectiveness of the census count.

B. BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY

Throughout the United States during the 1950's, there were the beginnings of significant population shifts among American Indians as rural-to-urban migration began to take place on an increasing scale. Much of the impulse for this shift was the Federal relocation program which granted American Indians transportation from their reservations into urban areas, and in some instances provided employment and housing assistance. The San Francisco Bay Area became one of the major urban Indian centers in the United States. The following are salient characteristics of the Bay Area American Indian Community.

1. It is very tribally heterogeneous because it is the result of immigration from throughout the United States.
2. Residentially, the community is scattered, rather than clustered.
3. The social structure is characterized by a network of individuals and organizations within distinct spheres of interest and activity. A number of organizations and other special interest institutions act as nodes within this network of relatedness.
4. The extended family and tribal affiliation play important roles in community dynamics.
5. Although much of the community is characterized economically by low income, there is a developing middle class, and an increasingly diverse range of activities by community members.
6. By 1990 a multi-generational component is present, including an infant fourth generation. These children are the great-grandchildren of the wave of people who migrated to the area in the 1950's, many of whom came as a part of the relocation program.

Each of these characteristics of the American Indian community in the Bay Area is a significant factor in the census count, and will be integrated into the discussion which follows.

C. THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY: AN AMERICAN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

Since the mid-fifties, Indian people in the Bay Area have developed a consciousness of their community as a social entity. Gaining an understanding of the definition and the dimensions of the American Indian community from an Indian perspective is one step toward gaining insights into the census undercount.

Why?

*First, this definition clarifies the nature of the community and delimits the boundaries that, in the eyes of those who participate as members, segment it off from the world at large.

*Second, this definition of the community indicates membership as well as the criteria for membership; that is, within an urban context who is American Indian and who is not. This identification with, and participation in the Indian community is validation of Indianness, and is one crucial factor in racial self-identity as then reported on the census.

*Third, a thorough understanding of the definition and dynamics of the American Indian community tells us how the urban American Indian community and the individuals who make up the community are linked both actually and conceptually to "back home", or rural home territories and reservations. The linkage and movement between the urban and rural areas is a key dynamic to understanding census participation.

1. CONNOTATIONS OF TIME

An awareness of chronology is one dimension of the American Indian community in the Bay Area. This chronology consists principally of a series of events tied to dates, shared in the minds of people as symbolically significant, and fleshed out by the actors and the details of these particularly salient times. The history of the Bay Area American Indian community is discussed in some detail in section I-D. However, here it is important to note the shared symbolic meanings given to certain events and the

places and people that these events connote. For example, who in the Bay Area American Indian community does not know of "Alcatraz" and what it symbolizes, or of the role played in the Indian community by "Hilltop", a local Indian Bar of longstanding, never to be confused by those in the Community with a shopping mall of the same name, or of references by Elders to the Four Winds, a club during the l950's, or the Wednesday Night Dinner. (illustration #1). Nor is there any mistaking who is being referred to when there is mention of Floyd , or of Bill, Mrs. Carnes, or Walter, said with certain intonation and in certain circumstances. There is also shared understanding and knowledge of the history of the projects or programs that have existed in the past such as JOM or the Red Road, or the Warriors sports teams that have had an impact in the Community.

2. CONNOTATIONS OF PLACE

The second dimension of the concept of community is that of location. The American Indian community in the Oakland area is not a place in the sense of geographic neighborhoods. The geography of the "Community" to American Indian people in the Bay Area is defined by markers delineated by shared connotations and historical reference often quite distinct from those of the population at large. Oakland itself, as well as the American Indian Center, Intertribal Friendship House are prominently on the " Indian Country national conceptual map". There are geographic markers such as the enclosing hills, the Bay and the bridges that connect the East Bay with San Francisco. But these geographic features only set the stage for the " Indian map" of the area where people speak of "going up to D-Q" , the American Indian community college en route to Sacramento, or nodding with the head to the north of downtown Oakland and saying, "over by CRC" ,an American Indian family and child assistance agency. People in the community know where these points of reference are; those not participating in the community would not know. Or, for example when an Indian person comments, quite possibly totally out of context, "You going to Stanford?", the question is not "Do you attend Stanford University?" but rather , "Will I see you at the Stanford Pow-wow this May?"

Also the American Indian community is characterized by a geographic mobility as people move in and out of the city, make return visits to their rural home territories or reservations, or sometimes return there for good. As one man said, "This city is like our camp, an encampment we have set up out here that extends our territory." American Indians speak of circulating through, of establishing an encampment as

ways of indicating that living in Oakland is an extension of their original territory. At the same time, they speak longingly of "back Home", and there are shared in-group and tribally specific understandings of the connotations that "back Home" holds. These are expressed in jokes, in music, and in references to aspects of the natural world. These strong linkages to back Home are, for the most part, not broken. One simply extends the territory, often keenly aware that sacred sites are found at Home, and that after death one will be buried there. Movement through space, as movement through time, is a part of living.

3. SHARED SYMBOLS

There is one additional dimension of "the community" which is more philosophical and which may actually encompass the sense of time and connectedness to a territory. This dimension of the community is found in the culturally defined symbols brought by American Indian people into the city, which connote an individual's place in the social and natural world as well as the cosmos. It is via these shared symbols that the sense of identity and cultural persistence is achieved. For example, someone living in Oakland recently said in reference to the man in the maze symbol utilized frequently by the Otono O'odam(illustration # 2):

> "If you look at it in one way, it is a man going through the winding pathways of life. But it can also be thought of as three-dimensional, and this is like the Indian community in the city. It is like a conduit. Or taken one step further, if those crooked maze-like lines are thought of as being three dimensional, like our lives, and if they are extended out long enough beyond the horizon as our life and our time is, they eventually become straight lines, that we are also walking along. And that is our community also."

Each of these dimensions: time, place and symbol contribute to the American Indian conceptualization of the American Indian community in the Oakland area. This conceptualization in turn delineates community boundaries and membership, which profoundly affects the census count.

D. HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE BAY AREA

California Indian people have always been in what is now the Bay Area. There was traveling, trading, and intermarriage which linked people of this immediate area

with those more distant. These mechanisms continue today, but by the 1930's and 40's, a series of events took place that began to attract Indian migrants from more distant places. This was the beginning of the inter-tribal basis of the American Indian population that exists today in the Bay Area.

Many American Indians in the armed forces during the Second World War passed through the area, or were stationed in the greater Bay Area. During this same period students at boarding schools such as Sherman Institute in Riverside, California often participated in summer work programs or after finishing their studies, were placed as domestics in non-Indian homes in the Bay Area. Some of the remembrances of this period of the 1940's from the oral histories, carried out through the Community History Project at Intertribal Friendship House, speak of isolation from other Indian people and a sense of loneliness. One woman remembers, "Here I didn't have any friends. I was brought up in boarding school. I was used to all kinds of friends then. I really missed it when I first came out here. I used to lie in bed and cry sometimes because I was homesick; I mean homesick."

As American Indian people searched out one another, sometimes the bars were a focal point for meeting, or at times existing organizations such as the YWCA were. Eventually these first inter-tribal migrants to the city formed voluntary associations. One of the first of these was the Four Winds Club which carried out primarily social and recreational functions for young men and women and was based at the YWCA on Oakland. Also sports teams were developed, especially basketball, bowling, and softball teams. Most of the American Indian people who came to the Bay Area during the 1940's were young , unmarried, and planned to stay only a short time. Some eventually returned Home to rural areas and reservations, but some did stay in the city and became the founding generation of the Bay Area American Indian community.

By 1954, American Indian people began arriving in the Bay Area through the federally sponsored relocation program. Oakland was designated as one of the initial sites on the west coast. Many of the relocatees came from the plains states and the southwest. For many relocatees, this was their first experience living off reservations, out of state, or in urban areas. The majority who came were generally young adults, many unmarried. Although the actual programmatic aspects of the relocation program changed over the years, most typically a relocatee was granted transportation into an urban area, and some initial assistance in locating and paying for housing for a few months, and possibly assistance in job training. In some instances the initial housing

arranged by the B.I.A. was in apartments or hotels. One relocatee recalls,

> "We stayed in this hotel down on East l4th Street. The BIA office used to be right across the street. About fifteen of us stayed in that hotel. I think we stayed there for about two or three months. In the evening , after we spent all of our day sitting in the BIA office waiting to be called somewhere, after we filled out applications, we'd all congregate down in the lobby. We looked funny to people who saw us. There would be a gang of us walking down the street to go eat our evening meal."

Soon after the initial B.I.A. assistance ceased, many relocatees found apartments or rental housing in low rent districts dispersed throughout the area. Reflective of residence patterns that often exist in rural areas, and as a result of the tribal diversity of those migrating into the city, Indian people did not have a preference for seeking clustered housing, or building American Indian ethnic neighborhoods. This preference for non-clustered housing was informally encouraged by B.I.A. employees as there was at the time a strong assimilationist assumption as the basis for policy development within the B.I.A., and throughout the dominant society generally. Dispersed housing was considered a step toward "melting into" the population at large. Thus, early in the history of the American Indian community in the Bay Area, the spatial pattern that continues today was established.

The choice of the specific urban relocation site was made by the relocatee, often with prompting or prodding from B.I.A. employees. For many, the move into the city was like stepping off into the unknown, and actual arrival in the city was often a sudden jolt of urban reality. (Illustrations 3, 4) Many relocatees arrived with minimal language or urban survival skills, and their job skills were often not suitable for the existing job market. Many are the rueful references or jokes related to the limited job training, available through the relocation program: welding for men, and cosmetology for women.

The assistance of a few months duration provided by the relocation program and the B.I.A. office located in Oakland and later nearby Alameda were inadequate to meet the often complex, diverse, and immense survival needs of the relocatees who found themselves initially in an alien environment, often far from their homes, extended families and tribal territories. (For discussion of relocation in the Bay Area see Ablon l963, Collier l981, Englander l985, Moisa l988).

After the swell of migration to cities by American Indian people began in the fifties, stimulated in part by the Federally sponsored relocation program, a series of agencies and organizations were established by Indian people, or by the joint efforts of American Indian people and non-Indian groups, such as the American Friends Service Committee, and the YMCA. Because the locational focus of the American Indian community in the Bay Area has been organizations and their associated activities, rather than neighborhoods, it is valuable to look at the structuring and role these organizations have played in community-wide dynamics. The numerous organizations have served as nodes on the community network. They are an expression of the resistance to ethnocide through a process of fragmentation in response to external pressure, of dispersal, and then a regrouping. This dynamic is a familiar one to American Indian people, who throughout the history of Indian-White relations have sought ways to persist as a people. The structuring of the American Indian community in the Bay Area is one expression of this intent. The son of relocatees from the Southwest who grew up in an urban area and lives in the Bay Area, recently wrote:

> "In one of those cosmic ironies of sublime magnitude, the BIA's efforts to assimilate us have, in a word, backfired. By bringing together in the cities Indians from all tribes, relocation has contributed to Pan-Indianism, the movement to forsake individual tribal differences in favor of common goals. The great orators and chiefs of our past who counseled unity would have been proud."(Moisa, 1988:8)

As a reflection of the generally low income which characterized the Bay Area American Indian community, the period that lasted from the mid-fifties until the late sixties, was one of initiating the building of institutions that served to assist in basic survival needs in areas such as housing, food, education, economic pursuits, and cultural expression. Some of these Indian-focused organizations were controlled by non-Indians, which often placed Indian people in a client relationship. In other organizations, there was more of a collaborative approach to solving fundamental survival problems. In the absence of American Indian ethnic neighborhoods, these organizations and their associated events and activities provided the locational nodes in the developing community network.

One of the instrumental organizations in the Bay Area American Indian community

has been Intertribal Friendship House, (IFH) founded in 1955. This organization was founded through the efforts of the first wave of American Indian people who had come into the city a number of years before relocation, while in the military or through placement programs following graduation from boarding schools. This loosely affiliated group of American Indian people, in conjunction with representatives of the American Friends Service Committee, became the founders of Intertribal Friendship House. Being one of the first Indian focused, multi-service urban organizations in the United States, this organization became a stimulus, and to some extent an informal model, for the establishment of similar urban Indian Centers in cities throughout the United States and Canada.

IFH has had a variety of social service and social programs since its inception, including summer youth programs and educational activities, elders programs, holiday dinners(Illustration # 5), social service counseling, crisis intervention, and a gift shop. The facility is also used as a community meeting hall and conference center, and it is rented by extended families for receptions and other family events. It was during these activities that American Indian people met one another, and came together to provide mutual support, to exchange information and ideas, and to socialize. The organization has provided a neutral ground where community-wide questions can be discussed and dealt with. Here also, the frequently conflict-filled adjustments or compromises among the growing number of tribes regarding beliefs, values, behavioral styles, and long-standing intertribal histories were worked out. Ways were found to validate tribal identity, while simultaneously building an intertribal urban community. During the early years following relocation, the Indian Bars also continued to serve as focal spots in the developing community. Community-wide activities such as the recreational pow-wows were established. (See illustration # 6.)

As the American Indian community itself grew in numbers, it also diversified in terms of tribal representation, age, and occupation. This diversity was reflected in the development of specialized organizations that address specific, often fundamental needs in , for example education, health, employment, and child welfare. Others such as the sports clubs (Illustration #7) and pow-wow organizations are recreational and address social needs. With the number of American Indians in the Bay Area increasing during the 60's and 70's, the proliferation and diversification of these organizations continued. From the loneliness and isolation of the few individuals who migrated into the Bay Area in the thirties and forties, there emerged a large and active

American Indian community.

By the '60's, a new pan-Indian consciousness within the Bay Area American Indian community had begun to emerge. A landmark event was the Chicago conference in 1962, attended by delegates from the Bay Area Indian community , where they discussed with other delegates mutual concerns and a series of issues affecting American Indians on a national level. Those who attended this conference returned to the Bay Area with a sense of national, rather than only local or tribally focused perspective.

Throughout the '60's, the Bay Area was the site of social change and ferment, and the Indian community leaped into the activity. One relocatee who was trained as a welder recounts in his oral history for the IFH community history project how he was working at the University of California at Berkeley during the fall of 1965, when he heard the speeches at Sproul Plaza and then eventually joined in the demonstrations. The Black Power movement was born in Oakland, and flourished in some of the same neighborhoods where American Indian people were living. In the mid-1960's there was a short-lived occupation of Alcatraz Island by a group of American Indians living in the Bay Area. This was the precursor of the larger-scale eighteen month occupation that took place in 1969.

By the late '60's, Red Power was an idea circulating throughout the Bay Area American Indian community, and the American Indian Movement, with roots in mid-western cities had a strong contingency in the Bay Area. The children of the relocatees of the 1950's, many of whom were Plains Indian people, (as was the core of leadership in A.I.M.), had been raised in the city, and were reaching young adulthood. This generation took a more rooted urban stance than their parents, and brought concepts such as "empowerment" and "Indian identity" into their lives and that of the American Indian community.

The social awareness of the '60's affected the structure, the leadership, and the power relationships within the American Indian community. The non-Indian boards and staff members of organizations such as Intertribal Friendship House were ousted, and these organizations became Indian controlled. In the late 60's and early 70's, a number of additional institutions were established, many of an educational nature, that recognized the expanding needs of the American Indian community in the Bay area, and utilized the creativity and energy of a generation that had grown up in the multi-tribal urban setting. For example, Native American Studies programs were created at

the University of California campuses at Berkeley and Davis, as well as San Francisco State and Stanford Universities. Additionally, the Indian and Chicano run D.-Q. University was established. During the early '70's a group of concerned parents in Oakland started a small preschool which eventually evolved into an American Indian cultural enrichment school that continues to flourish. This school has had a major impact in the Bay Area American Indian community, and is a model on a national level of educational alternatives that respond to specific cultural needs. (Lobo, 1986)

Throughout the 1980's the American Indian community has continued to evolve and diversify in terms of age, tribal representation, and economic well being. The increased diversity of the American Indian community is reflected in the types of community organizations that exist. There are now over thirty American Indian run organizations in the area, and numerous less formalized special interest groups, with a very active schedule of activities. (Illustration #8). These organizational activities are focused beyond fundamental survival, which was the focus shortly following relocation. There are the pow-wow organizations and drum groups, a contemporary Indian art gallery, the sports clubs, the bars, and organizations such as Intertribal Friendship House, the Urban Indian Child Resource Center, the International Indian Treaty Council, radio programing collectives, The California Indian Legal Services, the Native American Health clinic, The American Indian Film Festival, and those with educational emphasis such as Hintil Ku Caa. Each of these organizations has experienced a unique history, and many embody a dynamic ability to shrink, expand, or transform their character as a reflection of American Indian community needs, external pressures and available resources. The specific history of any one organization exemplifies one element in an overall strategy leading to cultural survival in an urban milieu. In contrast to events of the late '60's and '70's, those organizations that address political and social issues are less likely to focus on demonstrations or takeovers, and more likely on legal approaches, education, and the weilding of influence to sway thinking. While tribal identity remains strong, there is also in 1990 the ability of those in the American Indian community to think about and participate in national and hemispheric-wide Indian concerns.

When relocation was initiated in the 1950's, the greatest number of people who migrated to the cities were young unmarried adults or young families. Later, marriages took place among those who had migrated, and many stayed to raise families in the city. Many of these marriages were inter-tribal in nature, and the children who were

born from these marriages reflect a multi-tribal heritage. The complex and diverse extended families, as well as household composition, will be discussed in section two of this report. Over time, the population has aged and become more varied in composition. The original migrants from the 1950's have become the grandparent generation. Some by 1990 have even become great-grand parents. Also some grand parents have migrated from rural areas or make extended visits to join their children and grandchildren in the city. Currently within the American Indian community in Oakland, there is a vivid consciousness that the grandchildren of the original families who came to the city as participants in the relocation program are now of school age, having experienced most of their lives as city children. Their experiences are quite different from those of their grandparents who migrated into the area, and of their parents who were raised as children of migrants. (See illustration #9.) At the same time there are newly migrated families who continue to arrive in the Bay Area and establish a presence.

Along with the proliferation of organizations and increased generational complexity within the Oakland based American Indian Community, there has been a parallel development of class diversity based on education, occupation, and income. Some of the economic gains that American Indian people are experiencing are the result of longevity in the Bay Area, or seniority at a particular workplace. Others are the result of opportunities in higher education that became available after the mid-sixties. With the increased income, some families have chosen to move out of the Oakland inner city, and into districts that have better schools and less street crime. This widening of the range of residence does not signify a weakening of the American Indian community, but rather a physical extension of the links that are fundamental to the structuring of the American Indian community. The nuances of expression, and the impact that increased class diversity will have on the Bay Area American Indian community cohesion and overall identity, remain for future research.

Following relocation, there was a flurry of research nationally regarding the initial migrational movement by American Indian people into urban contexts. Often this research focused on problems of adaptation, the degree and process of assimilation, or questions of return migration to rural areas. (See for example, Ablon 1963, Graves 1970, Martin 1969, Sorkin 1969, Waddell and Watson 1973). The methodology and the results of this research reflected the strong focus on acculturation topics. In contrast, the current research takes a longer view, from the mid-forties to 1990, and

shifts analytically to focus on the process of cultural persistence, rather than focusing on acculturation. With this shift in perspective, different sets of social phenomenon become visible. (For more discussion of the concept of cultural persistence, see Castile 1981, Lobo 1982, Spicer 1971.) When viewed in terms of persistence, the most salient aspects of of the American Indian community in the Bay Area are the manner in which the community has created and sustained institutions that answer fundamental social needs; the ways that identity has been both maintained and transformed in an urban multi-tribal setting; the ways that fundamental values have found expression in an urban context; and the consistent features of social organization that have been developed. The ability of migrants to a city to maintain these elements is the ability to persist and flourish as a people. Likewise, this is the ability to create, recreate, and transform a community in response to external pressures, and opportunities. These are the basic elements that constitute a community in a general sense, and it is an understanding of the community at this level that lays the foundation for a discussion of some of the behavioral reasons for the census undercount.

II. FACTORS AFFECTING THE CENSUS COUNT

This discussion is organized in such a way as to follow the path of a census questionnaire from the time it is mailed out, until it is completed and mailed back. The discussion does not include consideration of the role of the enumerator. There are a number of junctures, represented by levels I, II, and III in the following typology, at which the census questionnaire may continue to serve to elicit information, or conversely, may not. The following typology illustrates these junctures. The emphasis of this discussion will be on characteristics of the American Indian community, knowledge of which have not been effectively incorporated into the creation of census procedures, therefore affecting the census count. There are other factors that affect the census count as it relates to American Indians. These include for example, the guiding assumptions and methodology that are the basis for the creation of the census questionnaire and census procedures; activities and attitudes of the enumerators; the coding and interpretive procedures following return of the questionnaires to the

Census Bureau. These and other factors are fundamental to the ultimate census count, and while not discussed at length here, should be included in a comprehensive consideration of American Indians and the U.S. Census. These factors are, however, beyond the scope of the present report.

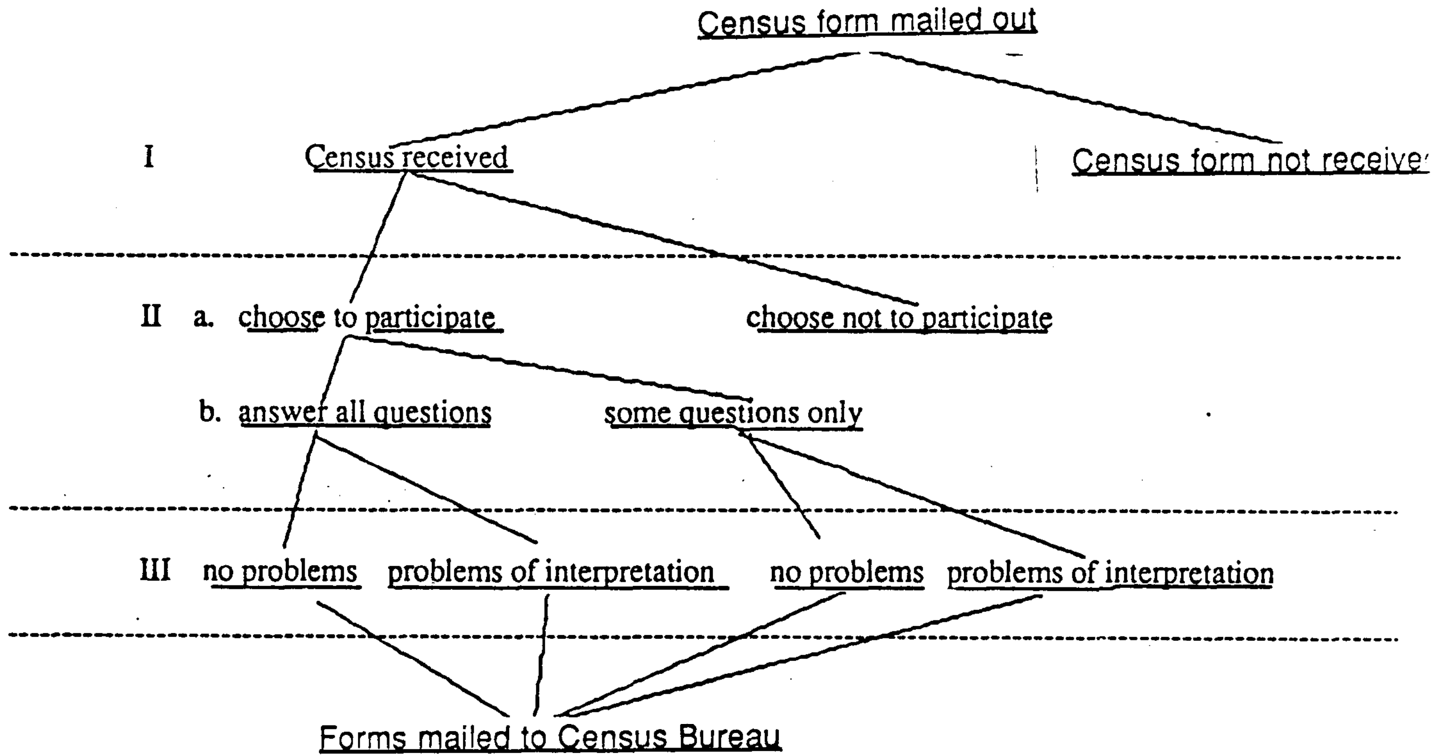

FIGURE 1......TYPOLOGY OF CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE PATH
(Mail out / Mail return)

A. LEVEL I. OF THE TYPOLOGY...CENSUS FORM RECEIVED/NOT RECEIVED.

There are a number of reasons why the census questionnaire that is mailed may not reach a particular household. These include factors of type of housing, urban settlement patterns, and mobility and household composition. Overall, the American Indian community in the Bay Area is highly fluid. Individuals frequently move from one household to another, and entire households change composition as well as location often. This fluidity is not random, but rather is highly patterned in ways that are both expressions of long-standing tribally-specific behaviors, or that are responses, also tribally-specific, to urban conditions.

1. TYPE OF HOUSING.

In spite of the increasing economic diversity within the American Indian community in Oakland, a large proportion of its households has low to moderate income. For practical expediency, American Indians frequently choose rental housing. The least expensive apartments in the Oakland flatlands often consist of non-standard housing such as woodframe Victorian or other older houses divided, often illegally, into a number of small units. Small cottages may be built in yards, or porches, basements, and garages may be converted into living units. Not only American Indians, but other low-income people seek out these rental units. These units may not receive mail, and therefore no census questionnaires, and they may be difficult to recognized as a separate housing unit by a census enumerator. Those who live in temporary or non-standard dwellings often have their mail sent to a friend's or relative's house, or to the American Indian Center. Some choose to have a post office box.

Other American Indian individuals and families sleep in their cars or vans, preferably parked on the street or a lot near a relative's or friend's house, as an extension of that house, in order to use the cooking and bathroom facilities. All of these non-standard housing units may be missed on lists for mailing out census forms. The assumption on the part of the Census Bureau that each housing unit receives mail, or that each unit will be easily recognized as such by an enumerator leads to omissions. Those American Indian people in Oakland who live in even more temporary shelters, or on the street, present additional challenges for the census process.

2. URBAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

It is a standard assumption or stereotype within the United States that ethnic minority populations, particularly in urban areas, reside clustered in variants of enclaves, ghettos, neighborhoods, or barrios. American Indians in the Bay Area do not. They live dispersed in the general population, often in neighborhoods dominated by another ethnic group. In many cultures of the world, including the European derived cultures which have traditionally predominated in the United States, the definition of community is characterized by comparatively permanent clustered residence, that is in towns and cities. Although there is wide variation among tribes, American Indians living in the Bay Area do not come from cultural traditions where clustered residency is necessarily a prominent feature of the definition of "community". Of much higher priority in defining community are those elements discussed in section I of this report. The concept of community also includes complex, culturally defined guideposts for the use of space and spatial relationships in the choice of residency, to movement, to a sense of territory, and to the utilization of resources.

The American Indian Community in the Bay Area is large, active, and cohesive. The community exists as a strong entity in the minds of its members and participants, and yet as the Indian community has been described here, it is nearly invisible to most non-Indians, as is the American Indian presence generally in the Bay Area. For example, in classroom settings the ethnicity of American Indian children is frequently misidentified. A teenager in her oral history interview made the typical comment,

> Well, we were always mistaken for Mexicans when we went to school. My sisters too. They put her in a bi-lingual class because they thought she was Spanish-speaking. I used to have to tell our teachers. They would never guess it. Also I got beat up a couple of times, because then it was Black against Mexican, and I always got mistaken for a Mexican, and I always got in there."

This invisibility often even extends to neighbors who may have no idea that American Indian households are located in their neighborhood, often misidentifying these households as Latino. In addition to dispersed housing, very few American Indians are engaged in mercantile activities, so there is no visible American Indian business district in Oakland that could correspond, for example, to a readily visible Chinatown. The American Indian organizations and agencies located in Oakland, are

not clustered in one locale, and they do not call attention through signs of visual display to the fact that they are Indian focused in their activities.

Since American Indian households in the Bay Area are dispersed in relation to one another, it is necessary, as it is in rural areas, (See Bonvillain 1989:8, and Ackerman 1989:16) to travel across the open spaces, the "wilderness", in this case of "others" (non-Indians) to physically connect with other American Indian people. In the city, non-Indian neighbors are typically ignored by American Indians. For example, in recounting her life history, one long time resident and home owner in Oakland who had moved into the area through the relocation program made the typical comment, "I still to this day, don't know any of my neighbors, or even visit with them on the street. I'm not close with anyone in the neighborhood." Assumptions that neighborhoods are ethnically homogeneous, and that neighbors know the race of one another and interact with one another is not a valid one in relation to American Indians in Oakland and their neighbors. Assumptions to this effect which might be used as the basis for census procedures in counting American Indians would lead to an undercount.

It is important to emphasize the extent to which deeply held conceptualizations of location, of utilization of space, of the definition of territory and their intersection with kin relatedness, household, and desired residence patterns are transferred from rural areas by American Indian people, and find expression in an urban setting. It is this generalized, underlying style of residence that fits or "feels comfortable" to the multi-tribal American Indian people in the Bay Area. It is also this generalized high mobility and residential dispersion that is at variance with assumptions such as stability of residence and residential clustering that create homogeneous racial and ethnic neighborhoods on which a number of census procedures are based, such as stability of residence and residential clustering based.

The fluid household composition discussed above is also one reflection of a fluid utilization of space, which for many American Indian people in rural areas is a strategy used to maximize resources found at different points within a territory. Many hunters and gatherers or herders, including many American Indians, traditionally practice transhumanance, that is a patterned often cyclical form of migration in order to take advantage seasonally of differing resources within their territory. (See Ackerman 1989, Fowler 1982, Jorgensen 1983,) An urban form of this style of utilizing a broad territory is reflected in the dispersed settlement pattern of American Indians living in the Bay Area. A territory is conceptualized in a broad sense as a place with which one

identifies, and through which one moves, while utilizing the resources found there. Because survival demands active utilization of a range of niches within a territory, each person is not necessarily, nor preferentially rooted to one location within their territory. This sense of utilization of a territory plays a role in determining where an American Indian household is established in the Bay Area, and when and how individuals move within the city. In fact, American Indian people express no compelling reason to live adjacent to one another. Rather, there are many stronger reasons to live dispersed. For example, since the Bay Area Indian community is very heterogeneous tribally, living dispersed is one way to preserve tribal differences on a family or household level if one chooses to. Those who choose to may then join together for intertribal activities.

In addition to the more underlying and philosophical reasons for the American Indian dispersed residence pattern in the Bay Area, and the frequent movement among housing sites, there are also some concrete historical reasons that contribute to these settlement patterns. The American Indian community began to constitute itself and to increase in population as a response to the Federal relocation program of the 1950's. One of the underlying premises of this program, as well as a major Federal Indian policy of this era, was a thrust to assimilate American Indians into the general population. Psychological pressure from many sources was placed on American Indians to join what was termed the American mainstream. Employees in the Bureau of Indian Affairs office located in Oakland were guided by melting pot images, and they urged Indian relocatees to avoid living near other Indians if they wanted to succeed in the City, and to seek independent housing. The B.I.A. office staff in Oakland assisted in locating housing, and sometimes for expediency helped relocatees to move into particular apartment complexes where a number of Indian families lived. However, this was viewed as temporary, and families were urged by B.I.A. workers to move as soon as possible. The reality of American Indian dispersed residency in Oakland, and most urban areas where multi-tribal Indian communities exist, is in direct contrast to the assumption of homogeneous ethnic neighborhoods utilized as the basis for many census procedures such as the replication of data from the last household censused when a housing unit is known to be inhabited, but the occupants can not be contacted by an enumerator. The design of census methodology, based on assumptions of homogeneity actually restricts the ability of the census to locate, and therefore count American Indians.

3. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND MOBILITY

Many American Indian people who have migrated to the city place a strong emphasis on the importance of the extended family; one that includes multiple generations, with reverence given to "the elders", a loving appreciation of "the little ones", and even the "generations to come". It is an ideal of extended families dense with "grandmothers" and ""grandfathers", with cousins who are "sisters", and aunts who are " mothers", and even "brothers" and "sisters" ,and "daughters" and "sons" whose consanguineal links, or even non-consanguineal links are often complex and unique personal histories of relatedness. "All my relations" is a common and now pan-tribal expression often said during sweats and other ceremonies, and expresses the ultimate extension of this extended family ideal to encompass all life. Much of the specific, expressed forms of ideal extended families are shaped by the many distinct tribal cultures in the Bay Area. The full complement of the extended family is the ideal; yet the reality is that often only portions of extended families can find expression in the city, and households may contain a pieced-together and frequently shifting expression of the extended family ideal.

The actual composition of households is further complicated in that the American Indian community in the Bay Area is tribally diverse, including tribes that are for example matrilineal and matrilocal, or those that are patrilineal and patrilocal. Through inter-tribal living arrangements or marriages, or as a result of marriages between American Indians and non-Indians, household composition becomes further complex. Step children, half siblings, children who are distant relations, or who strictly speaking are non-kinsmen are frequently included over extended periods of time in many American Indian households.

In the Bay Area American Indian community, beyond this preference that households contain adults and children, there is no standard and widespread household type in terms of composition of relations, or numbers. Households however can be characterized as reflecting a striving to actualize an extended family ideal, and as exhibiting a frequently shifting composition. As an expression of the ideal conceptualization of the extended family, the segments of an extended family are often dispersed throughout the city, residing in a series of different, shifting, often short term, and not necessarily nearby households. The extended family functions to answer a number of fundamental social and physical needs. People make strong efforts to

maintain the extended family, but they may have to shift the sites of residence in response to changes in employment, family size, or rent increases. It is the organizational nodes such as Intertribal Friendship House, or the activity nodes, such as The Stanford Pow-wow, rather than the neighborhoods that bring people in the Indian community together and provide locational reference points. Emphasizing extended family relationships that have a fluid residential presence, and acting in response to environmental opportunity within a known territory, are urban reflections of the connection between kinship and location that is frequently found in rural American Indian areas. Understanding this underlying pattern, what then, are some of the specific types of individual and group mobility patterns found among American Indian people living in the Bay Area, and how do they affect the census count.?

a. Individual Mobility

Individuals move among households and into other residential situations, changing the composition of households frequently. This is one of the advantages of an extended family network. The census process often does not encompass this type of mobility, leading to a census undercount. For example:

I. Children may be cared for over a long term by a grandparent, aunts or uncles, other relatives, or even by those who are not direct kinsmen, but who have taken on kin roles *vis a vis* a child or a set of siblings. This may occur when parents make extended visits "back home" to the reservation, or work out of the Bay Area for a period of time. Parents may also be institutionalized, for example, in drug or alcohol treatment programs in which case the composition of the household shifts, and children will join the household of members of the extended family network. The census may not pick up those children who are viewed by respondents as temporarily staying with a particular household, rather than living with this household.

Much of this shifting of children within households is normative and is carried out on an informal basis that reflects the fluid nature of household composition generally. Some of the caring for children outside the nuclear family is formalized as foster care which affects high numbers of American Indian children. In recognition of this, the Urban Indian Child Resource Center in Oakland assists in making court ordered foster care placement of American Indian children with Indian households in response to the mandate of the American Indian Child Welfare Act. Indian children that are placed or adopted into non-Indian households may not be counted as American Indian on the

census

. On a seasonal basis, children may also be absent from an urban household as it is common that they are sent "back home" to the reservation to stay with grandparents or other relatives during the summer school vacation months, or at other times of the year to participate in important ceremonies or other activities. Often youth who were raised in Oakland may be sent to their parents' home reservation to experience a portion of their education there. Or conversely, cousins or other young relatives may be sent to stay with relatives in the city in order to attend school there. In both cases, there is the opportunity for a census undercount in the interpretation of "living with" or only "staying with", or in an assumption on the part of both households that the child has been counted as a part of the other household.

Until recently with the closing of some boarding schools, it was very common for many American Indian youth to experience at least a portion of their education at boarding schools. (See Metcalf, 1975.) Coupled with the high level of informal and formal foster care, the residence by youth in boarding schools is a factor in absenting youth from the household of their extended family, and possibly leads to a failure to count them in the census.

2. Men, particularly single men may move between households, particularly among a series of female headed households, for example staying for a time with a sister's household, then with a girlfriend's household. Some men who are even more mobile, have developed a patterned ongoing style of mobility over an extended urban and rural territory that entails short term stays of less than a week with a series of primarily female headed households. Variations of this pattern are repeated cyclically for years at a time, so that any one individual may come back around to a household for a stay every few months. For many American Indians living in the Bay Area, particularly those of tribes such as the Navajo or Sioux for whom movement through space is a complex and positive cultural element, mobility is frequently viewed as an advantage in capturing resources, and in maintaining and cultivating an active and extensive network of relations. In speaking of their lives, analogies to hunting and trading are frequently utilized by these men who are highly mobile.

Another style of mobility is the seasonal movement of primarily men, many of whom are alcoholics, who may on occasion join stationary households, but who more often live on the street. These men move frequently within a particular city, and also take a cyclical annual route, such as between Seattle, Oakland, and Phoenix. If

some of these American Indian men living on the street were identified by census enumerators, rather than through self-identity, there is a strong possibility that they would be misidentified as Hispanics, rather than as American Indians. All of these highly mobile males may never receive a census questionnaire, or may not be counted in the census because they are not considered an ongoing part of a household in which they are temporarily staying.

3. Institutionalization. Among American Indians, there is a high rate of institutionalization, which absents these individuals from their primary residence. In each case, there are reasons why this may lead to a census undercount. For example, alcoholism is a widespread problem within the American Indian community in Oakland. Men and women may participate in residential treatment programs. In Oakland, there are treatment centers directed and staffed by American Indians: White Cloud Lodge for men, New Dawn for women. At White Cloud, the program lasts for three months. An extensive waiting list exists. Additional residential treatment centers exist in San Francisco and in outlying rural communities near the Bay Area. Individuals living in Oakland may choose to enter one of these programs, or may choose to return to their home reservation for treatment. There is a high incidence among American Indians in the Bay Area of other chronic illnesses including lung diseases and diabetes, which may entail long term hospitalization and may absent these individuals for extended periods of time from their primary residences. Unless these institutionalized individuals are counted in a special places count, they may be missed in the census or racially misidentified in the census.

Among American Indians in the Bay Area, there is likewise a disproportionate level of incarceration. Additionally, Indian youth often find themselves in correctional institutions. These incarcerated individuals may not be counted in the census. For example, the American Indian Spiritual Visitors' program in the Bay Area consists of a group of American Indians who are authorized to enter jails and prisons in order to carry out religious practices with inmates who are American Indian. A common problem is that prisoners who self-identify as American Indian, and who wish to avail themselves of these services, often have been misidentified by the prison staff, and therefore officially designated as Chicano, White, or Black, and so may not participate in American Indian religious observances. In addition to the general problems of assuring a correct census count through a special places effort, these American Indian individuals may also be racially misidentified on the census since it is often the

wardens and administrators who fill our the census forms.

b. Households.

Under many circumstances, entire American Indian households, inclusive of their fluid set of members, shift location frequently. This form of mobility affects the census count. For example:

As many American Indian households in the Oakland area have low income, low rent housing is sought. Rental rates in the Bay Area are exceptionally high compared to other cities nationally, making the quest for inexpensive housing a difficult and time consuming effort. If people in a household find new and less expensive or better and equivalently priced rental housing, that Indian household may, without hesitation change location. Other motives for moving may be to escape from low rent inner-city housing in which necessary repairs are not carried out by landlords, or to escape from neighborhoods in which there is excessive street violence. Because American Indians in Oakland live dispersed in what may otherwise be predominately Black, Latino, or Southeast Asian neighborhoods, they often have adopted as a survival strategy keeping an exceedingly low profile and a passive stance when threatened or harassed by other ethnic groups. In many instances, it is easier and safer to move, rather than to be caught in the literal cross fire of conflicts over turf carried out by other ethnic groups.

Some American Indian families move frequently to avoid paying bills, or because of problems with the law. Others move because they want to enjoy the attractions of a different part of the city, or to be closer to a new job, or for educational advantages for their children. For example, in 1972 in recognition of the specific problems faced by their children in the Oakland Public Schools, a group of concerned American Indian parents established a preschool to answer the special needs of Indian children. The school was eventually taken over by the Oakland Public School district and was extended to include extensive after school educational programs through the sixth grade. In order to enroll their children in this school which is a focal institution within the American Indian community, many Indian families move to locations within a convenient commute of the school, or near a bus line that passes near the school.

Entire families may return to a home reservation for good or travel "back home" on a seasonal basis, particularly during the summer months or during holidays such as Christmas when children are out of school. Family crisis such as a death may

necessitate a trip back home for a month or two. In this case, the rental in the Bay Area may be let go, and a new one located when the family returns in a few months. Ties to a home territory or reservation remain, for the most part strong, and families seek ways to nurture and cultivate some degree of an ongoing participation in their home tribal activity. Some families are active on the Pow-wow circuit during the summer months, and may leave their home in the city to travel during this time. Other households or some of their members may work seasonally, for example, in fire fighting that necessitates leaving Oakland for weeks or months at a time. Some of the mobility is related to life cycle, for example as children are sent away to boarding school, or elders vacate their rural homes temporarily and are brought into the city to care for grandchildren. Increasingly, those who came to the Oakland area through relocation speak of returning Home when they retire. When this does happen, the general pattern is for the relocatees to return, while their city born adult children remain in Oakland. However, even after retirement back home, there is ongoing visiting back and forth between the city and Home. This level of mobility as people move between different sites, increases possibilities of census undercount.

There are also tribal differences in household mobility both within the city and in and out of the city. For example, for California Indian people, it is easier to leave the Bay Area for months at a time, return Home, and then wait for an opportune time to return to Oakland. Likewise, frequent short visits home are feasible. This pattern is more difficult for those from the Southwest or Plains states. Also there is a culturally specific propensity among some tribes, such as the Navajo, to give value per se to movement over space and to take pleasure in a lifestyle that allows the freedom to move frequently.

** <u>In summary,</u> the reasons why the census questionnaire may fail to reach a particular household are complex and multiple. Much of the housing is non-standard and often difficult to identify as a housing unit. The high rate of mobility, both on the part of individuals and entire households, both within the city, and in and out of the city, is coupled with an extremely flexible household composition in terms of numbers and relationships of members. There is also an extended family ideal that often is only partially actualized in an urban context. The different portions of the extended family are shifting, and frequently located in a series of spatially dispersed households within an urban territory. Each of these factors is conditioned by different tribal values and

behavior patterns. The possibilities for census undercount due to the failure of a census questionnaire reaching a household are numerous in light of the social organization described here. The census may or may not count those families who consider Oakland their principal residence, but who may be absent at the time of the census. Or a census questionnaire may arrive at their home in Oakland, to be discarded through a belief that the April first "deadline" has been missed when the family returns a month or two later. In this context, it is a challenge for the Census Bureau to design means to create a census process that accomplishes the goal of a full count of American Indians who reside in both urban and rural areas.

B. LEVEL II OF THE TYPOLOGY: CHOOSING TO PARTICIPATE, OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CENSUS.

I. HISTORY OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

There are a number of compelling reasons why some, and possibly many American Indian people choose not to participate in the census process. There is a long and conflict-filled history of relations between American Indians and the Federal Government that affects the census count. Some adults living in Oakland can recall elders of their grandparental generation telling of the agonies of forced marches, death, and loss of land which they experienced as a result of conflicts with the United States government. These vivid family memories may be augmented by direct personal experiences that have left feelings of fear, anger and mistrust related to the government.

For example, members of many families living in Oakland remember as children the suffering related to stock reduction programs, or the physical and psychological brutality they experienced and the emotional deprivation they suffered as children at Federal boarding schools. American Indians in the Bay Area, as well as researchers (Metcalf, 1982), alcohol and drug counselors and social workers, are acutely aware of the often personally devastating negative impact still being experienced by the adult generation of American Indians as a result of having been removed, often forcibly, from their families and tribes and placed in boarding schools as children. The oral histories gathered through the Intertribal Friendship House Community History Project

include chilling remembrances of these childhood experiences at boarding schools, as well as recountings of courageous attempts at resistance, such as running away and walking miles across the winter snow.

Another personal experience in which the Federal Government figures and which is shared by many American Indians in the Bay Area is the relocation program that brought them into the area. The program is often criticized by Indian people living in Oakland who were relocatees, or the children of relocatees, as being at best poorly planned and ill-conceived, and at worst yet another attempt at genocide on the part of the Federal government, this time in the form of forced assimilation and termination of land rights. A popular protest song during the seventies among American Indian people spoke of "relocation, extermination". American Indian people in the Bay Area speak of being counted by the Federal government prior to being removed to boarding school, or off their land, or prior to loss of tribal and family resources; the association is strong between a census, and loss in one form or another. In telling her oral history, one middle-aged Navajo woman who had lived over twenty years in the Oakland area remembered,

> They had police go around on horseback because they didn't have enough cars in those days. They had to go around and they asked, 'How many children you have?' My grandmother had some girls, and she'd say, 'Oh, just two.' So they got out of putting us in. They finally told my grandfather that they would put him in jail if he didn't put me in school. So I said, 'I want to go.' They said, 'No', I couldn't go because my brother was already taken. But they took me. I don't know why they did that, to this day, I don't know who picked the kids to go. They had all different tribes. They mixed us up. And we hardly knew how to speak English. We didn't know where we were going. They just put us on a train from Flagstaff. My grandparents didn't even know where we went. That was something else!

During the late sixties, and through the seventies, social criticism, particularly of Federal government policy was a strong theme of the American Indian activism in the Bay Area. The occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 was a landmark event in the Bay Area American Indian community, and a turning point for many individuals who for the first time, took an active verbal stance in confronting the Federal government. Twenty years later, the legacy of social consciousness remains in the American Indian

community in the Bay Area.(Illustration #10). One comment was made half jokingly in 1990, "anything from the government, I tear up and throw out right away." This would include the census questionnaire. Others adopt a more passive survival strategy, a less verbal form of resistance, maintaining an invisibility vis a vis the Federal government, for example, never voting, nor communicating in any way with government agencies or representatives.

The Census Bureau's seemingly benign request that exhorts people to, "Be Counted", or "Help yourself and your community" during the 1990 Census effort would engender positive connotations of patriotism and duty for some Americans, but for many American Indians living in the Bay Area, the connotations of this image are conversely tantamount to suggesting actions leading to suicide or for the larger group, to genocide. This long history of bad relations between Indian people and the government, while varying from tribe to tribe, has engendered fear, anger, and mistrust toward the government that is spread widely throughout the American Indian community in the Bay Area, and contributes heavily to the individual decision not to participate in the census.

The mistrust felt toward the government leads many American Indians living in the Bay Area to question the confidentiality of the census, and to question how the information will be coded and to what uses, possibly nefarious, the information may be used. For example, one father commented at the time of the 1990 census, "We didn't include the boys, because if a war comes along, they'd know just where to come to take them away to fight." Additionally, those who are engaged in illegal activities may choose not to answer the census.

Balancing this ominous thread of thinking is one held most strongly by administrators and staff of the many American Indian agencies and organizations in the area, many of whom will find positive uses for the census results, and who may rely to some extent on Federal funds for their operation. The most prevalent expression throughout the American Indian community in the Bay Area is one of ambivalence toward the Census, that embodies both the bloody legacy of genocide, personal experience, and the practical necessity for survival that includes working out a relationship with the Federal government.

2. Literacy.

In addition to those reasons based on history for deciding not to answer the census

questionnaire, there are others. Literacy skills and language skills in English are a factor, especially among older adults. While there is a wide range of educational attainment within the American Indian community in the Bay Area, there is also a substantial portion of the Indian community that does not read widely, nor with facility. To these people, who may also feel ambivalence toward the census process in general, and who may focus much of their energy toward survival on a day to day basis, the census questionnaire looks exceptionally foreboding and difficult to complete. Some may answer a portion only; some may not attempt it at all.

3. Official forms.

Others who have been through what they feel is the treadmill of public social service and unemployment agencies often clearly remember experiences including bureaucratic hassles or other demeaning, time consuming, or threatening associations related to filling out official forms. The census questionnaire appears to many as yet another such form. As a result of some of these kinds of experiences with public agencies in which American Indian people in the Bay Area were treated disrespectfully or in ways insensitive to their cultural norms, Indians established Indian staffed agencies such as the American Indian Health Board and Clinic and the Consortium of American Indian Nations which assists with employment related needs. These agencies are aware of the negative connotations associated with long impersonal questionnaires, and attempt to keep these to a minimum in their procedures.

4. Personal Privacy.

Another factor affecting a decision not to participate in the census process is a strong positive value in the American Indian community in the Bay Area to being sensitive to and respecting an individual's need for personal privacy. In many respects, the census process trespasses this sense of privacy. "It is too personal" is a commonly heard comment regarding the census. Within the American Indian community, there is an appropriate style of discourse in which questions deemed of a personal nature are not asked of another, particularly those questions that relate to where one has been, at what time, and doing what, with whom. This is information to be offered, but not asked for, even among family members and intimate friends; to do so is seen as creating an uncomfortable and extremely distasteful situation. An

analogous situation in a White middle class context might be for a relative stranger to approach a woman and indicate politely that he would like to see her breasts. What does one say? How should one react? A common response on the part of American Indian people in the Bay Area to intrusions is to withdraw. One Indian man in reference to the census said, "They should not be asking these questions. Maybe they want me to open my fly so they can look in there too!" Non-Indians are often referred to negatively as speaking too loudly and asking too many questions. A recent comment regarding a county social worker was voiced, "These White people are so nosy. The next thing they'll want to know is what color toilet paper we use." In a White middle-class context, a question that would be considered by a non-Indian as an appropriate and expected one representing a friendly overture to conversation between strangers, such as "Your daughter is so cute. What is her name?" or "How old is she?", would be considered inappropriate and embarrassingly probing by many American Indians in the Bay Area.

Another illustration of the extreme inappropriateness to American Indians in the Bay Area of a question/answer style of discourse is seen in the problems created for Indian children in educational settings. Indian children are gently reminded by their parents not to ask questions, but to learn by watching and listening. This learning style until a few years ago was often viewed in the Oakland public school system as inappropriate, and Indian children were often classified as slow learners or retarded because they did not ask questions and because much of their social interaction style was misunderstood by classroom teachers. More recently Indian parents have established an American Indian preschool and after school program, and there is now an office of Indian education within the Oakland school district. Teachers are offered training in sensitivity to American Indian cultures, and some of the issues of learning style, including not asking questions are being addressed.

For American Indians living in the Bay Area, any question that asks for specific numbers, or dates (precisely the type of question found on the census) are often felt to be particularly inappropriate or embarrassing in any context. Not only are these questions probing, but they also may put those American Indian people on the spot who keep track of the flow of time and events in more general terms. Such aspects of an event as the style and delivery of a statement and other nuances indicating relationships among those present are observed and recounted in detail. Other aspects, such as the exact time of day, or the precise ages of those present are viewed

as beside the point, slightly ridiculous, and inappropriately too specific, as are many of the questions on the census.

**<u>In Summary</u>. Information is shared, but not generally through a question and answer repartee; and this sharing is carried out among American Indian people at a culturally appropriate cadence and context, and with cognizance of a set of values that acknowledge levels of intimacy. Circles of intimacy surrounding an individual affect what is shared with those, first with whom one is intimate, second within the Indian community, and third with others, those outside the Community. Information sharing of a personal nature falls off sharply outside the American Indian community. All considerations of the history of American Indian-U.S. government relations aside, the Census questionnaire in format and nature alone, originating as it does outside the American Indian community, inappropriately asks for information considered by many American Indians as uncomfortably personal. Many premises underlying the census, related to concepts of personal privacy, to respect, and to appropriate styles of discourse, as well as the written, question/answer questionnaire format violate numerous values held by American Indians in the Bay Area. Additionally, the history of negative relations between the United States Government and American Indians is a powerful deterrent to participating in the census process. It may be a combination in varying degrees of all these elements that are prominent factors in the choice by many individuals not to answer the census questionnaire, or to answer it only partially.

C. LEVEL III OF THE TYPOLOGY..QUESTIONS OF INTERPRETATION THAT AFFECT THE COUNT OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

I. GENERAL TERMINOLOGY

There has already been mention of ways that varying interpretation of terminology such as "staying with" or "living with" in regards to children being cared for by a family, or to highly mobile males, may be open to varying interpretations that affect census count. These individuals may be conceived of as staying perpetually in a number of sites, and not "living" anywhere by a strict definition, and therefore may not be counted.

Likewise, the term "usual residence" may have distinct interpretations by American Indians that lead to an undercount by families who move frequently, especially if that movement is between an urban site and a Home reservation.

"Sometimes I live here, and sometimes I live there at Home. Depends where I am." is a representative statement. Some feel coerced by the census format to choose one site of residence or the other, which does not coincide with the reality of their life. Some, because they are enrolled in their tribe, presume they will be counted there since they have been included in a tribal roll count previously carried out on a reservation. Ultimately because of this confusion, they are counted neither in the census in the city, nor by their tribe. The designation of usual residence presents a particular dilemma to some individuals who emotionally identify their Home reservation as their Home, although they may have actually spent more time during the previous year residing in Oakland. This dilemma is particularly acute when there is a fear that in indicating the principal residence as Oakland, there will be a "loss to the tribe" in revenues for human services based on members.

2. RACIAL IDENTITY

The race question, number four on the 1990 census bears particular discussion here, both because it directly relates to the count of American Indians, and because it illustrates some of the complex interplay between social structure, identity, and situational context, and the ways that these affect the count of the American Indian population. Historically, there are many different criteria for establishing identity that non-Indians have imposed on American Indians. These externally imposed criteria are assessed by American Indians differently in diverse contexts or situations. Because there often is not a mutually shared understanding as to the basis for defining identity, the potential for confusion or differing interpretations in any question of racial or ethnic identity regarding American Indians is significant. These externally imposed criteria of identity affect self-identity, both as it is felt deeply and integrated into a deep sense of self, and also as it becomes a calculated response for those who attempt to give the "right" answer on a questionnaire. American Indians in Oakland may ask when faced with the census, "What definition of identity do they want? Whose definition?" All respondents may not make this assessment in an identical manner, thus affecting the number of American Indian people counted by the census.

In many circumstances, Federal criteria for establishing American Indian identity, and therefore participation in programs or receipt of Federal services, is based on measures of ancestry, through criteria of "blood quantum", usually to one quarter "blood". The race question may be interpreted that "I should only self-identify as

American Indian if I am recognized as such by general Federal criteria in that the Census is a Federal effort." In other contexts American Indian identity is established officially through inclusion in the tribal roll of a particular tribe, the criteria for which varies widely from tribe to tribe. There is also the question for those belonging to a tribal group that is not Federally recognized as are many in California. What is desired by the census, Federal recognition status or recognition by one's tribe? There is also the dilemma faced by individuals of mixed ancestry, as are many people who identify as American Indian, when faced with the decision as to which "race" box to mark for the census.

There are also problems and confusion created by categories that are not treated on the census as being mutually exclusive such as " Ind. (Amer.)"(found in the race question, #4) and "Hispanic" (question #7). For example, there are multiple problems of interpretation of the census faced by the increasing number of Central and South American Indian people residing in Oakland. Some of these people may have strong Indian self-identity, speak an Indian language such as Kanjobal, and would normally think of themselves as Kanjobales, or the indigenous people known as Kanjobal. They may translate this self-identity as "Indian", and indicate as such on question four, or they may not. The term "tribe" has very specialized and narrow use in Latin America. There is a wide range of interpretation possible regarding whether a Kanjobal Indian person will conceive of Kanjobal as a tribe or not. A more common designation would be "ethnic group", but this term also varies dramatically from region to region. The instructions for question seven may further cause confusion for Indian people born in one of the countries listed in question seven, but who would never ordinarily consider themselves Hispanic, since "Indian" and "Hispanic" are mutually exclusive social/racial categories throughout most of Latin America. Yet the instructions on the census for question seven indicate Hispanic as possibly the "proper" box to mark in indicating place of birth, which then comes to mean the social category "Hispanic". The problems of interpretation may be compounded if the intent of the instructions from question seven are taken into consideration by an Indian person from Latin America who tries to decide what he or she "should" answer in question number four. If in answering question seven, an Indian person "becomes" an Hispanic, as a result of the wording of the question, how then should question four be answered, since an Indian person cannot be an Hispanic at the same time? How each Indian person born in Latin America resolves the dilemma posed by the

juxtaposition of questions four and seven affects the resulting census count of Indian people. Additionally, these interpretations would be faced only if this hypothetical Guatemalan Indian is motivated sufficiently to fill out the census form, and is able to find someone to translate it from English into Kanjobal. Forbes (1989) raises a series of additional questions related to the census count of American Indians born south of the United States border.

The criterial attributes that define identity among American Indians in the Bay Area are phenotype, ancestry, cultural elements, and group membership that is informed by participation in the Indian community. The weight and combination of these attributes vary situationally. Identity may also vary when it is externally assessed, or there may be external political or social agendas that come into play.

The following paradigm (figure II) is a schematic model that illustrates the intersecting criteria of participation in the Oakland American Indian community and the Home community and the ways this affects racial self-identity. This model illustrates that the designation of identity for American Indians is complex and results from the interplay of multiple criteria. It is also situationally variable, as well as reflective of varying modes of "official" definitions of race that have been externally imposed. This paradigm is a convenient structuring from which to discuss identity, but it does not explain all of the factors that contribute to establishing self-identity.

As has been discussed, many individuals in the American Indian community in the Bay Area maintain varying degrees of identity with and a sense of membership in both urban and Home locations. This is epitomized by the frequent traveling between Oakland and Home that is carried out. These two locations are represented by the horizontal and the vertical axis of the paradigm.

Some of the ways that membership in the Home tribe are established are through ancestry, place of birth, tribal roll, or ongoing participation. Likewise, membership in the urban Indian community is established through ancestry, place of birth, phenotypes, cultural traits, as well as ongoing participation. Because the urban Indian community is multi-tribal, there is not a formalized tribal roll, yet membership in the community is known and agreed upon through informal consensus. As described in part I of this report, there is a shared understanding by participants, of the boundaries of the American Indian community, and the membership within the community. However these boundaries of the community, and membership in the community are fluid and always under review. Those who do not participate, who are external to the

community, are not aware of these dynamics. The community itself, and even the American Indian presence in the Bay Area may be invisible to those outside the Indian community.

		Back Home	
		+	-
Urban Amer.	+	++(I)	+ - (2)
Ind. Comm.	-	- + (3)	- - (4)

FIGURE II. PARADIGM OF PARTICIPATION AND RACIAL IDENTITY

For the sake of discussion, the following numbers correspond to the numbers in the four boxes of the paradigm. The plus and minus marks indicate participation or non-participation in the home community or the urban American Indian community.

(I.) The individuals who fall into box number one are actively engaged as members of their home tribe, and are participants in, and identify with the Oakland American Indian community. They have a strong self-identity as American Indian and are very likely to identify themselves on the census questionnaire as American Indian, and to express clearly a tribal affiliation.

(2.) The individuals who fall into box number two are characterized by a continuum of racial self-identities. This continuum may be reflected in the response to the race question on the census. These individuals are not recognized nor are they active participants in their home tribe. Yet they are members of the urban American Indian community. For example, the second and third generation of children born and raised in the city may find themselves in box number two. Through two or three generations of tribal inter-marriage children come to be of mixed tribal heritage. The school rosters at Hintil Cu Kaa, the American Indian preschool, reflect tribal designations. These have become increasingly complex within the past fifteen years. The following poem illustrates not only its young author's relationship between urban community and Home community, but also his multi-tribal American Indian identity.

> A brother and sister lived at their
> Grandmother's house. They were from New Mexico.

They are in San Francisco now. The kids did
Not like the city so they went back to
New Mexico with their mom and dad and
Stayed forever and the grandmother
Moved with them.

Adam Poncho (Navajo/Acoma/Ute/Shoshone/Bannock/Apache)
Grade 3 (American Indian elementary Summer program, Oakland
Unified School District, 1988)

The multi-tribal identity of this child points to some of the complexities of determining tribal affiliation. To which home tribe does such a child primarily relate? Which tribe or tribes would he indicate on the census? Is he enrolled, and if so, how would this fact affect his tribal designation on the census? There is also the consideration that some children who undeniably are genetically American Indian, yet the offspring of a mother from a patrilineal tribe, and a father from a matrilineal tribe, may not be recognized by, nor enrolled in either tribe. That is, in patrilineal societies, an individual "belongs to" the lineage or clan of the father, and therefore would normally be enrolled in the tribe of the father. Likewise in matrilineal tribes, one "belongs to" the clan or lineage of the mother. However, if a person's father is a member of a tribe that only reconizes descent via the maternal lineage, that person will not usually be recognized, nor possibly enrolled in the tribe. The person would be recognized as the child of his or her father, yet not recognized as a member of the tribe. Recognition in a matrilineal tribe would only result if the mother were the link into tribal affiliation. How do such individuals designate themselves tribally on the census? This is only one of the many situational factors that affect the decision-making process regarding racial identity.

Children of mixed Indian and non-Indian marriages may also, through a variety of circumstances, lose the possibility of tribal enrollment or participation in their one parent's home tribe. This varies tribally. Whereas some tribes view in-marrying non-Indians as increasing numbers through the children that augment the group, others view this process as a weakening, and a loss to the group. Other children who are born of inter-tribal or Indian/ non-Indian unions do not face this problem.

Children who are genetically primarily American Indian or of mixed ancestry, but who are raised in foster or adoptive homes, may also lose connection or participation with their tribe, or even may have no knowledge of the tribe or tribes of their parents. Foster care and adoption of American Indian children is common enough to have compelled the creation of the American Indian Child Welfare Act, which gives priority

to foster placement of American Indian children in Indian homes. Yet there remain many American Indian individuals living in the Bay Area who, through foster care or adoption, do not have ties to a Home tribal community.

American Indian parents who are active in the Bay Area community, and whose children for one of the reasons sketched above do not have strong ties to a Home tribe, often express concern that their children will lose their identity as American Indians. A major theme of activities in the Bay Area American Indian Community is that participation validates and heightens Indian identity. Parents frequently facilitate their children's participation in the urban Indian community, knowing that this participation will foster a strong sense of Indian identity. For example, children may join in special bi-cultural educational efforts, may participate with the family in inter-tribal pow-wows and other activities, or may attend events such as the Wednesday Night Dinner at Intertribal Friendship House. This participation in the urban Indian community strengthens American Indian identity, and this validation will find expression on the census questionnaire.

There are also individuals who have chosen at some point in their life, frequently due to societal racism, to assimilationist pressures, or to out-marrying, to pass as a non-Indian, for example as an Italian or a Mexican. Increasingly, many of these individuals are choosing to re-evaluate their racial self-identity, and to reestablish their American Indian identity through reintegrating into and becoming active in the Oakland American Indian community. Again, this changing self-identity is reflected in identification of race on the census.

(3) Those in box three of the paradigm are more likely to identify on the census questionnaire as American Indian. There are individuals as indicated in box number three who live in the Bay Area but maintain a principal identity through their Home tribe, and choose not to become active in, nor identify with, the Bay Area Indian community. For example, some California Indian people, particularly those who have easy access to their nearby home communities may view living in the city as temporary or seasonal, and may feel alienated by the Intertribal nature of the urban Indian community, yet strongly maintain their Indian identity. It is an identity based in a rural reservation or rancheria. Other examples of the type of individual found in box three are those who strongly identify as American Indian, who are only temporarily in the Bay Area, and who do not necessarily become active in the Bay Area Indian

community. Additionally, some who strongly self-identify as American Indian, may marry out, cease to be active in the American Indian community, but nevertheless identify on the census as American Indian.

(4.) Box four contains all those individuals who have no Home tribal participation and no urban American Indian community participation. Essentially these are non-Indians; people who do not have Indian identity and indicate thusly on the census questionnaire. These are the "Others", the people outside the tribe, outside the Community. However, even here there are nuances of identity that must be considered in order to understand the shaping of racial identity within the United States. For American Indian people, identity is based principally on the combination of phenotype, of ancestry, of cultural traits, and of participation at the tribal or urban Indian community level. The paradigm here heavily stresses the criteria of participation. There are also individuals who may not phenotypically appear to be American Indian, who may not participate in American Indian activities or express American Indian cultural traits, but who define their Indian identity solely in terms of known or presumed ancestry. The large number of those who self-identified on the 1980 census as Cherokee may fall into box number four.

**<u>In Summary</u>. At the third level on the census path typology regarding interpretation of census questions, there is ample possibility for undercount of American Indians. Many of the assumptions on which the census is formulated, and which are reflected in terms such as "living with", or "usual residence", do not coincide with the reality of American Indian lives in which there is high mobility, fluid household composition, and dispersed residence patterns.

The discussion here of the complexities that American Indians face when asked to designate their race further illustrates the range of interpretation and misinterpretation that contributes to the resulting census count. Each of the ways that American Indian race is determined - those that are governmental, those determined by individual tribes, or by an urban Indian community - embody a history as well as sets of criteria. Each Indian person goes through a process of determining which way of designating race is situationally appropriate, and then within that frame he or she must determine what set of criteria apply. The discussion of racial designation based on Figure II, that stresses participation in urban and Home communities, illustrates the complex interplay of elements that contribute to racial identity for American Indians. A clear

understanding of this complexity gives insight into reasons for an undercount.

CONCLUSIONS. At each of the three levels of the typology indicating the path that the census questionnaire takes, there exist many reasons why that census as it is currently designed and administered ceases to function, or is only partially effective. Based on an ethnographic approach, this discussion has begun to lay out the structural parameters of the American Indian community in the Oakland area, showing some of the ways in which there is a lack of fit between the census process and American Indian lives.

A widespread and mistaken assumption held by the general public is that American Indians live overwhelmingly in rural areas. American Indians living in urban areas are virtually invisible to non-Indians. This assumption has affected national and state policy, and ultimately Indian people. It has affected the way the census is designed and administered. It has also affected the nature of research that has been carried out. A very basic ethnographic description of an urban American Indian community as presented here is a rarity in the social science literature. This fact only more pointedly indicates the strong need for further research emphasis on urban American Indian topics, and the incorporation of this research into practical application.

Endnote:

I.) Funding for the Intertribal Friendship House Community History Project has come from NIMH, the California Council for the Humanities, the American Friends Service Committee, the Rosenberg Foundation, Clorox Foundation, as well as the United States Census Bureau.

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ILLUSTRATION #1. INTERTRIBAL FRIENDSHIP HOUSE WEDNESDAY NIGHT DINNER. 1955.

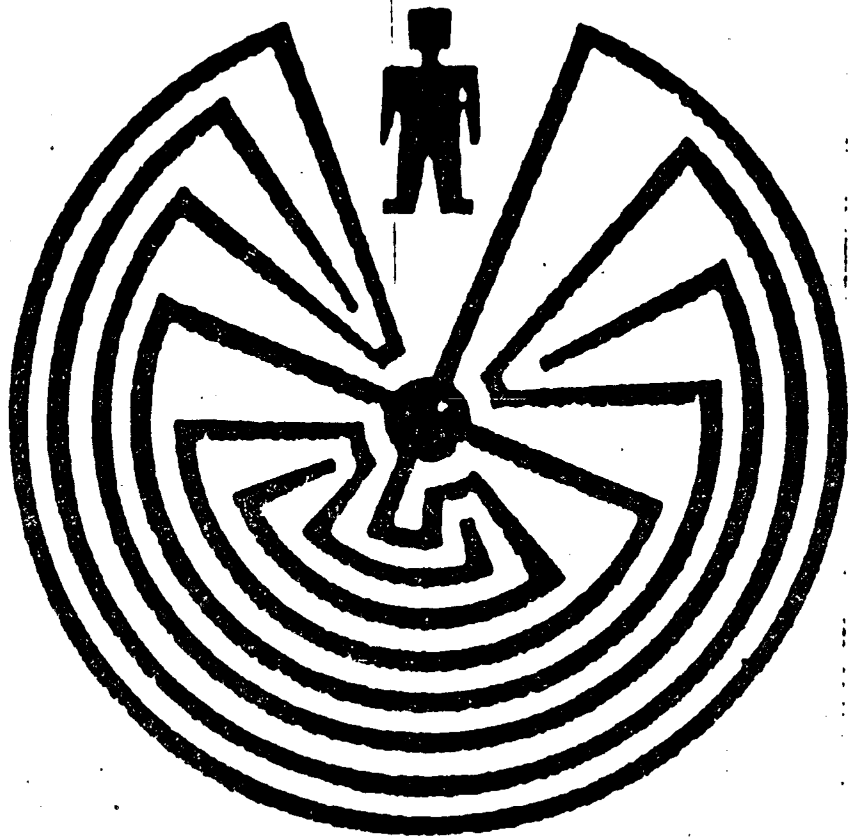


ILLUSTRATION #2. Man in the Maze
Tohono O'odham

ON WARPATH PICKET LINE AT OAKLAND INDIAN AFFAIRS OFFICE
American Indian Council flipped its bonnets over discrimination

'White Man, Go Home'

Indians Picket in Oakland

An Indian picket line paraded in Oakland yesterday, carrying signs that declared, "White Man Go Home," and "Teepee Better Than Tenement."

"We're not vanishing," protested Richard McKenzie of Oakland, a Sioux Indian and president of the American Indian Council's Bay area detachment which represents 14 different tribes.

"The Government puts on a campaign asking all the Indians to leave the reservation and find jobs in the cities and elsewhere," said McKenzie.

"But the only kind of jobs my people can find are dish-washers, weed pullers and picket sign carriers."

The pickets, numbering 10, paraded all day in front of the Oakland office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at 354 21st St. as downtown shoppers and motorists craned their necks to check the tribal bonnets, the moccasins and [illegible] garb on the squaws and papooses.

McKenzie said he personally had no complaint because he is employed as a welder. But others have not been so fortunate, he insisted.

Illustration #3

Find Better Living Here

By BILL STOKES

Without fuss or fanfare, the Oakland Area has become the new reservation for some 500 Indians during the past year.

The human elements in a vast sociological experiment Uncle Sam is conducting, they have come to Oakland with their families from reservations throughout the country, gone to work and begun totally new lives in the strange and new environment of today's urban living.

That the program has been an unqualified success thus far is evidenced by the fact that the number of Indian residents in the Oakland Area will be trebled in the next 12 months.

This movement of Indians to the Oakland Area—and to Los Angeles, Chicago and Denver—is carried out under the three-year-old relocation program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a division of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

TWOFOLD PURPOSE

The program has two purposes:

1—To afford the hundreds of thousands of Indians living on reservations a chance to better themselves and to become useful, "full-time" citizens.

2—To end the Federal Government's "wardship" over the reservation Indians, under which they were supported wholly by federal funds.

The Oakland relocation center was established at 1515 Clay St. in June, 1954.

Looking back on its first year of operation, Relocation Officer B. L. Lay said yesterday:

"We had sort of a tough job at first—finding jobs for our Indians, finding them homes, seeing that they become integrated into community life.

"But things have changed now. Employers—we have 666 on our contact list—call us to report that they have jobs available. The men are working out well in their jobs, and are making an average of about $1.76 an hour.

HOUSING PROBLEM

"Homes still are a little difficult to find, but as time goes on our people are moving into better and better residences.

"And applications for relocation are piling up as the Indians already here write to their friends on the reservations and tell them of their work and life in the city."

Most of the Indians relocated at first were ones already qualified or semi-qualified in some line of work. To take care of the vast numbers of Indians not so qualified, a vocational training program was started in March, with Miss Eudora M. Reed directing the program in the Oakland Area.

Since March, Miss Reed said, 28 trainees have been brought to Oakland and enrolled in such schools as Merritt Business College and Laney Trade School.

PROVES SUCCESS

"The program has met with outstanding success," she said, "with some of our trainees pulling down top honors in tests and showing amazing adeptness at their chosen vocations."

Indian trainees now are studying in such widely varying fields as plastics, barbering, accounting, diesel engineering, radio and TV, welding, architectural drafting, cooking and mill and cabinet work.

Both Lay and Miss Reed agree that the most difficult phase of the overall relocation program has been the adjustment of Indian wives and children to the new mode of living.

On the reservations, they explained, everyday life was a routine pattern among friends and relatives. But in a metropolitan area such as Oakland, they pointed out, the Indians are complete strangers, usually living considerable distances from other Indians and unaccustomed even to meeting such commonplace problems as shopping, securing medical and dental care and finding wholesome entertainment.

NEW SOCIAL CENTER

To meet this problem of social adjustment, the American Friends Service Committee, through its Indian Committee of the East Bay, yesterday opened an Indian Center in a two-story frame house at 2964 Telegraph Ave., with Miss Joan Adams as executive director.

Presiding Judge Raymond E. Peters, of the State District Court of Appeal, who is chairman of the East Bay Indian committee, gave this explanation of the purpose of the center.

"To be known as the Intertribal Friendship House, it will be run entirely by and for Indians. Policy and program will be decided upon by a council composed of Indians.

"We expect the center to be a place where the relocated Indians can meet their friends, learn about the community and its services and assets, work at their native crafts so as to preserve their culture and arts and generally become adjusted to their new environment."

Tribune photo

NEW INDIAN CENTER—Present for the dedication of a new social center for Indians who have been relocated in the Oakland Area are (front, from left) Mrs. Ethel Rogoff, center president; Miss Joan Adams, executive director; Mrs. Juanita Jackson, Mrs. Patsy Black and Mrs. Alice Carnes; and (rear) Morris Rogoff, Philip Jackson and William Black, secretary. The center is at 2964 Telegraph Ave.

MID-SUMM

ILLUSTRATION #4.
Relocation, 1956

'55-'80

ILLUSTRATION #5. CHRISTMAS GIVE-AWAY AT INTERTRIBAL FRIENDSHIP HOUSE. 1968.

ILLUSTRATION #6. FIRST AREA POW-WOW IN STERN GROVE, SAN FRANCISCO. CROWNING THE FIRST BAY AREA INDIAN PRINCESS. 1958.

WARRIORS

28

Eva Brown, Bea Medicine, Martha St. John

Photo by Susan Lobo, Community History Project

Illustration 8

Honoring Dance for Bea Medicine, Stanford Pow Wow 1980

=9
13yrs

Pictorial History of D-Q U, 1970-1989

A Personal Statement by the Artist, Paul A. Owns the Sabre

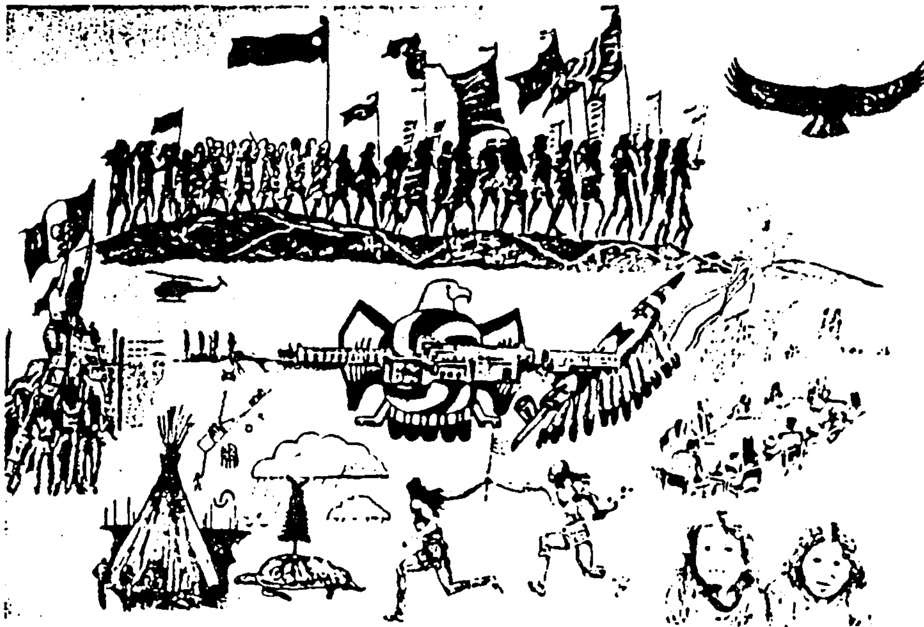
Beginning a school out of nothing amazes me. I think that only good can come from furthering education for Native Americans, so they have the tools to survive in a complex society.

Like all that we hold important in life, bringing a dream into reality requires a catalyst to start the motion forward. It was Sacramento State University and University of California at Davis students who went over the fences and occupied the land back in 1970. Can you imagine the energy that must have been felt on that day when everything became a reality by this one action? It is proper to dedicate this picture in their honor.

The D-Q U logo seems like the Phoenix, coming out of the fire with a strong spirit no matter what is in its way.

Above D-Q U, the mountain range to the west adds strength to the picture. The mountains, if they could speak, could tell us all they have seen over the centuries. They could tell us how to keep our dreams alive and have the will to survive in a changing world.

It is the spiritual quality of the figures walking over the mountain range that represent the hopes and dreams of Indian people now and for generations to come. The Longest Walk came into being in this out-of-the-way place, D-Q U. This little



place reminds us that we must all stand together and unify ourselves in our quest to right many wrongs done to us as a people. We must strengthen the bonds between us so we can survive in a world that understands very little about us as a people.

In the drawing, you can see a helicopter hovering above a tipi. These people in the helicopter were trying to count the people occupying the land. It was comical how the people on the land confused those in the helicopter by constantly moving in and out of the tipis and going in different directions.

The first sight you get of the school is of the buildings. It looks like a prison camp of sorts until you get closer to the bland-looking buildings. In the center of the picture, D-Q U is represented by the eagle and Hopi symbol against the buildings.

The eagle in front of the Longest Walk represents a message carried from west to east, and fifteen people who ran over the high Donner Pass, carrying a sacred pipe wrapped in red cloth, symbolizing all Indian nations. For one brief, cold, rainy, sleety, and snowy night they truly were one with the eagle in their combined courage to overcome all that faced them.

Board members in the picture meet to maintain the structure and balance of the school, and keep its foundation strong as a learning institution. And lawyers uphold the rights that are due to all people in the courts of the land.

Two figures running a relay with a sacred staff were part of a run of 500 miles, starting from D-Q U. It is a powerful feeling to run in the mountains and for a split second feel one with the Creator! And helping each other finish our task as a running team leaves us aware of how much we depend on one another.

To add respect to the picture, and present a feeling of unity, I put in symbols from the Four Directions. From the East is the Tree of Peace of the Six Nations people of New York. The D in the word D-Q U stands for the name of one that is honored among the Six Nations people. The letter Q stands for a Mexican Indian name, a very strong spirit south of the border in Mexico.

The symbol for the South is a prophetic pictograph of the Hopi people. To represent the West, and the Wintun who lived in the area where D-Q U now stands, I used a Bighead dancer from Northern California. A sacred pipe represents the North. All areas of the country played a part in helping this place, D-Q U, grow into what it is today.

The most important of all I left for last. It is the two children who will represent us long after we are gone. The best legacy we can give them is to show them the way, help them maintain their identity as Indian people, and continue to fight for the rights of Indian nations.

Thank you for reading my presentation. I feel good about this drawing because I was fortunate enough to have help from the people there in changing my outlook on all that's happened, good and bad. We are all important in some way or another as a part of history. Whoever of us brushed against a dream that became a reality will be forever affected by what took place here, in 1970 to the present time, 1989.

All My Relations,

Paul A. Owns the Sabre
Cheyenne River Sioux
D-Q U graduate, 1985

ILLUSTRATION #10. Mural at D-Q University depicting reaction to census.