

ABSTRACT

PAN-INDIANISM IN THE METROPOLIS: A CASE STUDY OF AN EMERGENT ETHNO-SYNCRETIC REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT

By

Gordon D. Northrop

This is a case study of a metropolitan Pan-Indian organization, a revitalization movement, which dates from 1940. In addition to the characteristics of pan-Indianism generally, Pan-Indianism is essentially secular and is identified by a complex of traits diffusing primarily from the Southern Plains; the most critical being intertribal pow wows, and generalized Indian dancing and costumes. A revitalization movement is viewed as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying way of life. These emerge under conditions where their adherents perceive the socio-cultural conditions under which they live as peculiarly distorted against their best interests, from which their unsatisfactory lifeways derive and to which attention is given when considering antecedence. Since Pan-Indianism involves the blending of cultural elements from many

once-diverse tribes and the dominant society, brought together by the union of descendants of the originally diverse ethnic units on the basis of tenets perceived to be common to all, the term ethno-syncretic is coined to cover this type of revitalization movement descriptively.

This study is divided into two parts, being executed along two interrelated and mutually supporting dimensions. Part I is set in diachronic perspective and uses qualitative sociocultural data gathered from written documents, informants, and participant observation. It describes the relevant characteristics and development of the organization, including antecedence. In Part II a series of hypotheses are offered; essentially synchronic quantitative data, gathered via the responses of individuals across the metropolis to an interview schedule, are employed; and tests are made between the entire Pan-Indian group and a control group, a simple random sample of Indians never identifying with the movement, for correlates of affiliation suggesting antecedence.

Developing Pan-Indianism gave the revitalistic features of the organization a peculiar configuration which includes the perspective of Indian society and culture as a unitary system; and which colors its non-regressive pluralistic goal culture, means, and code which can rejuvenate the individual. Able charismatic

leaders have proclaimed homily-like messages with evangelistic fervor. Religious overtones are not lacking. We suggested a series of developmental stages: 1940-1948, increased individual stress and the emergence of pan-Indianism; 1948-1949, the beginning of the period of revitalization; 1948-1958, the first period of adaptation, intense missionary activity and the adoption of legislative and political means, and formative Pan-Indianism; and 1959-1968, the organization becoming the local champion of Indians with fully-developed Pan-Indianism. A series of factors has contributed to a developing perspective of sociocultural distortion in the dominant society against Indians and the difficulty of dealing with it, partly because of their position in and dependency on it.

In keeping with the suggestions in Part I of increased individual stress and sociocultural distortion, the tests in Part II were to determine if persons in the Pan-Indian group do experience the same more often than those in the control group. These were made in a manner allowing the assumption of stress in two primary areas: vertical mobility in the class system of the larger society, and tribal marginality. The former measures were in the goal areas of education, occupation, and pay; with which, to provide a sense of ethnic blockage for being an Indian, were correlated measures on relative deprivation

and experienced discrimination. All findings were highly or very significant. Interestingly, our findings did not suggest that the Pan-Indian group achieved lower, but rather that they maintained higher and unrealized aspirations, despite their sense of unjustified disadvantage by the dominant society.

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The Two Flags of Pan-Indianism

To those who have been so close to this study:

my wife,

SHIRLEY ANN,

and our children,

GORDON DANIEL,

who came to his untimely accidental death

during my absence while engaged in

field work for it,

and

DEBORAH ANN,

and

PRISCILLA ELIZABETH,

and

TIMOTHY DOUGLAS.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

A revitalization movement may be viewed as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying way of life. From this perspective this study seeks to describe Pan-Indianism in a contemporary U.S. metropolis, using the North American Indian Association of Detroit as a case study. This is perhaps the oldest metropolitan all-Indian organization with continued existence in the United States, predating the pioneering work of Howard and Newcomb on Pan-Indianism in Oklahoma. Since 1940 it has changed from what was essentially a single purpose organization, oriented around recreation, to one which envisions and actively seeks a better way of life for all Indians. To this end it has become the local champion of Indians and the means through which they do for themselves.

We ask essentially one question, to which is related the second: (1) can some Pan-Indian organizations (it) be viewed as a type of revitalization movement, and (2) what are some of the contributory antecedent factors? Of interest in the search for antecedents (to be delineated

later) is the concept that revitalization movements emerge under conditions where their adherents perceive the sociocultural conditions under which they live as peculiarly distorted against their best interests, from which their unsatisfactory lifeways derive.

The study is divided into two parts, being executed along two interrelated and mutually supporting dimensions. Part I is set in diachronic perspective and uses qualitative data gathered from written documents, informants, and participant observation. It describes the relevant characteristics of the Association and seeks an understanding of sociocultural factors which have made it what it is today. In Part II a series of hypotheses are offered; essentially synchronic quantitative data, gathered via the responses of individuals across the metropolis to an interview schedule, are employed; and tests are made between the entire Pan-Indian group and a control group, a simple random sample of Indian Americans who have persistently refused to identify with the Association, for correlates of affiliation suggesting antecedence. The purpose here is to determine if indeed persons in the Pan-Indian group can be assumed to be under stress associated with dissatisfaction in the sociocultural situation in which they find themselves. Here we take in part the approach of Parker and Kleiner (1966), suggesting that an understanding of the discrepancy

1

between aspirations and achievements is fruitful. Tests will be made in two primary areas: vertical mobility in the class system of the larger society, and tribal marginality. The former measures will be in the goal areas of education, occupation, and pay, with which, to provide a sense of ethnic blockage for being an Indian, shall be correlated measures on relative deprivation and experienced discrimination. Using these two approaches of Part I and Part II we hope to extend current understanding on Pan-Indianism, demonstrate the fruitfulness of using the dual approaches in understanding a single problem, and to make our findings comparable with a wide variety of other studies.

Pan-Indianism

Pan- Combining form and formative element . . . all . . . all, whole, entirely, altogether, by all, of all . . . 1. With national names, and words formed in imitation of them, with the sense 'or, pertaining to, or comprising all (those indicated in the body of the word); with sbs. in -ism and -ist, generally expressing the notion of or aspiration for the political union of all those indicated, a sense which also tends to colour the adj. (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: Vol. VII, p. 412.)

Although not the first to refer to Pan-Indianism, W. W. Newcomb and James H. Howard wrote the first articles devoted specifically to it in 1955, each believing at the time that his was the first to be published. Both referred to a previous but unpublished paper by Karl Schmitt

which had been read at the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association in 1948, and both developed definitions and descriptions developed out of studies on acculturation in Oklahoma in 1952. Both observed that, instead of passing into and being absorbed as nondistinctive members of the dominant society, many Indians of differing tribes and locales were visiting each other at great distances, were developing new social relationships, and were both innovating and exchanging cultural traits from their respective tribal backgrounds. In describing this the concepts of intertribalism, syncretism or blending, and "Indian" were employed. Those involved seemed to possess a corresponding sense of identity and unity as Indians and to have developed certain cultural patterns somewhat unique to themselves containing elements of but not representative either of their tribes or the dominant society. The secular focus of activities was the large outdoor pow wow which lasted from several days to a week. This featured Indian dancing by large numbers of persons of differing tribes, "feather" costumes, the Indian princess, and the sale of Indian crafts. Howard and Newcomb viewed this separately identifiable sociocultural phenomenon, apparently new in the area, as one of the final phases of acculturation and affixed to it the term "Pan-Indian." Their offerings are, however, slightly different.

Newcomb's emphasis appears to be on social interaction. His definition of Pan-Indianism is most clearly seen in his use of the words "intertribal" and "only as Indian" (Newcomb 1955:1941,1942);

. . . it became evident that, although Delaware culture was rapidly disappearing, the Cherokee Delaware participated in a number of customs and institutions which were describable only as Indian. They were neither Delaware nor Anglo-American . . . this phenomenon . . . has been termed "Pan-Indianism." . . . Much of their time and a great deal of their energy is consumed in activities which can only be described as Indian. There is wholehearted participation in and allegiance to what may be called a Pan-Indian society.

This Pan-Indian society is a loosely knit, formally unorganized grouping of Indians, who, having lost their old cultural orientation, but not being fully assimilated into white society, have joined forces and are participating in and sharing a number of intertribal customs and institutions. These institutions were and are being synthesized from elements derived from Indian cultures, but are also drawn from white civilization.

Howard appears to emphasize culture and used "Pan-Indianism" to refer to a process. He sees the phenomenon as being supertribal, in which sense he appears to use the terms "intertribal" and "non-tribal" (Howard, 1955:215 and 220):

. . . rather than becoming nondistinctive members of the dominant society, many Indians have instead become members of a supertribal culture, which we here term pan-Indian. By pan-Indianism is meant the process by which sociocultural entities such as the Seneca, Delaware, Creek, Yuchi, Ponca, and Comanche are losing their tribal distinctiveness and in its place are developing a nontribal "Indian" culture. Some

of the elements in this culture are modifications of old tribal customs. Others seem to be innovations peculiar to pan-Indianism. . . .

With continued acculturation there has been a tendency toward the loss of tribal identity in many Oklahoma Indian groups. Instead of complete assimilation to white "American" culture, however, a pan-Indian culture has arisen. The principal secular focus of this culture is the powwow, centering around the war dance, stomp dance and certain other dances and Indian activities.

We shall use the term Pan-Indian as an adjective and Pan-Indianization, if at all, to refer to the process which Howard called "pan-Indianism," thus bringing it into conformity with terms such as "acculturation," "enculturation," "socialization," etc. The term Pan-Indianism shall be used as a noun, following Newcomb, usually in reference to the phenomenon. Should we use it in reference to ideology the context will make this clear. For clarity, we shall ordinarily use Pan-Indian ideology.

Minimal elements in pan-Indianism would seem to be a sense of inclusiveness, intragroup socializing, and syncretism. By inclusiveness we refer to an ideology which contains the perspective of the union of all Indians around a common effort or cause, or common goals. In this sense we would expect persons involved to see themselves as a whole, or as "Indians" in contrast to non-Indians. By intragroup socializing we have in mind social behavior corresponding to the inclusiveness mentioned. We believe that those who are bound together by a sense

of oneness will tend to socialize at both the intergroup level, i.e., between the component parts, and on the intra-group level, i.e., within the whole. As we are using the term, intragroup implies interaction between formerly separated groups. By syncretism we here refer to an exchange of cultural traits between those involved and the tendency or effort to reconcile and/or unite the various elements. This seems in agreement with the foregoing and the probable outcome.

Conceivably, there may have been in the past and/or may be in the future other types of pan-Indianism either related to or unrelated to that which we are studying. We do not wish to speculate here what such might be but we note that two have been suggested for the past and/or present. These are the Ghost Dance of 1890 and the Peyote Cult. These also have an emphasis on "Indian," feature intertribal activities and the exchange of cultural traits, are nontribal in that they are not restricted to a given tribe, and they also have supertribal ideologies. The Native American Church, or the Peyote Cult, has, for example, been described as pan-Indian. Aberle (1966:335) comments, "Both in terms of practice and ideology, peyotism is pan-Indian." Slotkin (1956:7) considers that peyotism "culturally . . . is a case of Pan-Indian nativism." LaBarre (1938:166) speaks of the unifying effects of peyotism, and more recently

Farb has said (1968:288):

Peyote is totally a Pan-Indian movement, an accomplishment in itself when one recalls the warfare between Indian groups in aboriginal times.

Of the Ghost Dance of 1890 Oswalt said (1966:515,516):

Pan-Indianism is a synthesis of those things Indian. The Ghost Dance of 1890 was the first great example of this type of movement, and the peyote cult is another. Both of these are religious in nature, but another aspect of Pan-Indianism is secular.

Both Newcomb and Howard saw contemporary Pan-Indianism emerging on the Southern Plains as the result of acculturation. Neither expected the phenomenon.

Howard suggests it is only getting started (1955):

With the collapse of the old tribal life prior to and immediately following their placement on reservations in Indian Territory, a state of acculturation was reached which seemed to presage complete assimilation. Technologically, economically, in social organization and religion the various Indian tribes seemed to be rapidly approximating white culture. This was, however, more apparent than real, for, rather than becoming nondistinctive members of the dominant culture, many Indians have instead become members of a supertribal culture . . . pan-Indian. (p. 215)

It is not known whether all of the tribes now resident in Oklahoma participate in pan-Indianism. . . . Pan-Indianism is not spread evenly among the tribes that participate in this phenomenon. . . . Among some of the tribes pan-Indianism is seen as "foreign," and there is a conflict between it and the older native culture. In others it is more compatible. (p. 216)

. . . the pan-Indian blending is not yet complete. (p. 218)

Newcomb was so impressed that he thought to return to study the emergent phenomenon itself (1955:1941):

It was apparent that in the following summer's field work a survey of this phenomenon, which has been termed "Pan-Indianism," should be made. This survey was undertaken as peripheral to the major study . . .

Both thought that the phenomenon might diffuse to other parts of the United States, Newcomb suggesting (1955:1044):

It will be interesting to see whether Pan-Indianism will become more widespread in the future, or whether it is but a fleeting and insignificant part of the assimilation process.

Howard, in speaking of distances traveled, implicitly suggests possible routes. These are, however, all reservation areas (1955:219):

Now it is not uncommon for Oklahoma Indians to make visits to tribes in Nebraska, Iowa, and even Wisconsin at powwow time. The 1952 Ponca powwow was attended by delegations of Omaha and Winnebago from Nebraska and Ojibwa from Cass Lake, Minnesota, not to mention groups from almost all of the Oklahoma tribes.

In general anthropologists have adopted their suggestions of the Southern Plains origin of contemporary Pan-Indianism. Illustrative of this thinking are the comments by Hurt (1960):

The Pan-Indian movement in the eastern United States has been studied by Ernest Schusky. . . . Schusky noted that the generalized [Pan-Indian] culture is spread by Eastern Indians visiting other Indians in the West and by Indians from throughout the United States who have moved to Brooklyn. (Quoting from Schusky's mimeographed student paper, 1957: 122,123. NOTE: "Pan-Indian" in the above is a personal insertion for clarity.) (p. 283)

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Since the time of contact the American Indian has been forced to adjust to the changing status assigned to him by peoples of European descent. Frequently he has reacted in inter-tribal movements. The Ghost dance, which spread to the Northern Plains, was a major reaction to his subjugation by the Anglo-Americans. . . . In the Southern Plains the Peyote became a major element in the gradually evolving, generalized, nontribal Indian culture, which has recently been referred to as "Pan-Indianism." (p. 285)

Some have suggested that the route from the Ghost Dance of 1890 to contemporary Pan-Indianism lay through the Peyote Cult. Thus, Newcomb, in speaking of its characteristics in Oklahoma in 1952, follows Brant (1950: 222) in saying that Peyote "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a 'pan-Indian' movement" (1955:1042). Howard evidently does the same. We make two observations at this point: (1) In our administration of the pretest of our interview schedule one person, a Cheyenne male, had peyote and claimed affiliation with the Cult. He stated that there is no local branch of the Native American Church in Detroit but that he does participate in the ceremonies on the very rare occasions when he visits in the Southwest. We observed that in Detroit his primary affiliation and activities lie with Alcoholics Anonymous and that his participation in Pan-Indianism is at best nominal, his attendance at the pow wows being as spectator only. (2) While the syncretism of the Ghost Dance may not have extended as far as that of its successor, the Peyote Cult, it may have been closer

in some ways to Pan-Indianism than is the Native American Church which emphasizes solemn meditation in a secluded atmosphere. When the ceremonies of the Ghost Dance appeared on the Southern Plains, they featured Indians from various tribes dancing together. Interestingly, however, the war dance, which is of Pawnee origin, is now the most enjoyed dance in the Pan-Indian pow wow (Appendix D-59); and the round dance, or old Plains scalp dance in a slightly modified form (cf. Howard, 1955:216,218), runs a close second. Both were forbidden in the Ghost Dance. Furthermore, the Ghost Dance sought to unite all Indians in a common cause, albeit supernatural, to effect change not only within the individual but in the dominant society itself. Contemporary Pan-Indianism, we think, does the same but in a much more limited manner and via secular means (cf. Steiner, 1968; Aberle, 1966). In other words, changes in the dominant society, we suggest, are desired and eagerly sought. Our perspective distinguishes between Pan-Indianism and the Native American Church, although we recognize similarities and overlapping personnel.

Having discussed the criteria which should apply to any type of pan-Indianism and having looked at two possible cases, we now turn to the problem of selecting a name for the phenomenon under study. Others also have coped with this problem without much success. Thus,

Evon Vogt refers to the works of Newcomb and Howard and then comments (1957:145,146):

. . . what appears to be emerging is an interesting type of "Pan-Indianism." This Pan-Indianism . . . this type of Pan-Indianism . . . this emerging type of Pan-Indianism.

In like manner Fred Voget says (1956:259 and Note 9, p. 260):

. . . a nationalistic Pan-Indianism seems now to be emerging. . . . Pan-Indianism as Newcomb seems to imply. Pan-Indianism as it is now emerging.

No special term appears in the literature and we shall not innovate one. For the sake of clarity, however, we shall capitalize the term and use Pan-Indianism or Pan-Indian to refer to the phenomenon under study here and pan-Indianism or pan-Indian, except in quotations, to other relevant phenomena.

By the term tribe we shall refer to a recognized and named social group which extends backward in time to one of the aboriginal societies of North America and is composed of individuals who can, or presumably can, trace lineal descent from a person or persons who belonged to one of these indigenous groups. Ideally, the members of a given tribe are accorded social status, often related to treaty agreements, distinct from those of other tribes and from the dominant society by the United States and Canada and have attendant rights and responsibilities. Actually, some persons whom we shall include in this

category have been cut off from official or legal status with subsequent loss of privileges and responsibilities still characterizing those who retain such status. Names used to designate tribes or persons will be congruent with those conventionally used by anthropologists and the respective governments, e.g., Cherokee, Seneca, Delaware, Navaho, Sioux, etc. Because of the prevalence of inter-tribal marriages it is sometimes necessary to compound terms when speaking of individuals, e.g., Chippewa-Delaware, Mohawk-Onondaga, etc. Since many tribes have been relocated, dispersed, and broken up, it will be necessary sometimes to use geographic and corporate distinctions in reference to meaningful differences. In this case we shall use adjectives resulting in terms such as Moravian Delaware, Michigan Potawatomi, Walpole Potawatomi, Caughnawaga Mohawk, Oklahoma Cherokee, etc. It is recognized that aboriginal differences did exist between tribes but no effort is made here to designate these by special terms since it is irrelevant to our study.

Indian is used in several ways in the literature on Pan-Indianism and here. When we use it in reference to persons it shall be applied to those who identify themselves to other Indians and to non-Indians as being one-fourth or more of Indian "blood" or descent and are so identified by other Indians. Our use of the term here makes no distinction between those who retain and those

who do not have official tribal status. We believe that in the metropolis those who have lost such status may be as important in understanding Pan-Indianism as those who retain it. We have elected to use the requirement of one-fourth or more degree Indian "blood" as an operational measure because (1) it is an essential requirement for regular membership in the group under analysis and therefore well suited to our sampling techniques; (2) it is a convenient control in both data collecting and analysis, allowing us to avoid "non-Indians;" (3) it is probably the most customary biological requirement for most tribes; and (4), as a means of distinguishing between Indians and non-Indians in our discussion in this paper, it is perhaps as close to the way our respondents think as any single criterion we know how to devise. When we use "Indian" as a noun in the singular, it shall refer to an individual or type of individual defined above. When used in the plural, it shall refer to a group or category of such individuals. Occasionally it may have the sense of Indian identity or peoplehood. If so, the context shall make it clear.

As an adjective, the term "Indian" may be both useful and misleading. It can be used as easily for phenomena which are not Pan-Indian as for those that are, e.g., an Indian culture in contrast to one that is not--its meaning in this case shifting depending on time and

place, the group concerned, the speaker, etc. The term also has the inclusiveness required for a descriptive adjective such as we would like for Pan-Indianism and fits the definition of "pan-" (p. 2) well. It is also the term most often on the lips of our respondents when generalizing about Indian culture as a whole and one which we cannot well avoid. We prefer to, and shall try to, use the term "Pan-Indian" most often. When we use the term Indian, it shall only be used in a sense which is relevant to contemporary Pan-Indianism. Furthermore, we always use it with the concept of syncretism in mind.

Most anthropologists who have written on Pan-Indianism use the concepts of syncretism and/or synthesis. (Funk and Wagnalls, 1948):

syncretism: 1. A tendency or effort to reconcile and unite various systems . . . on the basis of tenets common to all and against a common opponent. 2. The fusion of two or more . . . forms which were originally different.

synthesis: 1. The assembling of different things; combination of separate or subordinate parts into a new form; composition, construction.

Both are useful but our preference is for syncretism because we feel with Howard (1955:218) that "the blending is not yet complete," and because we think it somewhat more relevant when applied to certain areas of Pan-Indian ideology.

In delineating Pan-Indianism we have in mind the syncretism or synthesis that Howard and Newcomb spoke of.

Here we specify the body of traits which they mentioned: the pow wow, the Indian dances, the Indian princess, and the sale of Indian crafts. Although we recognize that there are regional differences, in general these traits appear to accompany Pan-Indianism. In Michigan there is Indian dancing, with blended elements, prior to the large-scale acceptance of that from the Southern Plains. There are also pow wows prior to the advent of those derived from the Southern Plains. To make ourselves clear we use the term "Indian dancing" for the type prior to that from the Southwest and the terms "Pan-Indian type of dancing" or "Southwestern type of Indian dancing" when dealing with the critical years. We also refer to the earlier pow wows as "tribal pow wows" for that is what they essentially are, and the others as the "Pan-Indian pow wow" or the "Southwestern type of pow wow" in the critical years. After the advent of the Pan-Indian type of dancing or pow wow there is no longer need to make a distinction because they come in with such force that other types are of minor importance.

We have not included Peyotism as a trait accompanying Pan-Indianism because we think the two should be separated in our thinking and analysis, and because we believe that Pan-Indianism is spread over the greater area. The Pan-Indianism we have in mind is essentially secular in its goals and means. This is not to say that

religious overtones or sentiments are lacking in Pan-Indianism, but rather that the basic configuration is not around religion. There is quite likely some religious syncretism but we think it varies with area and is of lesser relevance.

We can accept the notion of "nontribal" in our definition of Pan-Indianism, providing it is considered as meaning "no particular tribe" and not "antitribe." As we see it, Pan-Indianism may indeed deemphasize tribal identity and/or tribal loyalty in favor of its own activities and ideology but it cannot deny the tribe or be antitribal either by definition or in fact. It includes members and elements from diverse tribes, and encompasses in perspective all tribes. Even a person's Indianness is determined in part, at least in the contemporary setting, by his ability to trace descent from a particular tribe. Pan-Indianism is intertribal because of the socializing between persons of, and exchange of traits between, different tribes. It is, however, unlike a confederacy or purely intertribal conclave because those involved have a unity which is more important than and transcends, while not disregarding, the tribe. In this sense the term supertribal unity seems fitting. It is akin to supertribal culture which Howard (1955:215) added. Since the syncretism of Pan-Indianism involves cultural elements from many once-diverse tribes and the dominant society, brought

together by the union of descendants of the originally diverse ethnic groups on the basis of tenets perceived to be common to all, we have coined the term ethno-syncretic descriptively. This is to distinguish it from terms such as "ethico-syncretic," "sacro-syncretic," "econo-syncretic," etc., sometimes used descriptively of certain revitalization movements.

Movements designated by the prefix Pan- often feature not only a feeling of supergroup oneness, uniting the parts and members, but also an ideology relative to common goals. As far as we know only Ruth Hill Useem has used the term in this manner, although she recognizes that Pan-Indianism has other dimensions. Some twelve years after Howard and Newcomb had done their field work, when Pan-Indianism had become a viable phenomenon and national in scope, she commented in a paper prepared for the Symposium on Reservation Culture at the American Anthropological Association (1964:8):

I should like to use the term Pan-Indianism to refer to the topmost, nationwide ideological movement which has come into being to give dignity, symbols, visions and hope to a newly developing ethnic group. The leaders of this movement are "successful" Indians and interested whites, who are using the Indian cultural heritages of the past not as a point of regressive escape from the present to gain self-esteem, but by pooling what were once separate and unshared cultural heritages as a way to create a new history which will give both dignity in the present and a vision for the future. The creation of such a new history gives the nascent ethnic group a separate identity from

Negro Americans. It also gains support from sections of the dominant society, who already have respect for and interest in the history, for the plight of the impoverished Indians.

After the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, which permitted the tribes to reorganize, there began to appear committees and groups organized at the national level to represent the cause of Indians. As early as 1944 the National Congress on American Indians came into being. Interestingly, neither Howard nor Newcomb noted any political overtones in Pan-Indianism on the Southern Plains when they wrote in 1955. Newcomb, in fact, noted the absence of interest in these organizations at the national level (1955:1043):

Most professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded.

This is interesting because such interest is in evidence elsewhere. The political storm over the termination of tribes and reservations resulted in considerable reaction. Only a year after Howard and Newcomb, in mentioning Pan-Indianism, Voget commented (1956:259) that ". . . a nationalistic Pan-Indianism seems now to be emerging."

Currently there are a number of similar organizations at the regional and national level, all with Pan-Indian interests, although their specific purposes may vary. These observations raise the question, "Does Pan-Indianism have a unitary origin?" We have operationally

characterized modern Pan-Indianism as having a set of traits derived essentially from the Southern Plains. We also suggest that the sense of Pan-Indian unity, and the interest in diverse means, e.g., political, legal, educational and/or other, may be of different spatial and temporal origins and a response to conditions other than those which Howard and Newcomb found.

In 1961 Indians from across the United States assembled on the campus of the University of Chicago in the American Indian Chicago Conference (Lurie, 1961:478):

The occasion was unique and of historic significance. For the first time Indian people of many different tribes from all over the country and representing many different points of view came together to compare and to discuss their problems just among themselves. Through a free exchange of Indian experiences, feelings, and views, they sought to find sources of agreement on which future Indian policy should be built. . . . In the late hours of the night, however, the observer would have no doubt that the dark, earnest people speaking in soft unfamiliar accents and dressed in everything from conservative business suits to flamboyant styles of the far West were American Indians. The campus rang with the sound of tom-tom, pow-wow songs, and the soft thump of dancing feet.

When Indians gather on occasions such as this, one notes that attention is often given toward the achievement of a better way of life for Indians and the most feasible manner of attaining it. In the summer of 1969 another important meeting was held (Newsletter, American Anthropological Association, Oct. 1969, p. 6):

A study conference of 40 Indians from across the country took place in Denver in August "to devise strategy in attacking problems which now face the

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American Indian." Operating on the sensible assumption that Indians can decide best what they need, the study group met to discuss those needs in the first national meeting of Indians not selected by whites.

We make some interesting observations. When the North American Indian Association was organized in 1940, twelve years prior to the observations of Howard and Newcomb in Oklahoma, Indians from there were not only members but were doing in Detroit the dances of the Southern Plains. From 1945 members of the Association have taken increasing interest in the welfare of all Indians and increasingly have been involved in the use of political and other means to achieve those ends. Through the years it has maintained close working relationships with Pan-Indian organizations at the regional and national levels. In 1952 when Howard and Newcomb were making their observations in Oklahoma, Indians from the Southern Plains, residents of Detroit, already were teaching Pan-Indian dancing to members representing perhaps a score of tribes. At least six were present at the meeting in Chicago, mentioned above, and one was an official representative with a series of proposed goals for Indians as a whole. When the meeting occurred in Denver the Association was represented by another official representative. It is this Association, so long linked to events on the Southern Plains and so closely tied to events on the national level, that we use as illustrative of Pan-Indianism, asking to what extent it may be viewed as a revitalization movement.

Theoretical Orientation

Howard (1955:220) and Newcomb (1956:128) indicated, as we have seen, that Pan-Indianism is one of the final stages of acculturation just prior to assimilation. This "stage" was part of Newcomb's fourth "phase" of acculturation (Newcomb, 1956:123):

The present phase of acculturation has been termed assimilation, since the Delawares have become, at least in external appearance, similar to their white neighbors. An important feature of this phase of acculturation is participation in a Pan-Indian society.

Indians on the Southern Plains were seen as making two types of adaptation: (1) they were going into the dominant society and accepting its culture or (2) they were becoming Pan-Indian (Howard, 1955:215). Both were erosive of the former tribal cultures (Newcomb, 1956:122):

In sum, two sociocultural groups are rapidly obliterating the old culture and society of the Cherokee-Delawares: one is Pan-Indianism, the other is the Anglo-American culture. In general terms, more and more Cherokee-Delawares are becoming less and less Delaware and more and more white or Indian.

Pan-Indianism was viewed, however, as a mechanism halting or retarding final disappearance into the society and culture of non-Indians:

. . . it became increasingly clear, however, that they were not completely assimilated, nor did it seem likely that they would be in the near future. (Newcomb, 1956:117)

. . . a stage of acculturation was reached which seemed to presage complete assimilation . . . the various Indian tribes seemed to be rapidly

approximating white culture. This was, however, more apparent than real, for rather than becoming nondistinctive members of the dominant culture many Indians have instead become members of a supertribal culture which we here term pan-Indian. (Howard, 1955:215)

How long this pan-Indian culture will continue is dependent on a number of largely unpredictable factors, such as economic conditions, population shifts and future miscegenation. (Howard, 1955:220)

We have seen that both thought Pan-Indianism might diffuse from the Southern Plains (pp. 5, 6) but their focus was on the reservation. Newcomb was evidently unaware of, or at least he did not conceive its diffusion into urban areas due to migration, miscegenation, and further assimilation (1956:120,122):

. . . the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community.

. . . Perhaps the greatest deterrent to a more flourishing Pan-Indianism is found in the correlated facts of dispersion and assimilation. The majority of Cherokee-Delawares upon reaching maturity leave the area. They do so because there are no strong, culturally forceful ties which would hold them back, and there are many economic advantages to be gained elsewhere. They are far enough along the road of assimilation that they can go elsewhere and become nondistinctive participants in the majority society.

Pan-Indianism is, of course, found outside the reservation and in our urban and metropolitan areas. While some are becoming nondistinctive members of the dominant society, others are developing a new, Pan-Indian, sense of ethnicity.

Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (1963) have challenged the notion that the U.S. society and culture absorbs and thereby destroys ethnic groups, and suggest instead that there are forces at work which perpetuate or actually generate both the feeling of peoplehood and identification with ethnic minorities. Given time, these groups change considerably both in their composition and characteristic features from their earlier state and develop more or less unique ones distinguishing them from others. Their study indicates that minority groups, far from being absorbed into the larger society and lost, persist. Of this in the city, they note (1963:18,291):

The city is often spoken of as a place of anonymity, of the breakdown of some kind of preexisting social order. The ethnic group . . . served to create a new form of order.

. . . The group-forming characteristics of American social life . . . are as old as the city. The tendency is fixed deep in American life generally; the specific pattern of ethnic differentiation, however, in every generation is created by specific events.

Only a cursory look at the contemporary Civil Rights Movement indicates that ethnicity, far from being lost among Negro Americans, is a developing and viable phenomenon. We suggest that something similar is occurring among Indian Americans. It is this which interests us. Why is Pan-Indianism found in the metropolis?

Ruth Hill Useem has recently suggested (1964:9):

American Indians . . . are becoming in social organization that by which they have long been designated as a category. Some have called this Pan-Indianism--but it is not a simple, one level group. Rather, it is a series of groups differentiated by ethnicity, social class, by minority group status, by shared deprivations or shared privileges, by similar although not identical reservation ways of life . . . by the type of community in which they are embedded . . . this nascent ethnic group. . . . The character of this new group will take its main outlines from the mainstream of American life.

We have observed in Metropolitan Detroit persons, often without any appreciable knowledge of Indian crafts, dancing, or other aspects of their former cultures, learning in recent years certain crafts, Pan-Indian dancing, actively participating with others in Pan-Indian activities, including the pow wow, and by so doing declaring both to Indians and the non-Indian society their Indianness. Few have done field work on this phenomenon. Recently Joan Ablon made a study of families brought to the San Francisco Bay Area in 1954-1955 through the Voluntary Relocation Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and commented out of her data (1964:303):

In the city the alternative of passing into white society is often an easy one, but still it appears that not many take that course. To the contrary, many become more positive of their Indianness after they arrive. Perhaps the self-image of Indianness stands out more sharply in the white world for people who come from reservations where the old ways are dying out and no meaningful new identity-action patterns have developed for the individual. In the city a person may dramatically realize that he is an Indian, because for the first time his identity

stands in high relief in the midst of his all-white neighbors and workmates. As a result he begins to seek out Indian groups, to "dance Indian" for the first time or to take pride in his children's dancing. Perhaps he will take an active interest in Indian political problems. Thus a neo-Indian type on a new level of self- and group identity with a pan-Indian as well as tribal orientation may be born from the necessity of mingling with members of other tribes.

She also suggests that (1) many have been drawn unwillingly into urban life, (2) certain Indian values are incompatible with those of American capitalism, (3) many Indians have a deeply entrenched dependency on the federal government due to previous experiences under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and (4) most important, the presence of a basic antagonism to white society which has developed out of a history of rejection and discrimination, although in the metropolis little of this is still felt. We note that Detroit has no Relocation Program, many of its Indians have never lived on an Indian reservation, and many are long-time residents and well-adjusted to the metropolis. There are other explanations of Pan-Indianism but they tend to be colored by the area and context of study.

We have elected to view the phenomenon within the larger context of revitalization movements. The term selected was introduced by Wallace in 1956 and has since been used as perhaps the most comprehensive one in the literature, under which a variety of movements which meet

the necessary criteria have been taxonomically ordered (cf. Wallace, Voget and Smith, 1959; Clemhout, 1964). In sociology this is paralleled by "social movements" (cf. Voget, 1959:26; Aberle 1966:315). The decision to view the North American Indian Association of Detroit in this context has a number of advantages, one of which being that it brings our data and analysis within a range of existing anthropological theory, thus making it of immediate explanatory value (Beattie, 1964:43):

. . . what is common to all kinds of explanation is that they relate what is being explained to something else, or to some order of things or events, so that it no longer appears to hang in the air, as if it were detached and isolated. . . . What is not fully intelligible when considered in and by itself becomes so as soon as it is seen as part of a wider whole or process, or as an exemplification of some principle or pattern already understood.

The approach also aligns our study with other similar movements, including those pan-Indian ones mentioned, among American Indians and suggests certain variables for consideration.

Our definition of a revitalization movement as a deliberate, organized effort by members of a society (e.g., ethnic group) to construct a more satisfying way of life is in keeping with that offered by Wallace (1956). In only one point have we made a change, our use of "a more satisfying way of life" for his "more satisfying culture." Our words emphasize goals for a better and different way

of life from what has been and/or is experienced. They are synonymous with "a more satisfying culture" if they are not extended to mean one which is totally new or radically different. If by "new" we use as synonyms "more satisfactory," "new configuration" plus new elements, our definition would be in accordance with that offered by Wallace. On this, Aberle (1966) recently suggested that one may, if he chooses, assess goals from the perspectives of time, the recipients of the changes sought, the degree or amount of change, and the locus of change, i.e., individual or supra-individual. Accordingly, he developed a taxonomy and suggested that Pan-Indianism should be considered a reformative movement because it seeks partial change on a supra-individual level whereas the Ghost Dance should be viewed as transformative because it sought total change on the supra-individual level (1966:341).

Wallace distinguished revitalization movements as a species or type of culture change, distinguished by certain criteria under which subtypes might be placed and fruitfully understood. Typologies, he noted (1959), are always more or less incomplete but, nonetheless, they provide a uniformity in understanding, afford suggestive insights, and are an aid in comparative analysis. Like Linton in 1943, he, by definition, removed these from other types of culture change which do not depend on conscious, organized effort. He noted, however, that

they often do appear in a situation of culture contact.

(Wallace, 1956:265):

Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory, and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits. The classic processes of culture change (evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change, acculturation) all produce changes in cultures as systems; however, they do not depend on deliberate intent by members of a society, but rather on a gradual chain-reaction effect.

It is not our purpose in this paper to argue for or against human control over culture and cultural processes. We are simply saying that revitalization movements are characterized, by definition, as group efforts to control--to achieve a better way of life. Whether human beings can or cannot alter their destiny is one thing. Whether they try to change it is something entirely different.

Revitalization movements have been classified into different varieties. Two types are of interest to us: nativistic movements and syncretic or synthetic ones. The difference is in the goals sought, although we should remember that such difference is relative. The emphasis is on primary intent: nativistic movements essentially seek to restore or perpetuate but they are usually syncretic in certain features; syncretic movements essentially

seek to combine but they often also seek to perpetuate or restore certain features.

Perhaps the most significant pioneering work on nativistic movements was that of Ralph Linton in 1943. His definition will hold for our purposes (1943:230):

. . . we may define a nativistic movement as "Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."

It will be noted that, by this, nativistic movements are resistive of change and have as primary goals the restoration or perpetuation of selected but not all parts of the traditional culture and life ways. He noted that these might be either magico or rational with respect to identifications and means, and also that they might appear in either the dominant or subordinant society.

Marian Smith has defined the synthetic movement (1959:10):

. . . synthetism may be defined as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to combine selected aspects of two cultures."

It is within this context that we shall view Pan-Indianism, calling it ethno-syncretic, descriptively, since the syncretism involves the combination of elements from various tribal cultures and also from the non-Indian culture.

Wallace observed that revitalization movements are a fairly common phenomenon, so much so that probably few

of us have not been involved in one at one time or another. Like Linton, he (1956) suggested that they might be secular as well as magical or religious in means. Despite the suggestions of these two men, the weight of anthropological discussion and description has been on the religious or magical varieties. Indeed, in attempting a taxonomy Smith (1959) suggested the term "Cult Movements." Movements which are overtly secular, e.g., Communism, are seen as having religious-like qualities. We suggest that Pan-Indianism, which is secular in identification, also has its religious overtones. We raise, however, the question of how great a stricture should anthropologists place against secular types in favor of religious; and, if the term "revitalization movement" is narrowed exclusively to religious phenomena, does the stricture enlarge or dwarf our perspectives and does it really help or hinder investigation and understanding?

Since revitalization movements often occur in a situation of culture change they may correspond to stages in acculturation (Voget, 1959). They may, therefore, follow one another in time. In another context, they may also occur in a situation characterized by differences in social class, caste or "pseudo-caste." It seems appropriate to take the perspective of revitalization in considering the emergence of Pan-Indianism since, in the case of the American Indian, religious movements have sometimes

become secularized; and, since Pan-Indianism apparently follows in the wake of the more religious types, Voget developed the concept of "reformative movement" which, while religious in identification, is close to our syncretic variety. In speaking of Pan-Indianism he commented (1956:259):

. . . they perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. . . . The universalistic quality of the reformative movement also extends the social and cultural experiences of individuals, stimulating a feeling of being an Indian rather than the member of a particular tribe. It is upon this affect-base that a nationalistic Pan-Indianism seems now to be emerging, with regional congresses to unite those sharing similar cultural backgrounds. . . . Reformative movements thus pave the way for a more secular, pragmatic and accommodative adjustment. Reformation appears to be an essential phase in the growth and experience of American Indian minorities, which begins with the defense of the old life with military action and passes to efforts at reviving the past with ritual and the assistance of a commanding supernatural figure. . . . American Indian reform movements are the beginning of a Great Awakening (Sheean, 1949:299-363).

All revitalization movements have certain common characteristics. All envision a more satisfactory way of life. They are group efforts to correct an unsatisfactory and/or distorted culture or way of life. All are characterized by definite goals and a program, or means, for their achievement. They are organized in the sense that there is leadership which more or less commands, via personal magnetism or charisma, a following. These proclaim, in a homily-like manner, a vision of a better

tomorrow, i.e., goal culture, and the means of achieving it. Such movements are usually described as missionizing or being missionary-like in that they attempt to win significant others to their point of view and enlist them in their activities. Individuals appear as emissaries of the vision carrying the message and activities of the movement to other similar groups, if such exist. A code of behavior emerges which members expect each other to keep, which code is related to the ends sought. All see the current conditions, in which the adherents appear enmeshed, as unsatisfactory and seek its alteration. It is within this context that we shall present and consider the emergence of the North American Indian Association of Detroit.

Wallace suggests that revitalization movements usually emerge suddenly, given proper conditions. The Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890 are generally conceded to be such movements, yet Herskovits (1938), following Nash (1932), Lesser (1933), and Spier (1935), makes a case for the aboriginal origin of most of the traits. The message of the movements involved aspirations for a new way of life for its followers and an improvement on the unsatisfactory and distorted conditions under which they were currently living. The message did not envision an entirely new culture in the sense that all the traits were new. There were innovations, but the goal culture was new

primarily in the sense that it was different from the one they were currently experiencing. The roots were old, it was the message and the new orientation of Indians around the vision of hope which was the genius of the movements.

At the present time there are gaps in our knowledge of the origins of Pan-Indianism. Usually anthropologists infer the origins from the Southern Plains, following the suggestions of Howard and Newcomb. It should be borne in mind, however, that it had already begun when they did their field work. We should like to know, for example, more of its origins and possible connections with other revitalization movements, including those which were pan-Indian, among American Indians, e.g., the Ghost Dance of 1890 on the Southern Plains. This is not, however, our problem, but we note that Pan-Indianism is one phenomenon and revitalization is another. A Pan-Indian organization may or may not be a revitalization movement, i.e., it may or may not have the criteria allowing its classification as such. We suggest that the set of traits which we operationally designated as accompanying contemporary Pan-Indianism, i.e., the southwestern type of pow wow and Indian dancing, the generalized "feather" costumes, the Indian princess and sale of crafts, may not be associated with revitalization. Persons may exhibit these for other reasons, e.g., they may do Indian dancing and participate

in pow wows for recreational reasons. Organizations with these may, on the other hand, exhibit the features of revitalization movements.

There are interesting comments suggestive of revitalization in the writings of Howard and Newcomb on Pan-Indianism in the Southern Plains as of 1952. The setting was that of culture contact where the cultures of participants were rapidly disintegrating leaving their adherents without the security which these formerly afforded:

"As the old culture declined and Delaware society disintegrated the void was partly bridged with a melange of traits which are Indian." (Newcomb, 1955:1044)

"With continued acculturation there has been a tendency toward the loss of tribal identity . . ." (Howard, 1955:219)

There are suggestions of group effort toward common goals:

"Pan-Indianism may also be explained as an attempt, perhaps largely unconscious, by a minority group composed of many different tribal remnants to find unity and strength in common customs. In a sense, it is a final attempt to preserve a distinctiveness of being which a dominant civilization has tried to destroy. But in another sense it may be regarded as an effort to glorify or enhance a minority group status which the dominant majority has insisted be preserved." (Newcomb, 1956:128)

"It may best be explained as a final attempt to preserve aboriginal culture patterns through intertribal unity." (Howard, 1955:220)

We have already noted from their writings that one gets the impression that the appearance of Pan-Indianism in the area was rather sudden. They had envisioned Indians in the area

as being in the process of assimilation, moving into the dominant society and culture, but they found Pan-Indianism present, countering at least for its participants assimilation. The only means, and these are implicit in their writings, are unification in the Pan-Indian society and culture. We do not intend to suggest or deny that Pan-Indianism was revitalistic there at that time, but we offer the above for its interest.

From Linton (1943) one might get the impression that a requirement exists that all or most of a society's members must be involved for the movement to be called "nativistic," and, by extension, "revitalistic." Indeed, Barber (1941:663) comments, "All members of the community--men, women, and children--must participate." This, however, is not necessarily the case. Barber's article is concerned with the Ghost Dance of 1890 but Mooney's observations in the field indicate that it was met by some opposition in every tribe where it spread, varying from a majority in some cases to a minority in others, that some tribes received it and later rejected it, whereas others rejected it outright. Kroeber was aware that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread and that it received very different receptions, sometimes by tribes having almost identical cultures (see Stewart, 1944:89). Both Stewart (1944) and Aberle (1966) make specific note that the Peyote Cult, sometimes

classified with nativistic, reformatory, or revitalistic movements, is very often accepted by only a few in the tribe and is actively opposed by others. While it may be that some revitalization movements are characterized by most or all of the members participating, in lieu of so great a variance in the number or percentage of persons who do become participants versus those who do not, we do not feel restrictions placed on this study in terms of the size of a Pan-Indian group as a possible revitalization movement.

Our paper is divided into two primary parts. In Part I we offer a description of the emergence of the North American Indian Association of Detroit in diachronic perspective and consider its features which may be related to revitalism. At this point we suggest that it began as a voluntary association with goals and a program which were primarily recreational but that at a later date it was caught up in Pan-Indianism and came to have goals envisioning a more satisfactory way of life for all Indians. These, we suggest, include the alteration not only of opportunities for Indians but also of the dominant society itself. We suggest, furthermore, that a program has been developed to achieve these ends. We also include the criteria heretofore mentioned. Data for this comes from participant observation, interviews, and written records. For the protection of individuals, in keeping with our

promises to our informants, we make an effort at anonymity.

Therefore, when referring to Indians who are or have:

(1) been members of the Association or (2) lived within the larger geographical area covered by this study, we shall use code numbers, e.g., [49], both in the text and the Appendix rather than name. Furthermore, we shall not quote directly from such unless the statement is a matter of published and, therefore, public knowledge. The only exceptions are occasional use of brief portions of taped comments (Appendix D) where neither anonymity nor the security of our informants is in any way breached. In order to provide objectivity we shall, however, use actual dates and the actual names of places and organizations. Inasmuch as the latter, along with documents which have been printed or mimeographed for public use, are a matter of public knowledge their use is not viewed as a breach of trust or anonymity nor are they intended as such.

From this point in this chapter our statements are pertinent to Part II of the study. Here we deal with an area of interest which is more restricted than that of Part I, seeking certain antecedent factors in the experiences of the members which account in part for their affiliation with the Association. This is related to Part I because we see revitalization movements as appealing to certain types of individuals. Here our data are quantitative. We suggest that the findings should not be

interpreted as sufficient explanations but as contributory. We make this statement as a caution since these data are syncretic in perspective and the logic of procedure necessitates something of a time sequence. We also make it because we assume that those affiliating with this Association and becoming active in its activities will display characteristics similar to those in comparable Pan-Indian organizations elsewhere. Furthermore, we believe this caution is in keeping with general anthropological theory on revitalization movements. It is conceivable, for example, that proper conditions might exist without one appearing, e.g., the appropriate message envisioning hope might not be present. By asserting that we seek antecedent factors in the lives of individuals we are saying that, given the presence of a revitalization movement, those who respond by affiliation or some degree of active interest will more often exhibit the characteristics to which the movement is a response than will those who do not so participate. Data for this part of our study, wherein our hypotheses are tested, come from the administration of an interview schedule.

Anthropologists have shown considerable interest in antecedent factors behind revitalization movements and the phenomenon of stress appears to be one of the most common explanations offered. It is implicit in the statement of Wallace on the unsatisfactory culture which members

of these movements are trying to alter (1956:265):

". . . they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory . . ." It is more specific in his words (1956:269):

Over a number of years, individual members of a population (which may be "primitive" or "civilized," either a whole society or a class, caste, religious, occupational, acculturational, or other definable social group) experience increasingly severe stress as a result of the decreasing efficiency of certain stress-reduction techniques. . . . While the individual can tolerate a moderate degree of increased stress and still maintain the habitual way of behavior, a point is reached at which some alternative way must be considered.

and (Wallace, 1956:267):

The effort to work a change in mazeway and "real" system together so as to permit more effective stress reduction is the effort at revitalization; and the collaboration of a number of persons in such an effort is called a revitalization movement.

Stress is a key concept in Linton's formulation (1943) and also to Kroeber (1948:437-440) who, in discussing nativism, used the terms "despondency," "universal hopelessness," and "inescapable frustration in personal life." Other designations for stress in regard to nativistic movements include "social hysteria" (Howells, 1948:278), "group hysteria" (Hagan, 1966:411), "trauma" (Chesneaux, 1965:449), "social and economic dissatisfaction" and "suffering" (Smith, 1959), "cultured stress" (Clemhout, 1964) and, among others, "pervasive and durable frustrations" (Voget, 1956:249). Although he speaks about social movements, Aberle is clearly talking about the phenomenon

which we are calling revitalization movements and he sums what we have been saying in the words (1966:322,323):

Social movements are, almost by definition, associated with some notion of distress, deprivation, dysphoria, or discontent. Unless we assume that humanity ceaselessly strives for perfection, we are obliged to assume that the goals of transformation, reformation, redemption, or alterations have roots in some negative evaluation of the current state of affairs. . . . In movements where the beneficiaries of change are to be the members of the group which constitutes the social movement, even if others are to benefit as well, we must, I think, assume that there are subjective feelings of distress connected with the experience of members of the group. This assumption . . . is central to virtually all theories and descriptive treatments of such movements.

Inasmuch as the assumption of stress is central to most studies on revitalization movements, we feel that some consideration of the same should be undertaken in this study. The concept, however, needs narrowing and operationalization to be of utility in research (cf. also Aberle, 1966:316). In this study it is limited by definition to an assumption and narrowed to an operational measure in a manner which allows us to infer its presence, under stated conditions, in association with each of our hypothesized independent variables--the dependent one being metropolitan Pan-Indianism, the indicator of which is the Membership Group.

In this study associated stress is purely an assumption and is synonymous with "the assumption of stress," "assumed stress," or sometimes simply the term

"stress," should we use it--such alternates being employed in an effort to make for readability and to minimize redundancy. As used here, the term has the connotation of "psychological discomfort" (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:10) or "subjective feelings of distress" (Aberle, 1966:322,333). We assume it can be generated in individuals by the socio-cultural system in which they are imbedded, especially one perceived as unsatisfactory. We have elected the assumption of stress because in accordance with the overall design of our study, e.g., some of the other contributions we have also aspired to make, we felt it wise for reasons of economy to forego the use of psychological tests in data collection, analysis, and presentation.

As indicated above, we are interested in locating certain features in the sociocultural system which can be assumed to be sources of distress to those under analysis. Therefore, when we present our variables, we shall first state a particular feature of the system and then affix "associated stress." This is to narrow our thinking and to call attention to that part of the system from which "stress" is assumed to stem. Although this study is actually conducted at the sociocultural level, we seek relatively good reasons for assuming its presence and for linking it with the stated sociocultural conditions. Accordingly, we shall state both our reasons for and our measures for the assumption on each of our variables in

the following section of this chapter and immediately prior to the presentation of our hypotheses.

We have been concerned about the analysis of data which is pertinent to the contemporary situation in which our respondents find themselves and which at the same time can be studied in a manner which is relevant to revitalization theory. Other considerations involved the usefulness of our data, comparability, with a wide range of other studies. We observed that Indians in the metropolis are caught up in the larger, predominantly non-Indian society of the contemporary United States where social and cultural change is proceeding at a rapid rate; and we deduced that the underlying theme of social mobility in all of our measures would have great relevance. Considering in advance the persons whom we knew to be involved in metropolitan Pan-Indianism, we also observed that most are relatively long-time residents of the metropolis and we reasoned that, regardless of why individuals or families migrate to the metropolis, sooner or later they will come to cope with the social class system of the larger society. Furthermore, we observed in our participant observation on the Association under study that practically all of the money gathered through pow wows or other activities is directed toward educational scholarships. Observing our definition of a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized attempt by members of a society to construct a

better way of life," we deduced that measures on social mobility which involved aspirations and achievements would be both relevant and revealing. We also observed that the salience of Indian achievement in the dominant society is apparently in keeping with the concept of the "new Indian" (cf. Steiner, 1968). We asked ourselves, "Are these group goals a function of stress associated with unachieved aspirations of vertical class mobility?" Put another way, the question was, "Are persons who affiliate with Pan-Indianism, i.e., that under study in particular, individuals who have accepted the goals of Anglo-American society--e.g., the 'American Dream' (Merton, 1957:136; cf. Parker and Kleiner, 1966:326)--but who, due perhaps to background variables which are peculiarly Indian, experience stress because they have not achieved their goals?" Our two major variables, set in terms of two hypotheses (I and II), relate to two primary areas of experience: the first to relationships between the individual and the larger, predominantly non-Indian, society; the second to relationships between the individual and his rural tribesmen and tribe. The first focuses on the individual as he copes with the larger society in an effort to achieve goals relating to vertical class mobility. The second focuses on migrant metropolitan Indians and their aspirations to maintain both status with their tribes and meaningful social

relationships with their fellow tribesmen who have not migrated from the rural tribal area--usually the reservation.

The first of our major variables, class mobility and associated stress, has two dimensions and includes three sub-variables which will be analyzed in terms of three sub-hypotheses. The first of these dimensions concerns goals of social class mobility. It is not uniquely Indian since the same measures could be applied without alteration on persons who are non-Indian. The second dimension includes the second and third sub-variables and relates to issues which are peculiarly Indian, i.e., they cannot be applied, without alteration, on non-Indians. These relate to a perceived sense of blockage from the attainment of one's goals because the individual has been identified as an Indian and, in consequence, disadvantaged. The first major variable is a composite, requiring correlations between the first and second dimensions referred to. Restated: the first dimension includes (1) the disjunction between aspirations and achievements and associated stress, synonymous with "unachieved goals and associated stress" or "unachieved aspirations and associated stress" (sub-variable one). The second dimension includes (2) relative deprivation and associated stress, synonymous with "perceived relative deprivation and associated stress" (sub-variable two); and (3) discrimination,

synonymous with "experienced discrimination for being an Indian" (sub-variable three). We turn to these three in sequence at this time and to their operational measures in the next section of the chapter.

The disjunction between aspirations and achievements and associated stress. Essentially, this variable concerns the failure of individuals to achieve their goals and stress associated with the same. As stated, it contains four elements: aspirations, achievements, disjunction, and associated stress--a measure to be considered subsequently. By aspirations we refer to a person's long-range goals for himself, i.e., what he would really like, that toward which he is working or striving. By achievements we mean his present status, in the goal area, i.e., has or has not he realized the aspiration. By disjunction we refer to the difference between a given aspiration and achievement--which is an operational measure to be described later. In this variable we consider neither aspiration nor achievement alone but together in a manner which will allow the consideration of failure or lack of achievement. Disjunction or failure to achieve one's aspirations or goals, has a long history both with respect to the assumption of stress and to revitalization or revitalization movements. Merton (1957, 131-160) considered that stress is the direct result of the disjunction between socially valued goals and the available

means provided by the society for the attainment of such, a formulation similar to our conjunction of this first variable with the two which follow.

The stress-provoking results of the disjunction between aspirations and achievements was noted by Honigsmann (1954:408):

Personal tenseness in a community stems partly from the degree to which culture includes wants without corresponding patterning means through which these goals may be achieved. (Gillin, 1951:2)

Communities frequently inculcate aspirations for which there exist no ready paths to achievement. Sometimes the achievement of goals that are held out as desirable to all segments of a community become especially difficult for particular sub-groups and categories.

Such stress is evidently directional. In speaking on the relationships between anxiety and affiliation, Schachter noted (1959):

. . . the affiliative tendency is positively related to the state of anxiety which in turn is highly directional due to the needs for anxiety reduction and for self-evaluative needs.

. . . Given a choice, individuals facing an anxiety-provoking situation prefer to be with others in a similar plight, rather than to be alone or with others facing a different set of circumstances.

If one group perceives itself disadvantaged in comparison to others in the achievement of the satisfactions of life, is not their culture distorted in their eyes? In other words, it seems fair to assume that if members of the group are characterized by unrealized

aspirations in the pursuit of their life goals and if they believe themselves to have been disadvantaged by others in the achievement of these goals, more so than others, then those concerned must feel that culture is distorted and that in at least this respect, is unsatisfactory. Asymmetrical opportunity for the achievement of one's goals in a society which promises equal opportunity for all is, therefore, here assumed to correspond to the more general process of "cultural distortion" noted by Wallace (1956).

If the culture is perceived as being distorted against the group of which one is a member, e.g., ethnic or "Indian," one obvious way out of the difficulty is to flee from the disadvantaged group into that which is not perceived to be disadvantaged. As with the Negro so also with Indian Americans, some undoubtedly do or attempt to "pass" into the dominant society and escape from their ethnic background. We have observed that this is both a prevalent theme in the gossip and sometimes the outright admission of Indians. Our interest, however, lies not with those who are so assimilated into the white society but rather with those who are not, in keeping with the observations of Howard, Newcomb, and others.

Wallace suggested that during the "period of cultural distortion" regressive behavior might characterize the group (1956:269,270). One of the more recent studies

on American Indian adaptation to the metropolis, the Tri-Ethnic Research Project, had as one of its primary hypotheses the testing of acculturating groups, American Indians being one, failure in the achieving of their aspirations against alcoholism. The result was significant and Graves commented (1967:319):

These conclusions are important, and their implications for social action far-reaching. It would appear to be extremely shortsighted, for example, to encourage minority group members to acculturate to the dominant Anglo-American goal system without providing adequate economic access to their new goals. The resulting means-goals disjunctions are likely to produce high rates of problem behavior, such as heavy drinking, drunkenness, and many other forms of social deviance--some of it retreatist, some of it perhaps not--that will inevitably become costly social problems.

That the disjunction between aspirations and achievement or the means of achievement can, unless some escape is found, become so stressful as to result in psychotic or neurotic behavior has been recently demonstrated by Parker and Kleiner (1966:55-66). While, in their conclusions they suggest implications for the larger "Negro problem," we think that one could substitute almost the same stereotypes and "Indian" for "Negro" with real meaning (1966:345,346):

The values and orientations of the lower-status Negro have often been characterized as "the culture of poverty." As currently used, this concept conjures up an image of individuals with low aspirations coupled with a lethargic acceptance of their fate. Social welfare planning, involving social educational and retraining

programs, often implicitly assumes the above characterization. This culture and its members are sometimes seen as qualitatively (not only quantitatively) different from the more "respectable" elements of the society.

Our data suggest that for the lower-status Negro this characterization is too sharply drawn and may sometimes cause welfare workers to misunderstand the motivation of their clients . . . other findings suggest that their adjustment is not modally as apathetic as it might superficially appear. . . . The facts do not suggest a passive acceptance of fate, but rather a painful compromise.

. . . Analysis in different content areas consistently showed that Negroes who perceived the opportunity structure as open, and who had relatively high levels of goal-striving stress, were most prone to mental illness. This relates to the notion that a disjunction between goals and means is psychopathogenic.

This is, according to Wallace, exactly what revitalization movements are about. To those under stress these movements offer an alternative through the visions of a new way of life.

In their study on the Peyote Cult, Spindler and Goldschmidt noted that there were no significant differences in social class between members of the cult and the "transitional category" but rather that those who were peyotist experienced greater stress in achieving (1952:75) :

Between the Peyote Cult and the transitional category there are no reliable socio-economic distinctions. It would appear that the membership of the Peyote Cult is actually drawn from personnel in "transition" for whom the stress of adjustment was especially accute.

Speaking of the "reaffirmative native type," i.e., persons who become "nativistic," when formerly they were not of such a disposition, George and Louise Spindler comment (1957:154,155):

This type is usually represented by younger men. He was raised an Indian . . . but has experienced comparatively wide and intensive contact with white culture . . . and usually has traveled outside the reservation. For one reason or another he encountered blocks in his adaptation to white culture. . . . He has rebounded from white culture back to the tradition-oriented primary group maintained by geographical isolation and the influence of elders within the reservation community. . . . Because of this, for him the native-oriented group and its affirmation in ceremonial form assumes some of the character of a "nativistic" movement.

While some persons of Indian descent, under the conditions outlined above, evidently do, according to the literature, escape to the reservation or the rural Indian community and find the experience "revitalizing," others for a variety of reasons, remain in the city or metropolis. Under such circumstances, would not affiliation with a Pan-Indian organization in the metropolis accomplish similar ends? Recalling that Newcomb termed the present phase of Indian American acculturation "acculturation," we note here with interest the statement of Spiro, which, though on the Italian American, can be translated with equal significance to metropolitan Indians (1955:1244, 1245) :

Specifically, the acculturation of an ethnic group in the United States--its acquisition of the dominant group--is an exclusive function of the group's desire and capacity for acculturation; but assimilation--the disappearance of group identity through nondifferential association and exogamy--is a function of both dominant and ethnic group behavior . . . when a group with mobility aspirations is, despite its acculturation, denied assimilation, one of the alternative consequences of this denial may be some form of nativism.

. . . How does a twentieth-century American, for example, identify with a thirteenth-century Italian? Although the "how" of this question is extraordinarily elusive, the "why" is suggested by Whyte (1943:274): "To bolster his own self-respect he must tell himself and tell others that the Italians are a great people, that their culture is second to none, and that their great men are unsurpassed."

Finally, that a consideration of the aspirations of a people, and by implication, their achievements, is highly relevant in contemporary thinking on revitalization movements is part of Firth's criticism of Lanterani's "The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults" (1965:450):

. . . some important later developments are ignored. Among these is the Ratana Church, originally a faith-healing and regeneration movement with some white adherents; it represented some Maori aspirations in a more subtle way than did the earlier cults, and it has taken on some of the characteristics of a modern political party. I think that consideration of such issues would have been relevant . . .

We do not suggest that the disjunction between goals and achievement along with the assumed associated stress is sufficient to account for a revitalization movement in and by itself. We are suggesting that other

factors also need consideration. In a multiethnic society with varying ideologies there must be something which focuses that stress toward ethnicity if there is to be a movement which centers around that. In the case of our study we suggest that, in addition to an assumed stress which is related to the failure to achieve life's goals, those concerned will feel that they have been disadvantaged in achieving them, among perhaps other things, because they have been identified as Indians by the non-Indian society and deliberately handicapped. This, we assume, focuses their attention on their Indianness, on their feeling of being in and a part of the larger society but also of remaining somewhat apart from it. It is at this point that we introduce our dual concepts of relative deprivation and discrimination for being Indian.

The concept of deprivation is an old one in anthropological thinking on revitalization movements, that of relative deprivation is more recent, being elaborated by Aberle and others. Deprivation involves loss and is sometimes equated with poverty and/or oppression. Thus, Wallace in commenting upon Mooney's "The Ghost Dance Religion" observes (1964:ix):

. . . Mooney regarded such movements as adaptive responses to intolerable stresses laid upon them by poverty and oppression. In this restricted sense, he was an early proponent of the "cultural deprivation" school of thought, which interests itself in the function of such movements as more

or less effective expressions of social dissatisfaction. In these senses, Mooney foreshadows later theorists.

But Mooney was not primarily a theoretician. He did not . . . clearly distinguish between absolute deprivation and relative deprivation (in the absolutist economic sense, the Sioux may actually have been in better circumstances than some of the tribes who took far less interest in the Ghost Dance) . . .

Philleo Nash used the concept of deprivation in much the same way that we are using the disjunction between aspirations and achievements. In this sense he noted (1955:439):

Acceptance or rejection of white culture did not determine acceptance or rejection of the revival doctrine, but success or failure in gaining the ends anticipated in the acceptance or rejection of white culture did determine acceptance or rejection of the doctrine. Participants in the revival were people who in some measure had failed to derive the satisfactions they anticipated in following a particular course of action. In this sense they were deprived, and this, it appears, is the basic relation between deprivation and revivalism.

Also, (Nash, 1955:441,442):

. . . The only group which had extensively taken over white values and skills--the Klamath--produced fantasies which expressed (a) their acceptance of the roles defined by white administrators, and (b) their dissatisfaction with the benefits attached to their own roles.

. . . The only group which had unequivocally benefited by identification with, and acceptance of, white skills and values--the Indian employees at the agency--not only took no part in the revival but attempted to suppress it.

The concept of deprivation, as Nash used it, suggests the utility of our measure on disjunction and possible

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this study might make to the results of his. In our study, however, we do not use the concept of deprivation but that of relative deprivation. The two are not the same.

Aberle, who has done so much to clarify the concept of relative deprivation, commented on the source of stress associated with these movements saying, "The core of the distress seems to be the experience of relative deprivation" (1966:323). We note in passing his comment that "reformative" movements, under which Pan-Indianism would fall should we use his taxonomy, should not be expected to be characterized either by as great a degree of stress or sense of relative deprivation on the part of their members as the "transformative" ones, e.g., the Ghose Dance (Aberle, 1966:330,331):

Reformative and alterative movements involve less deprivation and a greater consciousness of access to the sources of power.

. . . As for means, magical or empirical, the choice for transformative and reformative movements rests both on the general evolutionary level of the society and on the degree to which the obstacles confronting the group are seen as tremendous. In the case of some reformative movements, even in preliterate cultures, a relatively empirical approach may prevail. . . . The goals are limited, and the movements may be called reformative in many instances. And the means are empirical.

Aberle defined relative deprivation as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated

actuality, or both" (1966:323). Rather than using the concept of "reference groups" he used that of reference points and reference field. The "reference point" in his thinking is anything used as a basis for measuring legitimate expectation. Reference points may include not only reference groups but other phenomena as well, e.g., past versus present, present versus future. The total set of reference points he called the "reference field." Inasmuch as we are using other measures for aspiration versus achievement it is important that we clarify "reference group" as we shall use it.

The concept of reference group stems primarily from the field of sociology. Merton's views on goal striving and reference group behavior (Merton, 1957:131-194, 225-286) add important perspectives in this study. In anthropological circles Aberle (1966), Berreman (1964: 231-250), and Parker (Parker and Kleiner, 1966) among others have added to our thinking. Shibutani (1955) has delineated three separate usages of the term:

1. It designates that group which serves as the point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in forming judgments about one's self. It is in this sense that we shall use it in this study, thus our "reference group" will be equatable with one type of Aberle's "reference points." When making this distinction Shibutani noted (1955:562):

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. . . Merton and Kitt, in their reformulation of Stouffer's theory of relative deprivation also use the concept in this manner; the judgments of rear-echelon soldiers overseas concerning their fate varied, depending upon whether they compared themselves to soldiers who were still at home or men in combat. . . . The study of aspiration levels by Chapman and Volkmann, frequently cited in discussions of reference-group theory, also involves variations in judgment arising from a comparison of one's own group with others. In this mode of application, then, a reference group is a standard or check point which an actor uses in forming his estimate of the situation, particularly his own position within it. Logically, then, any group with which an actor is familiar may become a reference group.

2. It can refer to that group in which the actor aspires to gain or maintain acceptance: hence, a group whose claims are paramount in situations requiring choice. In this sense it is used to point to an association among whom one seeks to gain, maintain, or enhance his status. It is that group in which one desires to participate. We note here that we distinguish "membership group" from reference group in that the "membership group" is that group in which the actor is already a member.

3. The third usage signifies that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor. This need not be the one in which he is a member or that to which he aspires in membership.

On these three usages Parker and Kleiner comment (1966:138):

Although Shibutani's distinctions are conceptually clear and important to bear in mind when designing relevant research, these three different usages

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seem to be logically related and are probably empirically linked in actual ongoing social behavior. If an individual employs a reference group as a basis for self-evaluation, doesn't this group also structure his perceptual field? Similarly, if a reference group serves as a basis for self-evaluation and provides the individual with a normative structure, it seems logical that he also (if only in fantasy) wishes to gain admittance to this group.

As indicated heretofore, throughout this study we shall use the term to indicate the group which serves as a reference point or means of evaluating oneself.

Merton and Rossi (Kitt) brought together the concepts of reference group and relative deprivation (1957:227-236) purposely, suggesting that this conjunction be used as an intervening variable. We shall make use of Aberle's definition of relative deprivation and shall join it with reference group in order to ascertain the individual's feeling of his opportunities for the achievement of his life's goals "as an Indian" in comparison to those who are not. We shall also apply the concept of reference group apart from that of relative deprivation. We have noted that such application has relevance to aspirations and to achievements. When this is done we shall specify it in the text.

For our purposes and from our point of view, the most important study recently completed which attempted to apply the concept of relative deprivation was Aberle's "The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho" (1966). His

findings have in part influenced our research. He had attempted to measure a great number of variables and expended considerable energy and expense. He noted (1966:244):

In the end, the only clearly significant variables associated with peyotism had to deal with live-stock. Going by the board were acculturation, secularization, future-orientation, helplessness, dependency, attitude toward culture change, and many other intervening variables. This theory was firmed up more than six years after I began my field work, although it was one of many possible approaches I had flirted with from at least as early as 1950. . . . It is possible that the rickety scaffolding provided by the "tension" theory was a necessary step to later theory building.

and (1966:252):

The possible connection between Peyotism and live-stock reduction had occurred to me many times in the course of my field work, but only as one among many issues to be explored. In the end, it was associated with cult membership. In broad terms, membership in the cult was associated with the amount of livestock lost in the process of reduction, and with pre-reduction holdings. Furthermore, there was an association between the time of joining the cult and the amount of livestock loss (with certain qualifications supplied below). This finding is interpreted in terms of relative deprivation: of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality. As between any two individuals suffering the same type of deprivation, the individual who experiences the larger discrepancy is more deprived. . . . But the finding emerged out of a large number of nonsignificant tables that it could be regarded as quite accidental.

This finding is important but these statements by Aberle suggest that considerable more research on movements such as this should be done using relative deprivation as a variable for analysis. In contemporary anthropological

thinking there appears to be some degree of consensus on the importance of this as explanatory of factors precipitating revitalization movements but in what is perhaps the most monumental work to date done on the problem the only finding was in the area of livestock reduction, economics. From this probably other types of stress also followed but these were not ascertained. In lieu of the interest in the relevancy of the phenomenon, the somewhat disappointing findings, and the need for further research utilizing the variable, we have decided to use it here hoping to add to knowledge, theory and to contribute somewhat in the area of method.

One concern of ours is the translation of a variable such as relative deprivation to our population and to our other variables, e.g., the disjunction between aspirations and achievements, in a manner which is relevant, practical, and economical. We have narrowed relative deprivation, via narrowing reference field to "the group which serves as the point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in forming judgments about one's self" (Shibutani, 1955:562). We are observing it along dimensions which correspond exactly with those measured under the disjunction between aspirations and achievements, namely education, occupation, and pay. Since we are dealing with a population of migrants which makes the checking of their responses against what

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actually occurred impossible we have had to forego these measures and have instead taken the word of our respondents, followed by an open-ended explanation in each case. Our measure seeks the direct statement of the respondent as to whether or not relative deprivation has occurred and then the validity of the response by asking the respondent to explain himself, to tell us why he has answered as he did. We furthermore incorporate measures on the intensity of this feeling in keeping with one of Wallace's criteria for revitalization movements, "they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory" (1956:265). This measure is in keeping also with the comment by Wallis, who, while agreeing with Aberle on relative deprivation, said (1965:459):

Aberle (1962), after examining some millennium-messianic movements, found that the one factor in common was a sense of deprivation. The factor which, it seemed, influenced respondents was not their lot, but their attitude toward their lot.

In general, we suggest that groups of individuals might go on for years or generations being deprived in the absolute sense, e.g., consider sometimes the conditions of slaves, serfs or persons involved in a caste system in the lower echelons. When, however, a group is given new aspirations with the hope of achieving them, a dynamic change may occur in favor of mobility toward these goals. If, given these conditions, the group is then blocked or

thwarted from achieving its legitimate goals and the group feels itself relatively deprived in comparison to others who are perceived not to be so hindered, the stage can be set for a possible revitalization movement. If the group concerned is an ethnic group and if it perceives itself blocked because of ethnicity, then the revitalization movement will take on the characteristics of ethnicity.

Discrimination, another of our variables, is one which has been much discussed in conjunction with possible antecedent factors behind Pan-Indianism. It is to be distinguished from prejudice, or attitudes of antipathy (Berry, 1965:300). Prejudice refers to subjective feelings but discrimination to overt behavior or the differential treatment accorded to persons who are considered as belonging to a particular category or group. Both are multi-dimensional and can vary in intensity but they are not perfectly correlated. We assume that the individual who perceives himself discriminated against sees himself, at least for the occasion which he recalls, as unwanted by at least some in the dominant society or hindered by at least some from the achievement of his life's goals and because he is or was identified as an Indian. It is in this sense that Rose speaks of discrimination as "the deliberate holding down of a minority group by the refusal of opportunities by the majority group" (1961:334). For our purposes we assume that this experience is stress-provoking.

We believe that it may be a contributory, but not a sufficient, explanation of revitalization movements.

In his study on ethnic persistence among the Eta in Japan, Donoghue noted that discrimination is a factor, albeit not a sufficient one (1957:1016):

This study indicates that the persistence of the Eta in contemporary Japan cannot be explained simply by the discriminatory attitudes and prejudices of the non-Eta. Although these are necessary conditions . . .

In like manner Lurie noted discrimination as contributory toward "Indian" identity among the remnants of the tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy remaining in Virginia and the adjoining states (1959:299):

Indian identity, albeit only a historical claim, is prized since white identity is denied them by surrounding white people, and Negro identity is undesirable to them.

Anthropologists have observed that discrimination against Indians is probably more intense in rural areas, especially those adjacent to reservations and Indian communities, than in urban or metropolitan ones. The work of both Howard and Newcomb was done in a rural setting. Newcomb infers that mild discrimination may be a factor underlying Pan-Indianism (1955:1044):

Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually exist, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society. It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delaware. Of thirty-two individuals queried, only eleven

admitted having encountered discriminatory practices, and only two of these were willing to cite specific illustrations. Only one of these incidents, in rental housing, could be substantiated. While actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists, and a universal awareness of past discrimination, so that it is a force to be reckoned with in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism.

Placing apparently greater emphasis on discrimination, Howard commented, "One of the principal factors fostering this intertribal solidarity is undoubtedly racial discrimination" (1955:218).

In speaking of Pan-Indianism off the reservation and in the metropolis, Schusky, in commenting upon antecedent factors in Brooklyn, discounted the effects of race prejudice, and by implication certainly also discrimination, although he acknowledged that it may have been present in groups with a high degree of Negro blood (Schusky, 1957: 121,122). Hurt has described certain Indian churches and brotherhoods in the Northern Plains as "American Indian nationalistic movements." These, he believes are a direct response to discrimination associated with the ascription of Indians to low social status (1960:284):

The movement of the nationalistic organizations among the urban Indians of the Northern Plains is similar to Pan-Indianism in its de-emphasis on tribal identity. The Northern Plains nativistic movements, however, differ radically in that such groups as the Yankton Dakota Church make little or no attempt to preserve traditional Indian culture nor are they a blend of various Indian cultural traits. In fact, they place high value on the

Anglo-American way of life. In these organizations the emphasis is on demonstrating that American Indians have capabilities equal to those of other races. These two factors seem to explain the differences in the Yankton Dakota movement and Pan-Indianism. Prejudice and discrimination is much stronger in the Northern Plains and the Indians feel under pressure to prove themselves. In addition, the urban Indians of the type who join the Yankton Dakota Church or the Brotherhood of Christian Unity are much more acculturated than those who participate in the Pan-Indianism of Oklahoma or the eastern United States.

It would seem that under conditions of culture contact where the subordinated group is disadvantaged or deprived in reaching its aspirations that discrimination would almost always be present and would consequently be contributory to many revitalistic movements. As with relative deprivation so we would expect with discrimination that the attitudes of the people toward their being discriminated against would be of importance. In the case of Pan-Indianism, however, we are left with something of a discrepancy in the literature and a gap in our knowledge on this very point. Howard suggests discrimination is of major importance and Newcomb suggests it is of minor importance, and both for the same general rural area. Schusky and Hurt seem to concur that it is of negligible importance in the metropolis, i.e., Brooklyn, but Hurt sees it of primary importance in movements of other but similar nationalistic American Indian movements in the urban areas of the Northern Plains. Our observations in Metropolitan Detroit include considerable data

in which these people are discussing, planning civic and legal action and the like, all of which relates to discrimination. Because of the gap in knowledge and theory, we have elected to explore the phenomenon and to test it as an antecedent variable here.

We have other reasons for our selection of the variable of discrimination. We note that civil rights is a major issue in the larger society today and that efforts are being made to correct discriminatory practices. The case of the Indian American should be made, if it exists, on this point as well as that of the Negro American. Yet another matter remains. We suggest that not only Indian Americans but also many Negro Americans are seeking to effect a more satisfying way of life. Certainly the efforts and the successes of these people, as another minority group seeking similar but perhaps somewhat different ends, is a phenomenon which Indians involved in a revitalization movement in a metropolis such as Detroit cannot avoid. Its inclusion makes our work both relevant to civil rights issues and comparable with many other studies.

Our final variable for analysis is one which we have elected to call "tribal marginality," or, in keeping with the others, tribal marginality and associated stress. This is quite similar to the phenomenon to which anthropologists have sometimes referred as "detribalization."

so far as we know, they have not to date attempted to apply any measure of this to an understanding of Pan-Indianism. It is directly related to urban or metropolitan migration, long-time residence in the metropolis, and the possible stress-provoking results of this behavior.

In the late 1920's and early 1930's anthropological studies on acculturation got under way (cf. Beals 1953: 624) and soon the term "detribalization" began to appear in the literature. Its early meanings contained the notions of tribal disorganization, cultural disintegration, social and cultural decay and deprivation. Thus, in commenting on this era, Bohannon says (1963:393):

Whereas many anthropologists . . . turned to examining the ways in which culture changed, ignoring by and large the impact such change had on people, there was at the same time a tendency throughout the world to look at the problems of the human individual living in a changing society. A stereotype arose of the deprived man who in his deprivation merely turned inward to his memories of an older culture, or backward to despair. Such a man, it was said, was detribalized--he had been robbed of his own values and his own culture but he had been given nothing to take its place. Detribalization was the only fate that could be seen in store for the American Indians . . .

Detribalization, used this way, has been seen as contributory to revitalization movements (Barnett, 1953:5):

. . . messianic cults have emerged among native peoples whose life patterns have disintegrated under the pressure of advancing Western civilization and who find some measure of compensation and security in the promises of the prophets who are likely to arise among them during such periods of crisis . . . the detribalized and partially Christianized communities of Indians.

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A better definition, and certainly more relevant in our era, is that given by Bohannon (1963:393):

The word . . . must be taken at its face value. Detribalization means "removing from tribes" or "untribing." . . . A detribalized person is, then someone who is removed from his kind or from his sort, divorced from his political and social groups. We can establish an Elizabethan ambiguity and say that he has been un-kind-ed.

The essence of this has within it the concept of migration away from the tribe or ethnic group and its resultant effects. Numerous studies have been conducted on individuals of this sort emphasizing the difficulties of such transition. Thus, Honigmann observes (1954:413):

An extreme development of tension occurs during detribalization, when the individual steps out of his circle of kin, friends, familiar environment, and traditional life-ways to work in some heterogeneous urban quarter. . . . Here he finds himself surrounded by strangers . . . none of these migrants are trained to live under these conditions.

Many fail to make a satisfying adjustment and studies emphasize anomic social conditions and personality breakdown. Some, however, succeed. Some persons of Indian descent thus pass into the dominant society and are assimilated. Others who make the adjustment, and this is of relevance for Pan-Indianism, do not simply pass into the dominant society as non-distinctive members but become in a sense pluralistic--with their adaptation comes new perspectives and a new vision of a better way of life for Indians in the future.

We are not sure that "detribalism" is really descriptive of migrant Indians in the Detroit setting. One could make a good case, using the term in the first sense mentioned above, that most, if not all, Indians in the contemporary United States are so far removed socially and culturally from their original tribes, that they are detribalized. In this light "detribalization" would have little use since it would not discriminate or allow us to distinguish between persons. Also, if we should use "detribalization" in reference to migration from the reservations we would not be sure that it is apt. It appears that many reservation Indians come and go so often that there may exist meaningful social networks between those on the reservation and those in the metropolitan areas, cf. the case of the Caughnawaga Mohawks engaged in high steel work. Nonetheless, migration, accompanied by long-time residence in the metropolis, is not without its effect. Being pressed for a term, we have coined "tribal marginality" for use here.

"Tribal marginality" is similar to "detribalization" in the second of the two ways it has been used, except that, rather than emphasizing geographical distance, it emphasizes social distance. For our purposes it appears that a person can be a migrant, i.e., geographically removed from his tribal base, or reservation community, but perhaps not "detribalized" since rapid communication and

the presence of tribesmen in the metropolis allows the maintenance of both social relationships and status with his tribesmen. On the other hand, those social relationships and his status with his tribe can be diminished or severed in which sense he becomes marginal. Some might be happy in such a situation and move into the dominant society and be assimilated. Our concern is not with these but rather with those who are marginal but ambivalent or dissatisfied with it. In this sense our concept is parallel to that of Stonequist. The individual finds himself involved in two, not necessarily different but somewhat antagonistic, cultures. The theme has been popular with poets and novelists. Of such, Stonequist has said (1937:8):

The marginal man . . . is one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations.

The concept is related to aspirations, Merton commenting (1957:291):

The ineligible aspirant, however, engaging in this anticipatory socialization becomes a marginal man, apt to be rejected by his membership group for repudiating its values and unable to find acceptance by the group which he seeks to enter.

Berreman (1962:231-250) has both illustrated and suggested the use of marginality in anthropological studies on culture change. On the assumption that some individuals are under stress because of not only a disjunction in social relationships with tribesmen on the reservation but also perhaps because of loss or threatened loss of tribal status, we are interested in learning to what degree this is contributory to Pan-Indianism. We suggest that to those who are under stress because of being marginal to their tribe and also for not having achieved their life's goals in the dominant society that Pan-Indianism is an alternative, a means of identifying with a new group composed of others like one's self. In this light we retain the perspective of Bohannon (1963: 394,395):

People who successfully reorient their lives after the detribalization experience have had to find a new personal equilibrium. They have had to find a new tribe--a new "tribe" is indeed to be found among those very detribalized persons. And it is an expanding society with a progressive culture. . . . Far from being merely "detribalized," such people have become "multicultural," and people who are multicultural come into a new inheritance . . . nationalistic movements . . .

Such is the nature of the successful answer to the impact situation and to detribalization. People learn, at whatever cost and with whatever personal problems, to be bicultural. And even more difficult, they learn . . . to translate quickly and surely between their two cultures. The difficulties are immense, but the rewards are correspondingly large . . .

Pan-Indianism is syncretic, its members are in a sense bicultural or multicultural. Its members are oriented toward both goals in the dominant society and toward the tribes, but in a supertribal manner. This being so, we are not suggesting that its members necessarily aspire to live or retire on their reservations but we are suggesting that there is intense interest in maintaining social relationships with those still there and status there as well.

In summary: class mobility and associated stress and tribal marginality and associated stress are two variables oriented in somewhat different directions. The former relates to aspirations toward the dominant society and the latter toward the maintenance of social relations and status with the tribe. Associated with class mobility and associated stress are (1) disjunction between aspirations and achievements and achievements and associated stress, (2) relative deprivation and associated stress, and (3) discrimination. Tribal marginality stress seeks an answer to the question, "Why, if the individual is under assumed stress because of class mobility, not return to the reservation or rural tribal area?" It posits that one reason is that members cannot easily do so for a number of reasons, one being that many have either lost status there or that they have become involved in situations since leaving which make such return undesirable,

difficult or impossible. It also notes that both status and continued social relationships there have salience but that there is a disjunction between those aspirations and actuality.

Conceptual Definitions and Hypotheses

We have noted the general consensus among anthropologists that revitalization movements are a response to stress in the lives of persons who live in a culture which is distorted and perceived as unsatisfactory. Wallace (1956:266) suggested that this stress should be physiologically measurable. Given analyses of cultural distortion, most studies to date assume associated stress. More recently anthropologists are expressing an interest between aspiration and achievement as a precipitating factor behind these movements. It would seem that measures which take into account the (D) differences (disjunction) between what a group of people wish they had (aspirations) and what they actually do have (achievements) in a manner which will allow, with some degree of reliability, the inference that this disjunction actually is stress-provoking are of importance in studies which are not themselves psychological.

Merton noted that the concept of the discrepancy between aspiration and achievement has a long history of use in understanding human behavior and raised an important

question, central to the problem of measurement (1957: 151, f.n.35):

The critical question is whether this familiar insight [discrepancy] can be subjected to rigorous experimentation in which the contrived laboratory situation adequately reproduces the salient aspects of the real-life situation.

While we were grappling with the problem of measurement, one which would be economical and at the same time comparable with important recent studies by anthropologists, the work of Parker and Kleiner (1966) was published. This seemed relevant since (1) they measured directly the differences (discrepancy) between aspirations and achievements in a contemporary U.S. metropolis, (2) operationalized measures of stress from easily gathered socio-metric data which, (3) when correlated with psychological stress (persons diagnosed as "mentally ill" by psychiatrists and by a modification of the Cornell Medical Index, a psychosomatic symptom scale) often reached the .001 level of significance (cf. Parker and Kleiner, 1966:48-123). Here, then, was a relatively simple means of making the measurements we sought and of strengthening our assumption of associated stress. Accordingly, we elected to replicate in part their measurements and methods. By so doing, we hope to extend our knowledge of Pan-Indianism and to recommend the method to others. To make our study as comparable as possible we shall use essentially the same definitions and measures although analyzed somewhat

differently. We have not suggested that stress in the lives of those who might affiliate with Pan-Indian associations reaches the level of those whom Parker and Kleiner identified as neurotics or psychotics but we have suggested that it is a response to the same sort of stress, stress assumed to be associated with the failure to achieve one's aspirations in a cultural system which promises equal opportunity for all.

They utilized the Lewin-Escalona statement of the Resulted Weighted Valence Theory (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:16) which assesses both the approach forces toward a goal ($P_{succ} \times Val_{succ}$), probability of success and valence of success, and the withdrawal forces from the goal ($P_{fail} \times Val_{fail}$), probability of failure and valence of failure. These were associated with their measure of (D), the discrepancy between aspiration and achievement.

The (D) discrepancy between aspiration and achievement was taken in three areas of human behavior relevant to social class: education, occupation, and pay. Their interest was, as ours is, in a person's long-range goals, aspirations, rather than those which were more immediate. They measured achievement along a seven-point scale corresponding to social class in each of the three areas and aspiration along the same scale, noting the (D) difference between the two. About this they note (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:14,15):

It is assumed that the individual who chooses an aspirational level above his current achievement is discontent both with his present position and with his inability to reach his desired goal level. It is also assumed that (other things remaining equal) his dissatisfaction with his present position varies directly with the size of this discrepancy: the greater the discrepancy, the greater his dissatisfaction, or stress. The stated level of aspiration is the individual's evaluation of a satisfactory performance for himself If this interpretation is valid, then the size of the discrepancy corresponds to the amount of thwarting and threat . . . in particular areas of goal-striving.

They measured the individual's estimate of his (P_{succ}) probability of success for achieving his aspiration by presenting him with a diagram, illustrative of a ladder with ten rungs, asking him to assess his chances of success by selecting the rung most appropriate. It was assumed that (P_{fail}) probability of failure is in inverse relation to probability of success and therefore they derived their measure of the latter by subtracting the level selected by the respondent for the former from ten. They commented (1966:15):

Two . . . components of the tension level are the individual's estimates of his chances of reaching, and failing to reach, the goal (i.e., the probability of success and the probability of failure). If he assesses his chances as very poor (i.e., if the goal is psychologically distant), the goal will fail to arouse a great amount of tension.

Measures of valence are those relating to the centrality of the goal. These were taken by asking the respondent his (Val_{fail}) valence of failure, how he would feel if he found that he never could achieve his aspiration,

along a four-point scale. It was assumed that (Val_{succ}) valence of success is in inverse ratio to valence of failure and therefore they derived their measure of the latter by subtracting the level selected by the respondent for the former from four. About valence, they note (1966: 15):

This discussion has assumed that the size of the discrepancy will vary directly with stress only if other things remain equal. One cannot proceed very far in life, or in research, on such a simple assumption. Two persons with similar achievement levels and similar aspirations may experience markedly different amounts of discomfort or tension as a result of this configuration. In other words, the amount of arousal generated by these discrepancies will differ according to the centrality of the goal for the individual--the importance he attaches to reaching it. . . . A particular goal is associated both with a valence of success and a valence of failure. The former refers to the amount of anticipated satisfaction associated with success, and the latter to the amount of anticipated disappointment associated with the failure to attain the goal.

Combining their measures, they could suggest both the degree and the direction, positive or negative, of stress. The measures were operationalized as follows (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:18):

. . . our concept of goal-striving stress can be restated in terms of its components--the discrepancy between aspiration and achievement (D) and the Resultant Weighted Valence associated with a given aspirational level. It is expressed by the following formula:

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Goal-Striving Stress} \\ & = D[(P_{succ} \times Val_{succ}) - (P_{fail} \times Val_{fail})] \end{aligned}$$

Their use of this was illustrated as follows (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:18):

A hypothetical example may help to clarify the reasoning underlying our modification of the Resultant Weighted Valence Theory. John Doe is a semi-skilled manual worker who aspires to a middle-level managerial position in his firm. Because of his strong needs for admiration from his fellow workers and friends, he anticipates attaining this goal with a great deal of satisfaction (i.e., high valence of success). This may be expressed mathematically by the figure three on a scale of valences from zero to four. Since he is aware that such promotions are infrequent and have only rarely been achieved in the past, his subjective estimate of success is not high, perhaps only three chances out of ten (i.e., low probability of success). On the other hand, since he is also aware of the difficulties involved in obtaining a white-collar position, and he does not anticipate too much disappointment if he does not succeed, his valence of failure is low, or one on a four point scale. In addition, he realizes that his probability of failure is high, or seven chances out of ten. We assume that the discrepancy between John Doe's semi-skilled job and the position he wants to achieve is four, based on a scale of hierarchically arranged occupations. Substituting these values in the stress formula noted above, we can describe John Doe's goal-striving stress in the following terms:

$$\text{Goal-Striving Stress} = 4[(3 \times 3) - (1 \times 7)] = 8$$

We have stated that we plan to replicate "in part" their measures. Our scales for achievement and aspiration are slightly different as are those for valence. They adapted their levels of occupational achievement to Negro Americans, which would have been unwise for us to have done, and we have used a five-point scale for valence in contrast to their four-point scales. We did this because our interview schedule contains a number of five-point

scales with which we sought congruence should certain types of correlations be desirable at some time. We collected all of the data but are utilizing some methods of analysis which are different from theirs, these resulting primarily because of the number of persons we interviewed (N=80) in contrast to theirs (N=2912), the types of controls which we are consequently able to use, and our own theoretical interests.

Although we gathered our data with the intent of replicating as closely as possible their type of analysis, before our interviewing had proceeded very far we found ourselves in difficulty. A number of respondents were indicating that they had no aspirations beyond their current achievement in any of the three areas. It was obvious that we should not corrupt their responses by suggesting goals, and probing appeared of no use. In light of this we observed that eventually there would be too few in the various stress categories to make the measures of Parker and Kleiner feasible and we sought an alternative, one which would utilize their basic thinking and be statistically possible. It was apparent at once that two measures could be used with profit: D and Val. If we were to use only these it became evident that we would have to forego measures of intensity and direction in our assumed stress.

Parker and Kleiner had assumed that valence of failure is related to valence of success (1966:15):

. . . the amount of arousal generated by these discrepancies will differ according to the centrality of the goal for the individual--the importance he attaches to reaching it. A goal of little importance will neither constitute serious threats to the individual upon failure, nor involve high anticipation of pleasure upon success; therefore, the affect associated with such goals will be small.

We discussed our problem with Parker who suggested that a simple measure of valence as it was derived from the informant be used. This was the valence of failure.

The foregoing suggestion of Parker seemed at first a solution to the problem of valence. In actuality it left us with another, how should we treat the probability of success and the probability of failure? If the respondent answered to the item on valence of failure that he would "not be disappointed at all," following their coding he would be assigned a score of zero. Therefore, if we used only valence and this score of zero, however we manipulated their formula we always derived a final score of zero, which score might differ considerably from theirs. Furthermore, a score of zero effectively eliminated our measures of probability of success and failure and, consequently, our use of the Resultant Weighted Valence Theory. In the end we elected to use the measure of valence of failure but not any measures of probability. This seemed warranted since our exploration was to uncover unsatisfactory aspects

of culture and, from the observation that when we transferred our data to coding sheets, we noted that on the very few occasions when respondents indicated that they had no chance at all of achieving their aspirations, they also indicated that they would not be disappointed at all should they not succeed. Since we did not desire to lose data by omitting those who might have aspirations beyond their achievements but showed no valence, we were led to restate our variable as "the disjunction between aspirations and achievements and associated stress." This would allow us to analyze disjunction by itself and also the presence of valence when associated with disjunction, the latter being our measure of assumed stress. This restatement rests on the simple assumption that if a person has unachieved aspirations and if he would feel terrible should he not achieve them, he is under some degree of stress, i.e., he is aware of and fearful that he might not succeed and the very prospect of failure is to him threatening. It also rests on the simple observation that whenever Parker and Kleiner obtained a D score, they finally obtained a stress score and that should our altered statement with its appropriate measure cause us to lose a stress score, the loss will immediately reappear in our measure on disjunction. In this way data are not lost but retained for analysis.

Whenever we use the term life's goals, or the equivalent, "life's aspirations," we shall be utilizing it in reference to aspirations or achievements in the context of social class mobility, measured along the dimensions of education, occupation, and pay. We have selected "life's goals" because, though of necessity it is narrowed for analysis here, it is both broad and has implications for revitalization movements in general.

(V) valence of failure specifically refers to the amount of anticipated disappointment associated with failure to reach or achieve one's aspiration (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:15). Failure is perceived by the individual as threatening. It is associated with a feeling of apprehensiveness (cf. Honigmann, 1964:371). A score or measurement here is indicative that the respondent has stated that should he fail he would experience a feeling of distress. Indeed, was not anticipated failure (the stimulus placed before him) at the very time of the response distressful, causing him to respond as he did?

(D) disjunction between aspiration and achievement is in every case indicative that the individual has not achieved his aspirations. The measure is that of Parker and Kleiner with the exception that we have collapsed our measure to a nominal one of "present," a D score was obtained, or "absent," a D score was not obtained.

We have previously indicated that our interest is really in the assumption of stress. We have not attempted a psychological analysis. We have noted that, since there is so great a degree of consensus among anthropologists on the assumption that stress underlies revitalization movements, we have sought a measure utilizing the variables heretofore discussed that could be operationalized with some degree of confidence into our assumption of stress. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that whenever we speak of associated stress we are really talking about an assumption. The important work of Parker and Kleiner, resting upon considerable previous thinking and research, and their findings have provided the measures and the confidence we sought for the assumption we have made. We have noted that our method of analysis is "in part" different, necessarily so.

We have reduced our measures of (D) disjunction and (V) valence to nominal ones and, accordingly, we shall use primarily Chi-square measures for analysis. In so doing, our D, if such a finding occurs, is simply placed along side of our V, if this also occurs, and the analysis is made. The occurrence of these together is our measure of associated stress, i.e.,

$$\text{Associated Stress} = D + V$$

This formula should not be construed to mean that we are adding measures from nominal scales. The (+) plus sign

merely indicates that the two findings are occurring together for the same person.

We note a matter of theoretical relevance. Suppose we have a finding which indicates that the person is not under stress when we apply our data as planned. Are we at liberty to assume, therefore, that he is not experiencing at least some stress, even in the area of measurement? Is it reasonable to believe that we have a perfect instrument and means of analysis? Is not perhaps the instrument too crude to detect small amounts of stress, which on the assumption of a normal probability curve, extends to infinity in either direction? Therefore, in lieu of the fact that all of our tests will be one-tailed in the positive direction, we define operationally the presence of a score on D when associated with one on V as "greater than," "more than" or "more stress" and the absence of a score on D or one on V as "less than" or "less stress." We do this since we are unwilling to make the assumption that the absence of a score actually indicates that the individual is under no stress at all and we restrict our statements of "greater than" or "more than" or "more stress" and their inverse to the measures and means of analysis outlined herein. This is not to say that we believe that our data-gathering instrument and means of analysis are not fruitful. On the contrary, we believe that they are of great utility and importance in

economically gathering and analyzing data relevant to movements such as we are studying. These cautions are taken merely to avoid misunderstanding. An illustration will explain our thinking.

Joe Hill, Jim Smith and Henry Jones are all employed in heavy labor where their jobs are migrant, or temporary. Joe and Jim indicate that they aspire to medium skilled occupations whereas Henry says that he is satisfied with the job he has. All three are at an achievement level of 7 but Joe and Jim indicate that they aspire to one at the level of 5. Henry therefore has no D score and both Joe and Jim have a D score. Since both Joe and Jim would have indicated some probability of success and the item would have been irrelevant for Henry, we have not used the measure. When Joe and Jim were asked how they would feel if they found that they could never achieve their aspiration, Joe answered that he would be "very disappointed," scored "present" with the code of 5, whereas Jim stated that it "would not matter one way or the other," scored "absent." Joe's response to the stimulus of likely or possible failure is indicative of (great) disappointment whereas Jim's response causes us to question how genuine his aspiration is and also whether or not he is under any stress either to achieve or to avoid failure. In our measure we place Joe with those categorized as under "greater stress" but Jim and Henry

as those under "less stress." We are unwilling to state for sure that Jim is not under any stress, since we both lack all the measurements Parker and Kleiner used and also since we perhaps lack relevant data which has not been asked. We are unable to state for sure that Henry is not under stress, even though he has stated that he is happy with the job he has--perhaps he is concerned where the next one is coming from. According to the data we have gathered and our means of analysis, however, we are willing to assert that Joe is under "greater stress" and that Jim and Henry are under "less stress." We have been unwilling to assume that Jim and Henry are under no stress at all. Our findings are based on the assumption of the truthfulness of the responses given and on our measures. We state that Joe and Jim experience a disjunction between aspirations and achievement whereas Henry does not and that Joe experiences a greater "disjunction between aspiration and achievement with associated stress" than Jim or Henry. We are, therefore, in a position to measure and compare achievements, aspirations and valence, and if we choose, to add probability of success in some other way, e.g., degree of optimism. We feel, therefore, that we have not really lost much data but that we have simplified our analysis and made it workable in this study.

We have heretofore defined relative deprivation as a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and

actuality. On the observation that the American success theme promises equal opportunity for all, we assert that all ideally have legitimate expectations of equal opportunity in achieving their goals in education, occupation, and pay. Our measures on relative deprivation are simple ones. We simply asked the respondent if he believes he had equal opportunity in achieving his goals in each of these areas in comparison to those who are non-Indians. An illustration from education will perhaps clarify this:

Think of yourself for a moment and also of those who are not of Indian descent at all. When you compare yourself with them (the interviewer would stop at this point and draw a line on a blank sheet of paper and then say, "Here are two sides. This side is composed of Indians while the other is made up of non-Indians. You are here with the Indians. Think now of yourself as an Indian, with these Indians, in comparison to those on the other side.") do you think that you were deprived more than they in achieving your goal in education? Understand me please. I am not speaking of your ability but rather of the opportunities you had or did not have due to circumstances in your life at the time.

The response was recorded on a five-point scale from "No" to "Yes, very much" and, to gain greater validity as well as more information, we then asked the respondent to explain himself in an open-ended manner. The measure of valence was placed somewhat differently, for relevance, than it had been for measures on his "life's goals." On this he was asked, "Do you think about this very often?" The assumption behind this is that a positive score is indicative that this experience of perceived relative

deprivation is still bothersome, and therefore stressful, to the respondent. Our measure of relative deprivation and associated stress was computed in the identical manner as that of unachieved aspirations and associated stress.

We have already defined discrimination and asserted that the experience is assumed to be stressful. We obtained our data by asking two items on whether or not the respondent had been discriminated against for being an Indian. One of these called for the presence or absence of such an experience in Detroit and the other before coming to Detroit. The two items invariably drew responses relating to metropolitan versus rural areas. Our data were coded nominally, "Yes" or "No," and we asked for an open-ended explanation for purposes of validity and added data.

Our measures on tribal marginality were taken in two areas: (1) the disjunction between one's aspirations to visit and his achievements on the same and (2) the presence or absence of tribal status. The first was to measure the salience of maintaining social relationships with one's tribesmen in the reservation or rural area. It was assumed that the reasons a person aspired to visit were in fact those of maintaining such social relationships, which we made clear by reminding our respondents that this refers to "Indians." We were led by two interests in our measures here, the first being that some account should be

taken of distance to the area and the second being that we are really interested in the disjunction between what a person aspires to and what actually is. For this reason we did not use absolute measures but asked on a five-point scale how often he would like to visit there, i.e., his aspirations, and, later, how often he did visit there, i.e., his achievements. We added verbally for clarity, "These measures are to allow you to indicate whether you visit there as often as you really want to or not." We were surprised with the candid answers which we received. We took the discrepancy between the two responses as our measure of disjunction. If such a discrepancy appeared, we then asked for an open-ended response which would indicate why the respondent could not return and visit as often as he wished and collapsed this to a nominal measure. Our measure of valence was identical to that used when assessing the unachieved aspirations.

We believe that we have been able, with considerable validity, to ascertain the tribal status of persons: first, during their childhood and, second, at the present time. A comparison of these two measures allowed us to derive the third, whether or not there has been a change in tribal status during the lifetime of the individual. That such information can be obtained might come as a surprise to those who know well Indians from the United States but not to those who are acquainted with Canadian

law. Measures in this area are interesting and shall be discussed when we subject our hypothesis to analysis and interpretation. At this point we indicate that, due to considerable work on the Indian population in the area (see Chapter III) which utilized written statements, some by the respondents themselves, made long ago, and the data gleaned from over a year and one-half's work with a very well-informed paid informant, we knew in advance usually whether the informant had or did not have such status and if so, where. Armed with this, a knowledge of Canadian law on the subject, the last registration of Michigan Indians in the Detroit area, which was an attempt to bring up to date the Durrant Roll (Appendix D-51), Michigan's official registry of its Indians, along with knowledge of how Michigan law operates in this regard, we approached our respondents. We gathered data on their parents, asked them about their own tribal status, and, for validity on those few who we felt might be falsifying, checked the data out with persons from their tribe whom we had reason to believe and with access to the rolls.

We gathered data on the valence of tribal membership by asking those whom we knew to be members of their tribes:

How would you feel if you were removed from the tribal rolls and lost your legal status as an Indian, both with your tribe and the government?

If we knew, or were suspect, that the respondent lacked or had lost his tribal membership we asked the question in an inverse manner:

How would you feel if you received word from your tribe, officially acted upon both by it and your government, that your name has been placed on the roll as a member with full status?

Invariably this drew immediate response and usually confession of the informant's lack of said status. If it did not, it led into a discussion which clarified the issue. The first means of securing valence was for the valence of failure while the second was for the valence of success. Since we had determined to use only a measure of valence, the two scores were coded for use here for identical meaning, importance. In keeping with our other measures on valence these were reduced to nominal scales also.

In our analysis we are, therefore, able to handle valence of tribal membership by itself or we can place it along side of the nominal measure of the lack of current status (D) or along side of the loss of such status during one's lifetime (D) and derive a measure of "lack of" or "loss of tribal membership and associated stress." Furthermore, like our other measures on D, these can be associated with valence.

Our research design makes use of two independent groups of individuals who have been interviewed: one, called the Membership Group, and the other, the

Non-Membership Group, used as a control. The first is composed of current and more or less active members. The second consists of persons who have been appealed to from time to time both to attend the activities of the Association and to join but who have never affiliated. Independence is assumed in that the Membership Group is conceived as the participating (active) Pan-Indian Group whereas the Non-Membership Group is known to be composed of persistent refusers. On the assumption that the Membership Group will exhibit characteristics indicative of our hypothesized antecedent factors behind Pan-Indianism, whereas the Non-Membership Group will not so frequently exhibit the same, we offer our hypotheses.

Hypothesis I: Class mobility and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Hypothesis I grows directly from our previous discussion which postulated that persons associating with metropolitan Pan-Indian organizations will be characterized by unachieved aspirations, or the failure to achieve their aspirations, in the dominant society; will perceive themselves as having been deprived, relative to non-Indians, of equal opportunity in achieving their life's goals; will feel themselves to have been discriminated against for being Indian by members of the dominant society; and that these conditions are assumed to be stress-provoking. The

hypothesis has three components and can be accepted by the association of significant findings on each of its sub-parts.

Hypothesis Ia: Disjunction between aspirations and achievements and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

This related directly to the achievement of one's life's goals in regard to social class in the metropolitan setting and to stress assumed to be associated with lack of achievement. The components of social class which are measured are education, occupation, and pay and are done so in a manner which admits direct comparison with the perception of relative deprivation, also measured in the same goal areas.

Hypothesis Ib: Relative deprivation and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

This hypothesis looks at background variables and is measurable not only against the achievement of current aspirations but also against the disjunction between former aspirations and current achievement. It is assumed, since these measures involve the perception of deprivation for being an Indian in contrast to non-Indians, that the conjunctions under discussion are particularly distressful and focus Indianness, or ethnicity, in the minds of the respondents.

Hypothesis Ic: Discrimination for being Indian will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Discrimination in the United States is assumed to be stress-provoking (see also Honigmann, 1963:13).

Measures on this are taken both on discrimination in the metropolis and on discrimination prior to residence there, i.e., in rural areas. Since the item involves one's being discriminated against for being Indian, it, like relative deprivation, is also assumed to focus Indianness in the minds of the respondents.

Hypothesis II: Tribal marginality and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Hypothesis II grows directly from our previous discussion which postulated that persons associating with Pan-Indian organizations in the metropolis will experience more stress because of being socially marginal to their tribes than will others. The hypothesis has two components and can be accepted by the association of significant findings on each. The first of these relates to the maintenance of social relationships with members of the tribe still on the reservation or in the rural Indian community, and the second to the presence or absence of tribal status. In contrast to Hypothesis I, this is oriented toward an aspect of the subordinant society, the tribe, which is peculiar to Indians.

Hypothesis IIa: Disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with tribesmen and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Hypothesis IIb: Lack of tribal status and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Revitalization movements emerge during periods of cultural distortion when people come to see their present culture as unsatisfactory. They are group efforts to create a more satisfying way of life. Our purpose here is to explore areas in the lives of Indian Americans which may be viewed as a background to which Pan-Indianism responds offering a better life than currently exists. The foregoing hypotheses predict some of the areas of contemporary Indian American life which may be unsatisfactory. In this paper the conjunction of significant findings on Hypotheses I and II in correlation is taken to be a configuration which attests cultural distortion. Such findings are also conceived as representing antecedent factors in the lives of individuals underlying Pan-Indianism in the metropolis. Our findings are not presumed to represent sufficient explanations but rather contributory. Each of the foregoing alternate hypotheses will be tested against an operational or null hypothesis of "equal to," "no difference or less than" (cf. Guilford, 1956:211).

An "either-or" scheme of interpretation is used, the rejection of the operational hypothesis meaning the acceptance of the alternate. The study is frozen at the close of 1968.

Much of our data is presented in the appendices. Appendix A presents letters, Appendix B presents our data-gathering instruments, Appendix C presents our statistical tables, and Appendix D presents relevant qualitative data.

PART I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-INDIANISM
IN METROPOLITAN DETROIT

CHAPTER II

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF DETROIT

In this chapter we consider the emergence and characteristics of contemporary Pan-Indianism in the metropolis as illustrated by the North American Indian Association of Metropolitan Detroit. Our offering is a descriptive synthesis in a setting which contrasts strikingly with the reservation on the Southern Plains where Howard and Newcomb did their work, and in a temporal continuum which begins prior to and extends after their observations in 1952. Our purpose in presenting a diachronic development of the North American Indian Association from an organization with limited social objectives to one which is both dynamically Pan-Indian and revitalistic in character with the goal of constructing a more satisfying way of life for Indian Americans is because we hope to (1) add data to the limited amount we now have on Pan-Indianism and thus extend the range of our understanding, (2) consider a Pan-Indian organization from the perspective of revitalization, (3) generate a series of provocative questions for future research, and (4) to prepare more

fully the setting against which the findings on our hypotheses can be interpreted.

By definition we have suggested that the primary feature of pan-Indianism lies in the ideology of the unity of Indians of all tribes around features and interests common to themselves. Accompanying this in contemporary Pan-Indianism is an emphasis on "Indian," but not to the exclusion of one's tribe. This emphasis makes pan-Indianism different from intertribal activities and confederacies where emphasis remains on the tribe, the cooperation is temporary, or the sense of unity extends only to select tribes. Under this broad definition can be classified variant types of pan-Indianism. A second feature, characteristic of contemporary Pan-Indianism by definition, is the pow wow and the associated large-scale intertribal socializing as described by Howard, Newcomb, and others. Often discussions on Pan-Indianism focus on these latter features which are seen to have diffused from the area where it was first described. We believe that these two features of contemporary Pan-Indianism are different and should be considered separately. A consideration of just the second set of characteristics is useful if we are viewing the current generalized Indian costumes and dancing, the impressively large intertribal gatherings, or the contemporary pow wow. If, however, it is the only approach used it tends to deprive us of other useful

perspectives. By itself, it directs thought toward the Southern Plains to the neglect of what is happening in other parts of the United States and Canada, thus concealing the activities and efforts of Indians elsewhere. It focuses thinking on the reservation to the neglect of both rural areas inhabited by Indians which are not reservations, urban and metropolitan areas, and often the role of the dominant society as well. We raise the question: Is Pan-Indianism best seen as a phenomenon which originated on the Southern Plains and then diffused through other parts of the United States and Canada or, instead, are only the second set of features derived while the ideology of the unity of Indians of all tribes around features and interests common to themselves is of more general and widespread origin? We think both perspectives are important and that neither should be used to the exclusion of the other.

A consideration of the emergence of the North American Indian Association of Detroit, as illustrative of contemporary Pan-Indianism, is interesting for several reasons: (1) It is not on a reservation but in a large metropolis. Detroit attracts Indians from across the United States and Canada. (2) The Bureau of Indian Affairs has no relocation office in Detroit, thus migration there is under somewhat different conditions and the Indian population is somewhat different from similar settings

where such an office does exist. A study of Pan-Indianism in Detroit is, therefore, useful as a control against areas where such an office is present. (3) It is not on the Southern Plains but in the Great Lakes area, midway between Chicago and New York City and on the border between the United States and Canada. This adds certain perspectives and provides some useful insights into the Canadian contingent. (4) The Association under study is probably the oldest metropolitan Pan-Indian organization with continued existence in the United States. Its records, which are voluminous and more or less complete, date to 1940, or 12 years prior to the observations made by Howard and Newcomb and four years before the National Congress on American Indians came into being. Furthermore, it is not only the only truly Pan-Indian organization in the metropolis but quite likely the strongest in the State as well. (5) Michigan does not have large Indian reservations. In fact the majority of Indians in the state have never lived on a reservation. It boasts only three very small reservations and one Indian community, sometimes referred to as a reservation. Accordingly, Michigan Indians have not had the seclusion from the dominant society which either the large reservation or large numbers of their own kind provides. Neither have Indians in Michigan been in a situation where traits from their former tribal cultures could be freely exchanged as they were on the Southern

Plains. Nonetheless, Pan-Indianism is not tardy in developing in, or coming to the State. (6) Because of the geographic mobility of Indians within the State of Michigan and the intertribal socializing which often occurs between the same, a study of the development of Pan-Indianism through time as illustrated by the North American Indian Association is contributive to an understanding of the development of the phenomenon throughout the State and area. (7) Revitalization is another phenomenon, one in its own right. We use it as a perspective for the insights it adds, which perspective, as far as we know, has not been used in a diachronic treatment of Pan-Indianism.

In this chapter we shall present first the setting, or a brief overview of the numbers and location of Indians in Michigan. We then divide the temporal continuum into four periods for consideration: Before September 19, 1940; September 19, 1940-1947; 1948-1958; and 1959-1968. Finally, we offer a summary and some conclusions.

Indians in Michigan: Numbers and Location

Excepting emigration, members of three tribes indigenous to Michigan still live in the same general areas once inhabited by those tribes. Following the close of the American Revolution there were a series of treaties with these tribes, consistent in design, which were intended (Department of the Interior, 1951:6):

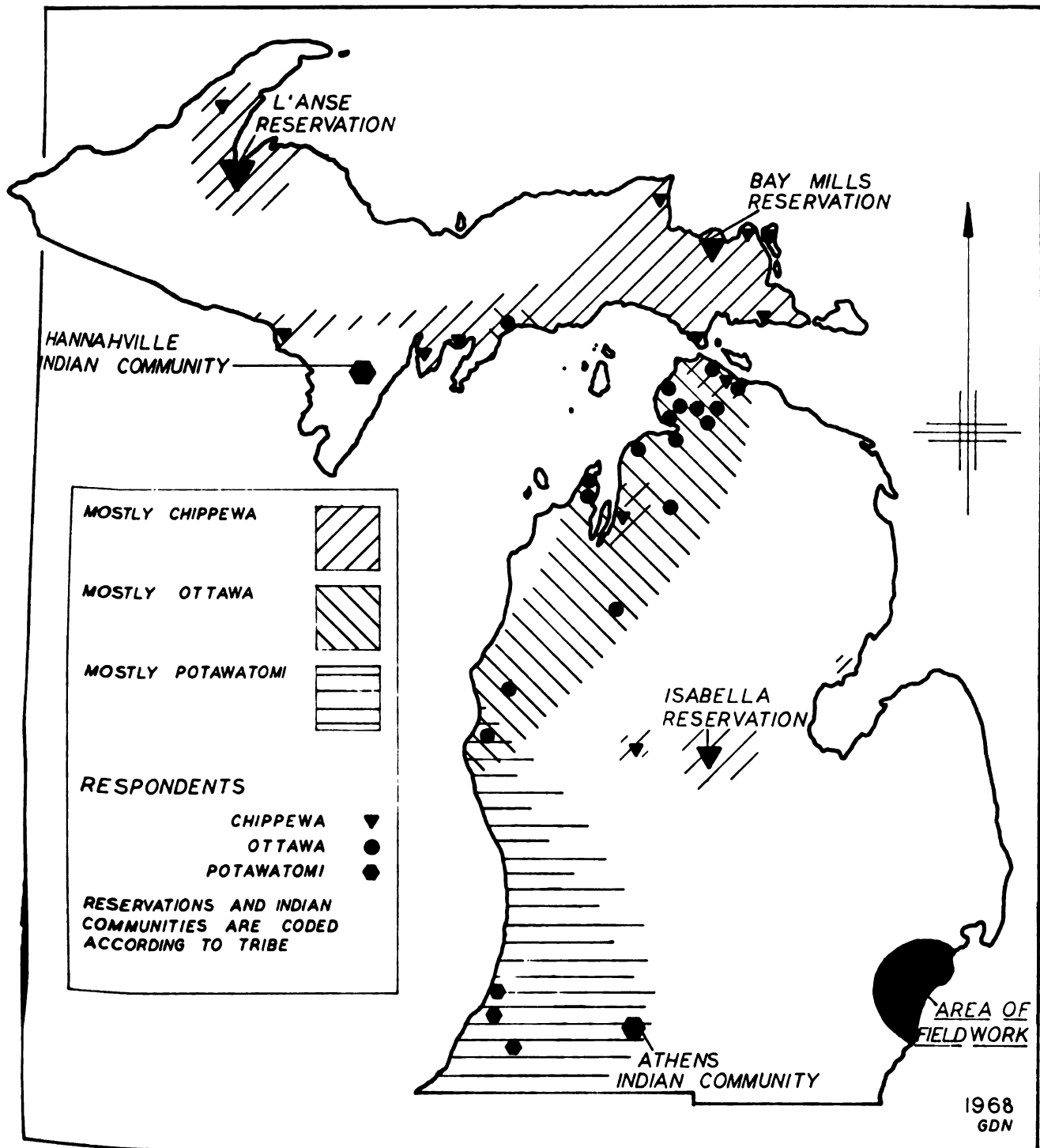
- a. To remove the Indians from the State of Michigan to reserved land in other States;
- b. To dissolve all tribal organization; and
- c. To eliminate group identity by allotting and patenting land in severality to Indians remaining in the State.

The rural location of the remaining members of these tribes is presented on Map 1.

The Ottawas are landless in that they own as a tribe no reservation. Primarily they live scattered in rural communities and on the periphery of lakeshore population centers in the northwest section of the Lower Penninsula (Department of the Interior, 1951:5).

Much of the same holds for the Potawatomi in the southwest corner of the State (Department of the Interior, 1951:5) as for the Ottawas, mentioned above. In addition, there is a little Potawatomi community of about 15 households at what whites refer to as "Indiantown" which is only a few miles to the west of Athens. We have also visited among Potawatomi in southwestern Michigan who live in small settlements of three to ten households throughout the area indicated on Map 1.

The Potawatomi in the Northern Penninsula and the Chippewa there hold as tribal land a total of 7,896.59 acres which, as typical of many Indian reservations, is of very little economic use. The Bureau of Indian Affairs itself describes it as (Department of the Interior, 1951:7):



MAP 1. AREAS OF MICHIGAN INDIAN EMIGRATION TO METROPOLITAN DETROIT. ALTHOUGH INDIANS PROBABLY LIVE IN EVERY QUARTER OF THE STATE OUR STUDY INDICATES THAT MOST IMMIGRATE FROM THE SHADED PARTS. THE EXACT PLACES WHERE OUR MICHIGAN INDIAN INFORMANTS HAVE COME FROM IS REPRESENTED BY SOLID BLACK SYMBOLS. FOR TABULAR DATA SEE APPENDIX C, TABLE 4.9.

. . . generally swampy and covered with stone outcroppings characteristic of glacial influence. The topography is generally rolling to roughly hilly except at Isabella where it is fairly level. It is estimated that 82% of the Indian land is cut-over forest area now supporting second-growth timber of various species and suited for little else.

The Potawatomi of the Hannahville Indian Community hold 3,320 acres on which 33 families, comprising 131 persons, lived in 1951 (Department of the Interior, 1951:7,9).

The Chippewa at L'Anse hold 1,595.9 acres on which 184 families, with an estimated population of 850, lived in 1951 (Department of the Interior, 1951:7,9). This group holds another 80 acres of timber land at Ontonagon which was uninhabited in 1951 and on which, according to reports, few Indian families, if any, ever lived. The Chippewa of the Bay Mills Reservation hold tribal land in two areas: at Bay Mills and on Sugar Island. The former consists of 1,748 acres and the latter of 607.75 acres, most of which is unusable. In 1951, 38 families, with a population of 180, lived at Bay Mills, and another two families, with a population of 10, on the tribal land on Sugar Island. However, an additional 32 families also lived on Sugar Island, but on privately owned land (Department of the Interior, 1951:7,9). The Chippewa of the Isabella Reservation also own land in two areas: 450 at Isabella and 55.935 acres at Pinconning-Saganning, which is approximately 80 miles to the northeast of Isabella.

In 1951, 28 families, with a population of 140, lived at Isabella; and another six families, with a population of 40, lived at Pinconning-Saganning (Department of the Interior, 1951:7,9).

Generally speaking, we do not believe that the demographic picture has changed much in recent years for any of these above mentioned areas. In 1951 the federal government estimated that there were approximately 9,000 Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomis in the State with around 3,000 in the Upper Penninsula and the remainder in the areas south of the Straits of Mackinac. These latter figures, however, need considerable revision because of population growth, the migration and lack of registration of many Michigan Indians, and the immigration of Indians from outside the State, especially in the more heavily populated urban and metropolitan areas in the more southerly parts.

We would not want to hazard a guess at the numbers of Indians living in urban areas such as Ann Arbor, Lansing, Jackson, Grand Rapids, Muskegon, etc. Detroit receives, as does Port Huron, considerable numbers of Canadian Indians. In addition, Indian immigrants from across the United States, especially from the Southwest, are found in Detroit. There are no precise figures. The North American Indian Association in Detroit estimates around 4,000 Indians for that area with an unknown number above

that figure. We have presented considerable additional data on this in Chapter IV of this study.

Before September 19, 1940

Frances Densmore (1949) has carefully documented what remained of the conservative or traditional tribal cultures in northern Michigan as of about 1950. Gertrude Kurath (1966) has documented and described both the dances and music, including Pan-Indian, of Indians in Michigan. She views change in evolutionary perspective, positing four stages: (1) the aboriginal or native stage, which was supplemented by (2) hybrid liturgies and (3) Algonquian evangelism, and finally by (4) modern festivals.

Following the depletion of natural resources and the acceptance of European artifacts, most Michigan Indians turned either to Roman Catholicism or Protestant Christianity, mostly an evangelical Methodism. Both denounced and opposed the aboriginal Indian religions. The resultant "religious cataclysms" (Kurath, 1966:4) meant the loss of most of the aboriginal ceremonials, music, and dances. Catholic converts were able to develop blends between the old and new religions centering primarily around family feasts and memorial rites (Kurath, 1966:4). Where these exist today they mark the annual cycle of seasons, coinciding with the Christian holidays, and seldom do they include the native song or dance (Kurath, 1966:39).

[illegible]

Evangelical Protestantism condemned tribal religion, ceremonialism, and dancing as pagan, and flourished through the revival or camp meeting. These meetings featured both the preaching and singing of hymns in tribal languages, especially Chippewa, and exploited the native vision cult (Kurath, 1966:38). Often they were very large in size, attracting Indians of many types, including shamans and Catholics, and persons from distant places, e.g., the Walpole Reservation in Canada. Kurath (1966:54) observes that the effect was to nearly eradicate all traces of aboriginal ceremony, dance, and music. Our data confirm this for Michigan and suggest much the same for the smaller reservations in southern Ontario, e.g., Sarnia, Walpole, and the Moravian Reserves (see Appendix D-1). The result of this cultural loss, or cultural forgetting, by most Indians in these areas means that most who now do Indian dancing have had to learn the art in recent years.

Kurath (1966:55) suggests three meanings for the term "pow wow" which are relevant to the Michigan setting:

(1) The modern powwow descends from ceremony. The early Angonquian "pawaw" referred to a dreamer, hence also to a ritual conducted by a seer, for curing, often with a large and noisy assembly.

(2) Then it referred to a council or to an inter-tribal conclave. Such parleys for peace included not only speeches and discussions but also prayers, tobacco invocations, pipe dances, war dance contests, and social group dances. They were occasions for trade. Originally they involved general participation by all hosts and guests.

But in the early nineteenth century Frenchmen might watch but from the sidelines, as spectators (Baraga 1837:264).

(3) Today's powwows are sometimes sociable, participation events. Usually they have an audience-performer dichotomy like the European theater. There are many gradations from the informal dance session to the formal show with a stage. The shows in large cities tend to be less intimate than the programs in rural settings. All of them are acquiring the same mannerisms and mechanical devices as White programs.

We make two observations: (1) Indians in the North American Indian Association never equate a dance rehearsal, a show presented before either an Indian or a non-Indian audience, or a pageant with the pow wow. They rehearse before almost every semi-monthly meeting (Appendix D-2e) and sometimes more often, simply calling the event a "dance rehearsal" or a "dance practice." When they present a "show" they go out as dancers and perform in the theatrical sense. "Program" has the dual meanings of the ordered arrangement of events at a pageant, show, banquet, pow wow, etc.; and as synonymous with "show." (2) The pow wow is an intertribal event with visiting Indians and with the set of traits surrounding such events as described in Chapter I. Bearing these distinctions in mind, the third meaning suggested by Kurath seems descriptive.

Pan-Indian pow wows in Michigan feature a variety of types of dances. Some Detroit Indians make a conscious effort to learn, even if need be from anthropological source materials, their own tribal dances and to perform

them. This is congruent with the observation of Howard for the Plains (1955:218,220):

Since the pan-Indian blending is not yet complete, a powwow in the area of the Plains tribes is likely to feature Plains type dances. . . . Nevertheless both do occur at the same gathering, and powwow promoters are anxious to offer both to those in attendance.

. . . It may best be explained as a final attempt to preserve aboriginal culture patterns through intertribal unity.

There is a strong influence on Indian dancing in Detroit from reservations in the east such as the Six Nations Reserve and the one at Caughnawaga, Quebec. There is also considerable influence from the west, e.g., the reservations in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and from the Sioux reservations in South Dakota. A few persons from Michigan have contributed from the former cultures of this State. Since the cultural forgetting, however, has been so extensive most who have desired to learn have not really known, and sometimes have not cared, what were their formal tribal dances. Accordingly, the Pan-Indian types of dancing described by Howard and Newcomb for the Southern Plains have had ready acceptance. At the large pow wows these are the dances most often used and enjoyed; and the most able teachers are, furthermore, from these areas. These also appear to be the dances and the costumes that the non-Indian public enjoys.

In our thinking, the contemporary pow wow in Michigan is built on and supercedes pageants or shows which have long been presented by Michigan Indians. These might include scenes or plays such as Hiawatha, The Landing of the Pilgrims, The First Thanksgiving, A Scalping Party, etc., and they might or might not include solo or group dancing as well. They were usually presented by a group from a single tribe which had organized for the purpose and which rehearsed seriously for the event. The Hiawatha pageant at Harbor Springs is apparently the oldest of these, given by the Ottawa and beginning as early as 1912 but being derived from the Garden River Reservation in Ontario (Kurath, 1966:56). This was to lapse during World War II. The program at Cross Village was apparently influenced by imports from the Wisconsin Dells and began as early as 1935 but by 1950 was nearly extinct (Kurath, 1966:56). Some Indians tried to start a dance group on the Isabella Reservation in the 1930's. Their efforts were to try to recall or invent dances and they appear to have been influenced by programs in the Wisconsin Dells. We do not think the group continued (see Appendix D-2c).

Pow wows of the second type, previously mentioned, occurred in Michigan prior to 1940. Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 the tribes in Michigan were permitted to, and did, become organized. This move by the dominant society evidently raised their aspirations

and gave some hope for a more satisfying way of life in the future. In the same year the landless Ottawas held a powwow at Harbor Springs (Detroit News: August 4, 1934):

HARBOR SPRINGS, Mich., July 16.--Donning feathers and beadwork, and dancing to the beat of a war drum, the Ottawa Tribe Sunday urged other Indians to join them in a state-wide confederacy to "educate the white man."

The occasion was the first annual picnic and powwow of the Michigan Indian Defense Association, organized recently . . .

The opportunity to reorganize legally, conduct tribal business, and the promise of even minimal economic relief evidently stimulated some to new hope because the same article goes on to say:

Speakers praised President Roosevelt for his "New Deal" plan of settling homeless Indians on submarginal lands to be purchased by the Government.

"For the first time in history, we are being treated as though we weren't prisoners of war," said Levi McClellan, of Bay Shore. "It's up to us to get our just dues before it's too late."

It was a tribal occasion. Wigwams were pitched, Indian dancing occurred, and ball games were played. It also appears to have had revitalistic overtones in the message of hope the powwow contained, the more satisfying way of life which seemed to possibly lie ahead, and the newly formed organization was an effort to deliberately change things as they were. It was formed "to promote the social and economic welfare of their race" and one of the primary

and immediate goals was the correction of negative and derogatory stereotypes of Indians which were held by non-Indians.

If things were not quiet in out-State neither were they in the Detroit-Pontiac area. Detroit had already attracted Indians from across much of the United States and Canada. In 1937 an intertribal association was formed in Detroit, evidently a forerunner of the North American Indian Association, although most likely not directly linked to it in any way. In the files of the Detroit News (January 6, 1937) we located the following brief announcement:

The announcement of the formation of an Indian Club of Detroit for American-born Indians living within the metropolitan area reveals that there are 500 individuals eligible for membership.

The only other documentary evidence on this group came from another clipping in the Detroit News, dated January 14, 1937:

. . . first benefit dance of the Indian Fireside Council of Detroit, comprising members of 31 tribes.

It is interesting that this group was called the "Indian Fireside Council" because another group by the same name, but in Chicago, predates 1940. In Chicago the Indian Fireside Council, which was sometimes called "Council Fires" here, predates the American Indian Center as the Indian Fireside Council predates the North American Indian

Association in Detroit. We do not know what types of connections may or may not have existed between these groups. The organization in Detroit was evidently formed for the purpose of providing recreational activities for Indians and to further social relationships among them, but it probably broke up due to financial difficulties according to our informants.

The Chippewas constructed an "authentic Indian village" at Murphey Park in Pontiac for a pow wow in 1939 similar to the others we have noted, e.g., Harbor Springs, 1934. To this they invited Indians from great distances, from " . . . throughout the U.S.," and many came. Two thousand are reported to have attended, some from as far away as Arizona and Manitoba. In talking about the political overtones of events similar to this in Pontiac and oft-reported incidents associated with the same, Steiner (1968: 7,9) makes the interesting observation:

Hunting has become a symbol of the new tribalism. Wherever new Indians gather to reaffirm their rights, the Deerslayer returns. His rifle echoes and re-echoes throughout Indian country.

. . . But why had the movement of tribal nationalism taken on so seemingly archaic a form? Why, of all things, hunting rights?

. . . Indians by defying the proclaimed rights of the States were proclaiming their right to govern themselves. And they were protecting their ancient way of tribal life, with rifles ready. The Chippewas . . . were issuing declarations of independence.

The Chippewas whom Steiner has in mind are evidently groups in Minnesota or Wisconsin but an identical situation occurred in Pontiac. Ironically, the Governor of the State, although he was not on hand to receive it, was awarded honorary membership in the tribe, as was the state highway commissioner (Detroit News: July 11, 17, 18, 1939), but about a week later an article, "Indians Fight Venison Case. Treaty Rights Cited in Oakland Arrest," appeared (Detroit News: July 27, 1939):

PONTIAC, Mich.--State Conservation Dept. charges Pontiac Indian, Robert Phillips, for illegally supplying venison for Chippewa encampment held last week.

The group in Pontiac tried another pow wow, evidently its last, but with a difference. At their second pow wow a group from Oklahoma was expected to be present and perhaps to perform (Detroit News: July 17, 1940):

PONTIAC, Mich.--Pontiac's Chippewas hold second annual pow wow at Murphey Park. Invitations sent to many States to view event. An Oklahoma tribe is expected to participate, programs arranged, public is invited, archery contests and Indian dances.

The new policy of the federal government in these years brought changes on, and a gift to the Chippewa on the Isabella Reservation. This prompted them to hold there a pow wow (Detroit News: July 8, 1940):

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.--200 Indians powwowed Sunday, 400 persons present. Group predicts at least 2,000 will be present on July 10 for the dedication of a new W.P.A. \$15,000 building to be presented by government to tribe.

Their aspirations for large numbers evidently failed

(Detroit News: July 19, 1940):

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.--\$15,000 chapel given at close of a 4-day Indian festival. 200 Indians attended . . .

It is possible to review the foregoing as a function of the dominant society. From this vantage point we here suggest a consideration of (1) the ideology of the dominant society toward the treatment of its minority groups, and (2) its political or legal activities toward Indians. The former appears relevant, as well as the latter, since these ideologies have affected Indians in the past and continue to do so in the present. It appears relevant since contemporary Pan-Indianism appears to have certain pluralistic goals, a point to which we shall return.

One of the most penetrating analyses of the ideologies of Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism, both in the context of their historical development within and without scientific circles and in reference to migration and legislation, has been offered by Milton Gordon (1961 and 1964). Anglo-conformity should not be equated with racism (Gordon, 1964:24) but perhaps can best be defined as (Gordon, 1964:88):

"Anglo-conformity" is really a broad "umbrella" term which may be used to cover a variety of viewpoints about assimilation and immigration. All have as a central assumption the desirability of maintaining English institutions (as modified by the American Revolution), the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life.

In its most extreme form this means assimilation or absorption into the Anglo-American tradition as described above. Anglo-conformity in the United States predates the formation of the nation and is still viable. It appears to have motivated many of the policies of the larger society towards Indians since first contacts.

The melting pot ideology dates from the eighteenth century. With this the central concept seems to center on the fusion of ethnic groups and their cultures into one new and different type. Gordon (1964:115) puts it thus:

Was it not possible, then, to think of the evolving American society not as a slightly modified England but rather as a totally new blend, culturally and biologically, in which the stocks and folkways of Europe, figuratively speaking, were indiscriminately mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and fused by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctively new type.

Since this appears to have functioned more at the ideological level than at the behavioral level and never seriously to have included Indians, most of whom were excluded from the dominant society by the reservation system, we shall not use the concept here.

The period of 1830-1893 can be thought of as one of exclusion, opposition, and restoration. By and large the attitudes of Whites toward tribal societies and cultures were those of exclusion, both from their land and from admittance into the dominant society. Against the program of territorial exclusion the tribes fought back

with force of arms and, finally, when such hope failed, they sought to overcome with revitalistic types of nativistic movements. In the beginning of the era the ideology of Anglo-conformity was "ambiguous" but by mid-century it began developing and would continue in the latter half of the century to the point where any deviancy from its ideal could not be countenanced (Gordon, 1963:91).

The reservation period began in 1870 and with it attempts to remodel Indians into the model of Anglo-conformity. Despite the treaties which had been made, and to make dominance complete, the federal government almost immediately disavowed tribal political structures by a rider attached to the Appropriations Act of 1871 (Sanger, 1871:566):

Provided: That hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the Territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an Independent Nation, Tribe or Power with whom the United States may contract by Treaty.

Intensive effort by missionaries was undertaken to Christianize Indians, and sometimes force was threatened, should they be found dancing or practicing their own religious ceremonies. Thus (Collier, 1955:133):

Beginning about 1887, a leading aim of the United States was to destroy the Plains Indians' societies through destroying their religions; and it may be that the world has never witnessed a religious persecution so implacable and so variously implemented.

The Allotment Act of 1887 was an effort to eliminate group identity, to destroy Indian community life, and to force persons into individualized behavior (Workshop on American Indian Affairs, 1956:10,11). The intensity of interest in the goal of forced change for Indians is clearly seen in the argument of Senator Pendleton of Ohio in his argument on behalf of the Allotment Act in 1881 before Congress [Congressional Record, Vol. 11 (Forty-sixth Congress, Third Session, 1881)]:

They must either change their mode of life or they must die. We may regret it, we may wish it were otherwise, our sentiments of humanity may be shocked by the alternative, but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it is the alternative, and that these Indians must either change their modes of life or they will be exterminated. . . . In order that they may change their modes of life, we must . . . stimulate within them to the very largest degree, the idea of home, of family, and of property.

The results of these efforts were that Indians were brought together in close proximity by reservation settlement making mutual association easy and more likely, English became the universal language of intertribal discourse, intertribal relationships were enhanced by use of the U.S. mails and the railroad, Indians began to send their children to school and to accept many of the white social and economic patterns of life, and some were appearing on the Wild West shows (Wallace, 1965:vii). In the dominant society, however, the ideology of Anglo-conformity, which had begun to develop ugly overtones

during the closing decades of the 19th century, continued to grow through World War I (Gordon, 1964:98).

Cultural pluralism does not feature goals of the disappearance of minority groups into a communal identity of some sort, as does Anglo-conformity or the melting pot ideology, but rather co-existence where the various ethnic groups will preserve their identity and their cultures while uniting in group cooperation with full participation in the common political and spiritual life of the country (Gordon, 1964:140; Berry, 1965:226). It became a fact in American life before it did a theory (Gordon, 1964:135). It did not develop meaningful proportions until the years of 1915 through 1920 and then among certain idealistic members of the middle class who were more concerned with minority groups than with theories of adjustment, and perhaps as a reaction against the Americanization movement and the Ku Klux Klan (Gordon, 1964:137). It received perhaps its most idealistic expression in the work of Randolph Bourne, literary critic and essayist, of whom Gordon asserts (1964:141):

Here at last might be found the type of nation which the conditions of modern life demanded--one in which many nationalities would live in concert, each maintaining the flavor of its original heritage and its interest in its original homeland, and at the same time combining to form a richer, more cosmopolitan culture in America and providing a lesson in international amity for other countries. In this vision of the nation, the immigrants now become "threads of living and potent cultures,

blindly striving to weave themselves into a novel international nation, the first the world has seen."

World War I was the war to end wars, following which the ideology of pluralism was evidenced in the appearance of the League of Nations.

Many Indians had enlisted in the Armed Services and, because of the law passed in 1919 conferring citizenship on any soldier who had been honorably discharged, became citizens. By this time Indians were coming more to the fore in the thinking of the larger society and many among them were gaining newer and different perspectives. In 1924 the federal government officially declared that Indians born within the United States were citizens. In the mid-1920's attention turned to the plight of those living on reservations which resulted in a reappraisal which culminated in the Meriam Survey (Meriam and Associates, 1928) revealing not only their economic and cultural plight but the failures of federal policy to date (Workshop on Indian Affairs, 1956:12):

. . . the relationship between the government and the Indian, which never was sweet, was now that of bitterness, contempt, and despair. This was because a situation of frustration had been created for the Indians . . .

The years 1928-1934 were years of continued reappraisal and the inauguration of a program of education in the broadest sense of the word (McNickle, 1962:12). By 1929 efforts to gradually nullify the previous policies

were begun (Kenneth Stewart, 1965:501; Berry, 1956:237). In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States and during his first term John Collier, a pluralist, was appointed Indian Commissioner and embarked on a "New Deal" for Indians. In 1934 the Wheeler-Howard Act, sometimes called the Indian Reorganization Act, was passed, containing suggestions from many of the tribes, the Meriam Survey, and from Collier. In Collier's thinking (Kelly, 1954:7):

That intention was the group-hood of Indians, twenty thousand years old in our hemisphere, should be acknowledged as being the human and socially dynamic essential, the eternal essential, now and into the future as of old. It should be grouphood culturally, as rooted in the past as the group at issue. . . .

For Indians it meant civic and cultural freedom, the opportunity to reorganize as tribes for those voting its acceptance, and economic opportunity (Kenneth Stewart, 1965:501):

. . . the philosophy of the act was the opposite of forced assimilation, since it encouraged the Indians to retain their tribal identifications and cultures, offered them assistance in becoming self-sustaining, and held out the promise of their integration into the national life as Indians. The new policy stopped all allotment of Indian lands, gave the tribes the opportunity to organize for increased self-government with elected tribal councils, and made it possible for organized tribes to borrow money from the government for such enterprises as cooperative cattle raising. Health and school services were improved, and the Indians were given back their constitutional right of religious freedom. Native arts and crafts were encouraged and it became possible for the first time to teach Indian languages in the schools.

In 1850 only those Michigan Indians who were not members of any tribe were given the right to vote (Department of the Interior, 1951:2), but this was changed in 1924 when all were declared citizens. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 stimulated new hope among them as it did among Indians elsewhere. For them a new era was dawning. Now they could not only reorganize as tribes but, being citizens, they even had a voice in the dominant society. Because the dominant society had been turning more attention to them since the mid-1920's and because many in that society were now given to the newer ideology of pluralism, many were beginning to view Indians in a more favorable perspective. In the 1930's many Michigan Indians were either experiencing actual economic and/or social deprivation, and many others retained vivid memories of it; sometimes because of and sometimes in comparison to the white outsider. Feelings of injustice were very present and tribal identity was intensified. Now perhaps they could be heard. Michigan Indians reacted and tribal pow wows, long since a thing of the past, came into being once more. Envisioning a more satisfying way of life in the future and sometimes proposing means to that end, Michigan Indians began to gather at these pow wows and to unify as best they could. Even at this date the means to the proposed goals, while including others, were often political. Most such efforts failed.

In this new era Indians had considerable geographic mobility, and immigration into the industrial areas now brought other Indians from distant places in the United States and Canada. As 1940 approached some of these from the other tribes began to appear at the tribal pow wows. In Detroit there had been an attempt to form an ongoing intertribal association in the 1930's. Although it failed, the North American Indian Association, soon to come into existence, would succeed.

September 19, 1940-1947

The North American Indian Club, now the North American Indian Association, came into being on September 19, 1940 at a meeting held in the Central Y.W.C.A. of Metropolitan Detroit which was called for the purpose by [3], Michigan Chippewa from the Isabella Reservation and Assistant Guidance and Placement Officer of the U.S. Indian Department. These evidently were years of heavy Indian immigration into Detroit and the U.S. government assigned him the responsibility of spending some three or four months per year on the task of assisting Indians adjusting to urban life. His office was in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and he appeared intermittently in Detroit attempting to secure job placement for Indians in the automotive industries and offering counsel to those in need of it. Evidently his special concern was with those who were graduates of federally-funded Indian schools, but he was

also concerned with Indians in general and in providing something to aid them in his absence. The original members of the Association all affirm that [3], seeing so many Indians living on Skid Row and spending most of their free time in the bars there, organized the club in the Y.W.C.A. in an effort to divert their attention from this type of life toward something better (see Appendix D-3 for an alternate, although not necessarily contradictory, explanation). [3] evidently met many Indians in the bars and not only invited them to the organizational meeting but urged them to spread the word to others. He only visited the city for about two years and left the newly formed organization under the guidance of the Y.W.C.A., under whose sponsorship it still remains.

The records which deal with the first meeting indicate that the association came into being primarily as a social club and that, even at its inception, pan-Indianism is implicit. They state that [3], of the U.S. Indian Department, called a special meeting of these Indians at the Y.W.C.A. for the purpose of considering the organization of an "Indian social club." There were 25 present and all seemed in favor of such an "Indian" organization. [3] also talked on membership and advised the group against accepting "undesirable individuals" as permanent members.

On October 2, 1940 [3] addressed a letter to the newly formed group, suggesting that the word "Indian" should appear first in the name which they might select, e.g., "Indian Social Club," "Indian Tribal Club," or "Indian Tribesmen Club." He also advised the group against affiliation with the Council Fire and suggested that it retain close touch with the Y.W.C.A. for the benefits which the larger organization could provide.

Of interest also at this early date was the evident concern of the members for affiliation with other Indian groups. Quite likely attempts at such unification among Indians were already present in the United States at this time. The Council Fire which [3] had in mind is the Chicago group of which we have spoken. His reasons for advising against affiliation evidently included the fact that the group there permitted non-Indians to be members. Very likely this was related to the very purposes he envisioned for the group in Detroit and to the feeling of Indian identity (see Appendix D-4). This feeling of separatism from non-Indians and the rigid stand against accepting persons who are suspect of being less than one-fourth ~~degree~~ Indian continues to this day, showing no signs of abatement (see Appendix D-5).

In our opinion one of the factors accounting for the Association as it is today has been the contributions made by professional Indians, well-educated Indians and/or

persons with unusual perception, foresight, and leadership. [3], the founder, was a professional. [4], perhaps highly important in getting the group started, had a couple of years of college. Elected to the first Constitution Committee were [5], Oklahoma Cheyenne married to a Chippewa from the Isabella Reservation; [1], Chippewa from the Isabella Reservation; and [6], Potawatomi from "Indiantown" near Athens, Michigan. [5] was a student at Wayne State University at the time studying sociology, later to take his M.A. in the field there and to teach the same at the University of Kansas. This committee projected into that first constitution the perspectives, goals and activities of the emergent organization; and with them the Pan-Indian concept, "Indian." These can best be seen in the preamble, but we add a little more for clarification [Constitution of the North American Indian Club. Adopted October 20, 1940. (Mimeographed.)]:

Preamble

The purpose of the "North American Indian Club" is; To establish a meeting center for the Indian people in and around Detroit and Canada; To extend our hospitality to visiting Indians of the United States and Canada; To promote better relations and extend the international courtesy to Canadian Indians which our forefathers knew no boundaries many years ago. We shall make every effort to elevate the environment of our Indian people, and to lay cornerstone of ever-lasting fellowship.

ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

Name

Section 1.

This organization shall be known as; "The North American Indian Club"

Section 2.

Said organization is to be composed of the descendents of all Indian tribes of the United States and Canada.

. . .

ARTICLE V
Membership

Section 1.

Any person elected to the "North American Indian Club" must be of Indian descent, and be a resident of Detroit or neighboring town. No person shall be qualified to hold office who is an employee of the Indian Service, or who has been convicted of a felony.

Section 2. Associate Membership

Wives or husbands who are not of Indian blood may have all privileges of membership except that of holding elective office.

Honorary membership was adopted on January 12, 1941 and on February 16 of that year restrictions were placed on persons seeking regular membership. These required that all potential members be required to present to the membership committee papers verifying degree of "Indian blood" which should not be less than one-quarter, tribe, etc., or a letter of introduction. Preferably, each should write to his original reservation or agency.

The organization began with a Pan-Indian title. The earlier suggestions of [3] that "tribe" be included along with "Indian" might be taken to mean that factions along tribal lines threatened the club in the beginning. We are not sure, however, to what degree this actually occurred. We are relatively certain that division did exist, but it appears that it was essentially between

U.S. versus Canadian Indians (see Appendix D-6 for the last mention of this type of schism).

In the first preamble we find essentially two things suggesting an effort to create a more satisfactory way of life: (1) better fellowship among Indians, especially between those from Canada and those of the United States, and (2) a generalized concept of an improved environment in which Indians might live. [5] appears to have envisioned more. With the advent of World War II many of the men enlisted and he became president. In a letter addressed to members and prospective members he suggests that other goals should be added and places before his readers a second criterion of Pan-Indianism, supertribal unity [August 5, 1942. (Mimeographed.)]:

You should all think of yourselves as Indians first, and not as belonging to a particular tribe, or as coming from Canada or from the U.S. The Club is for all Indians and not for a clique or a particular tribe. Banish from your minds any petty thoughts or jealousies, and think only of the good that will come from the unity of the American Indian. Of all nationalities in this country, the American Indian, with his common background, has the most logical and proper basis for organizing with the minimum of difficulty. If we Indians can grasp this fact, and if we think of the hardships, abuse, and prejudice that is ours today, we would organize . . . the Club at the present time is principally a Social Club, with the hopes and expectations of becoming something stronger and more influential. . . .

All of the social functions of the organization were developed within the first three years of its history. Ideally two Sunday evening meetings were held per month,

one for business and one for recreation. Actually, then as now, most would be for business. At those regularly scheduled events the club featured card parties, box socials, talent shows, bingo games, bunco, square dancing, etc. On special occasions American style dances would be held on a much larger scale at which the Indian public which was not associated with the club was invited. An annual picnic soon came into being and also the annual banquet. Favored meals included in the menu Indian bread, Indian or corn soup, and venison. During the war years the women formed a knitting group, and after the war the men quickly organized a basketball team, baseball team, and a bowling league. Those latter activities have been intermittent since this time but of interest to the group, especially when they involve competition with other Indian teams. Activities associated with mutual aid, e.g., the sending of flowers to the sick or bereaved, donations for those in economic need, gifts for men in the Armed Services, etc., were early in appearing. The first Welfare Committee was appointed on January 22, 1942.

The Y.W.C.A. has provided both a reliable and convenient meeting place and professional guidance. While its goals regarding the club have been those of integration, we do not suggest that those working with the Association have been motivated by the ideology of Anglo-conformity but rather a type of pluralism which envisioned the group

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as both representing Indians as a whole to the dominant society and as cooperating with that society in community-wide endeavors. Its workers have consistently backed the Indians in championing their causes although at times they seem to express concern should the group become militant. Its guidance has been indirect. Its workers have attended all of the meetings offering guidance but never dominating and they have met with committees whenever invited. From the beginning the Indians have planned their own activities and conducted their own business.

As a large and reputable organization, the Y.W.C.A. has given this group which it sponsored prestige in the eyes of the larger society and, by its continual representation of the club as the official voice for Indians in the metropolis, it has been able to make important contacts for it with other citywide organizations. Accordingly, it has emphasized to the members that as Indians they were the representatives of Indians in the city and, as such representatives, it has sought to draw them into community activities. It has alerted the group to current and important issues to which it should react and has provided knowledge of how to cope with individuals and committees in high places and with the public at large so that today those in the core group are no novices. It has provided and arranged for the group valuable publicity and taught it how to use the means of communication

available for communicating with the metropolis, e.g., newspapers, radio, and television.

Members of the club soon learned that they had an important asset in the non-Indian metropolitan setting. This was simply the awareness that they were Indians, and that non-Indians wanted them as performers, speakers, and interpreters. In less than a year after the club had come into existence it had been invited to send representatives to appear on radio programs, as speakers for diverse civic organizations, and for one who could interpret the meanings of Indian terms assigned to places in the State and suggest new ones for places not yet named. Such invitations would not diminish through the years, but to them would be added requests for displays of Indian crafts, players for pageants, groups and floats for parades, speakers for schools and churches, and finally Indian dancers. The first invitation to participate publicly in a parade before the city was the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Parade in 1946, for which they elected their first Indian princess. Requests for speakers could be filled by persons with rather good education and/or experience. Persons with linguistic ability could act as interpreters. A few could still do some of the Indian crafts. Many requests required groups performing in concert.

Because cultural forgetting was extensive in most of Michigan and on the smaller and more adjacent Canadian

reservations, most of the members lacked not only knowledge of how to do Indian dancing but also costumes and any real knowledge of their previous tribal cultures. Analysis of the subjects of those addressing the group from 1940 through 1947 reveals that on the 27 occasions 20 were on the former culture of a given tribe; on crafts, music, or symbols of Indian culture in the past (Appendix D-7); whereas seven were on issues that were largely political pertaining to Indian people as a whole (Appendix D-11). All of the latter type save one were in or following 1945.

With the closing of 1947 there was a dramatic change in the club. Since then only one person has addressed himself to themes of the former type, so popular before. This was in 1961, after the group had become engaged in the contemporary Pan-Indian pow wow, when [13], a highly talented Oklahoma Cheyenne artist and recent migrant to the city explained and started the group in silk screening. We suggest that, for those who had lost so much of their previous tribal cultures, this early period was essentially one of learning. They were learning about ~~their~~ own former cultures, certainly something of the former cultures of others; and they were learning some of the more generalized cultural traits and symbols presumed to have been formerly shared by Indians as a whole. In short, at this time they were broadening their cultural

horizons and developing a sense of historic identification with Indians of the past, important elements if a sense of peoplehood was to be achieved.

There are only a few references to Indian dancing for the years 1940 through 1947. Interestingly, it is mentioned only six times (Appendix D-8) whereas there are seven references to bazaars, talent shows, concerts, and pageants (Appendix D-9). Most of the latter are as much or more non-Indian in character than Indian and none predate 1945. Furthermore, except on those rare occasions when some joined in for the fun of it, much the same as entertainers often ask their audiences to do, the Indian dances are essentially shows for the benefit of Indians who as yet lacked the art themselves. Some of the members of course knew how to do Indian dancing before they came to Detroit, nonetheless, it appears that group performances first featured bazaars and pageants and later purely dance programs. We would suggest that in the beginning when many could not perform as dancers that they could perform as Indians, if garbed in a proper costume, in a playlet or pageant. We met [15] and he confirmed our impressions at the Detroit pow wow in 1968.

Professional Indian entertainers and Indian dancers with great skill filled an important need for the group in these early years. They enabled the organization to respond to the dominant society as Indians and served to

educate the members to what Indian dancing was about. Three professionals were [20], [16], and [17]. [20] was a Sioux from the Rosebud Reservation. As an entertainer he had spent most of his life in Wild West shows, traveling with Buffalo Bill. [17] was an Ottawa who had traveled considerably with the Hiawatha Pageant of Harbor Springs, even to Europe. [16] is an Oklahoma Cherokee and an entertainer of a different sort. He formerly had his own orchestra and traveled widely, appearing on programs such as the Grand Old Opry. He appeared in full Indian regalia and had his orchestra dressed as cowboys. For variety in the program he would perform rope and shooting tricks, and do Indian dancing. After coming to Detroit he had his own T.V. program, the Tom Tom Matinee on which he would sometimes use some of the children from the club. Two non-professionals but nevertheless persons of great ability were [23], Oneida from the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin and [19], Mohawk from the Caughnawaga Reservation in Quebec. Some of the children were utilized in programs featuring dancing, but the records contain no reference to dancing instructions being given to the adults. Those mentioned above were the Indian dancers these years (Appendix D-25), although others were most likely used in other roles should an Indian program be given. Interestingly, Indian dancing in the club in these years is not excessively dominated by styles from the

southwest. While Pan-Indian dancing from the Southern Plains is present, it appears alongside but not in excess of dances from other areas.

Since its inception the club has expressed interest in and has maintained relationships with Indian groups elsewhere. It will be recalled that in 1940 [3] had advised against affiliation with the Fireside Council in Chicago (Appendix D-4). By the fall of 1941 a group had been organized in Lansing (Appendix D-2b) which sent representatives to Detroit to announce the event. Members of the club, having come from diverse areas, have also served as links between the group in Detroit and activities and groups elsewhere. The Hiawatha Pageant at Harbor Springs lapsed during World War II (Kurath, 1966:56). This corresponds exactly to the arrival of [17] in Detroit in 1942.

Revitalization movements are typically evangelistic (Wallace, 1956:273), seeking to carry their goals and programs to other like persons by emissaries. Individuals with a message and a program become vehicles of instruction and extension. The Ghost Dance of 1890 featured a number of apostles who carried the message of hope. While these were active in their own locales they were also active in spreading the message and its related behavior elsewhere. A reading of the record also indicates that groups sometimes acted on their own, selecting one from their number

to go and inquire for them. One would not expect a secular movement to feature emissaries who are divinely inspired and have a program which is essentially religious. One would, however, expect certain common characteristics. Thus, although the message and the program of the secular movement would not be essentially religious, the role of the individual emissary and/or the group via an emissary should be important in a manner paralleling that in the religious movement.

Kurath has very carefully documented the role of individuals in the formation and instruction of groups, the purpose of which is the Indian pageant, Indian dancing, or the contemporary pow wow. She even refers to the modern pow wow as "revitalization" (1966:55) and its emissaries as "evangelists" (1966:57,58). Indeed, a careful consideration of the persons and their activities presented in her chapter on the rise and spread of modern Indian festivals suggests that they must have seen themselves as having a message and a program for Indian people, and as being dedicated to the winning and instruction of converts.

We do not suggest that the North American Indian Club is, at least as of 1947, a revitalization movement. However, on the basis of their statements, we suggest that some individuals have come to see themselves as emissaries in the manner of our preceding remarks and that others are responding to them as such. In 1944 [24], chief of the

Odawas or Ottawas on Mantoulin Island, was living in Sault Ste Marie, Ontario. He came to believe that he should start a club in the Sault, contacted the group in Detroit, and was given a constitution as a guide and encouragement (Appendix D-10). Also, from its inception there have been close relations between the Detroit club and persons on the Isabella Reservation. Our data indicate that an emissary from the Detroit group, [1], went to Mt. Pleasant where he started a club early in 1946. He reported the event and urged encouragement (Appendix D-2c).

Beginning in 1945 members of the club began to express interest in events concerning Indians as a whole, especially where tribal rights and reservations were concerned. Prior to the war, on April 20, 1941, a petition was passed for signatures supporting a bill by Senator Thomas of Oklahoma to establish a National Indian Day, but the activity did not involve the newly emergent club in immediate or personal commitment. It appears, however, that the experiences of the war altered the interests of the male members in two directions: (1) some had become more interested in the welfare of all Indians and were especially interested in political issues relating to them, whereas (2) others did not develop such concerns but instead came back hoping to hold together as veterans. The latter group focused their attention on recreational

activities, or remaining as a social club, but with expanded activities. They quickly organized a basketball team, a baseball team, and a bowling league. The bowling league, which came into being on November 3, 1946, would in time become the American Indian Amvet Post No. 50 and split away from the club. For those persons concerned with issues which were more or less political, the years following the war can be characterized as being dedicated primarily to learning the issues. In this period there is no important commitment. A case in point is a letter, written from Port Huron, Michigan on February 17, 1946, regarding discrimination against Indians there and asking for advice. Although the records of the Association note the letter, they contain no indication of any decision arrived at or advice offered.

We have suggested that the primary feature of pan-Indianism is the aspiration for or the effort to accomplish the union of all Indians around interests common to all. While these interests are multiple, those which are political have progressively developed in the group under analysis so that today they are one of its striking features. We believe that there has been similar development elsewhere and that a consideration of events occurring in our group provides some suggestive insights into what has perhaps happened elsewhere. We think that the development of the political features of contemporary

Pan-Indianism is in no small way related to the attitudes, legislation, and activities of the federal government toward the treaties formerly made with and concerning Indians, reservations, and Indians in general.

In the 1940's there was a progressive development of the notion that the federal government should rid itself of its Indian obligations. In 1943, the Senate Indian Affairs Committee recommended the liquidation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the termination of its services (Steiner, 1968:23), and in 1944 the National Congress of American Indians came into being. An act of withdrawal, the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 was designed to settle old injustices by the United States against Indians. In Michigan there was immediate response among the landless Ottawas, who never had been given a reservation, in that many of them now aspired anew toward equity, i.e., payment for unpaid land in accordance with the old treaties. Echoing the tribal pow wow in Harbor Springs in 1934, these Ottawa through the Michigan Indian Defense Association, contender for treaty rights and land claims, restored to life the pageant at Harbor Springs on August 10, 1946 (Kurath, 1966:56). On February 8, 1947 the Committee on Civil Services directed Walter Zimmerman, Jr., acting commissioner of the B.I.A. under President Truman, to prepare a statement outlining reduction of expenses of the Indian Office and increasing the responsibility of states

for tribes within their borders. He recommended partial withdrawal of federal services. In March of that year John Provinse, assistant commissioner, outlined the transference of some B.I.A. social services to the states and private organizations (Brophy and Aberle, 1966:182), and later that year the first Task Force Report of the Hoover Commission added the suggestion to transfer treaty obligations to the states (Steiner, 1968:23). In this era Indians were aware of events in Washington which would affect them--and not only of legislation which had been passed but that which was pending, including the attitudes and maneuverings of individuals. Regional and national organizations came into being among Indians and many began to talk seriously about joining together for their common good.

Newcomb (1955 and 1956) and Howard (1955) viewed Pan-Indianism as a stage of acculturation although anti-assimilative in effect, but neither saw its political overtones. In speaking about factors contributing to the emergence of Pan-Indianism on the Southern Plains Newcomb allows that social clubs might be a factor, but not an important one, and discounts the role of national Indian organizations, although allowing that they might be an expression of the trend elsewhere (Newcomb, 1956:120):

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County . . . Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho.

The suggestion that national Indian organizations are possibly relevant in different settings and under different conditions calls at least for their consideration in other studies on Pan-Indianism. We suggest that organizations such as these may not be merely an expression of the trend, but contributive to it and quite likely at times a means of its expansion. We also believe that contemporary Pan-Indianism contains important features in addition to the pow wow. Newcomb and Howard are careful researchers. Their failure to find the role of these organizations significant suggests to us that while a given feature of Pan-Indianism, e.g., the pow wow and its associated phenomena, may indeed have originated on the Southern Plains in response to given conditions and then spread elsewhere, that other features, equally important, could have

originated elsewhere under somewhat different conditions, and perhaps even earlier.

The role of national Indian organizations was important in Detroit in educating the members of the club to the injustices done to Indians and the need for all Indians to unite in concerted political action before the group as a whole was yet doing the generalized Pan-Indian dancing or holding the typical Pan-Indian pow wow. In the fore and urging his fellow members onward toward super-tribal unity was the vice president, [12], Sioux and well-educated. He had traveled considerably lecturing on Indian affairs. As early as 1945 speakers from regional and national Indian organizations began appealing to the club not only for cooperation but for unification on issues relevant to all Indians; and the means were political (Appendix D-11). These appeals apparently intensified feelings of social distance toward members of the dominant society and semi-cultural and social separatism from that society on the part of the Indians--this being implicit in the first recorded comment of the Y.W.C.A. worker to the effect that the Indians were not integrating as she had hoped and that they might even break away and become independent (Appendix D-12). When in 1947 the federal government was considering the termination of its services to the tribes and in the same year winter blizzards brought famine to the Navaho, resentments toward

both members of the dominant society and the government were further inflamed (Appendix D-13). Although no decisions were made by the group to join a national or regional Indian organization, it was, nonetheless, a time of learning coupled with emotional response. The combined effect was to bring the club to a time of transition: to remain as an all Indian organization the purposes of which were essentially social or to go on to something different. In the excitement the membership dropped to its lowest point and [12] resigned.

1948-1958

The emphasis on helping Indians everywhere which had begun in the closing years of the earlier era continued to develop, and on December 1, 1948 a letter was drafted to all Indians known to be living in the Detroit area expressing contemplated changes in the club (Appendix D-14). The newly elected president similarly addressed the members at the turn of the year (Appendix D-15). We note here that both are pan-Indian and contain elements of revitalization:

1. The current conditions under which Indians are living are seen as unsatisfactory and threatening. This distressful situation has been brought about because of contact with and distasteful relationships with a larger, more powerful and dominant non-Indian society which has resulted already in considerable loss to the Indian people and which will quite likely result in more of the same in the future.

2. These messages from the leadership hold out a vision of new goals for the betterment of all Indians, i.e., a more satisfactory way of life in the future.
3. The message is evangelistic and missionary in spirit. It attempts to convert other Indians to the perspectives of the authors and urges those addressed to win others to the same viewpoint.
4. They posit that considerable change is necessary both in the larger Indian society and in the dominant society. With this in mind, they also suggest that all Indians should join together in a deliberate, organized attempt to effect the necessary changes.
5. They present a code to be followed, or means to accomplish the desired ends, i.e., the instruction of members and non-members in the Indian community, the manipulation of news media and of large non-Indian organizations in the non-Indian community.
6. Indians in Detroit have a moral obligation to act, and the North American Indian Club is the logical and legitimate organization through which they should work.

These suggestions come not from authoritarian figures as directives but as suggestions for consideration, seemingly appropriate in an organization where the members are highly conscious of the democratic process. They nonetheless are expressive of what is occurring. At the next meeting division over the issues became intense enough so that the bowling league separated and became an independent organization. Even so, most of the discussion revolved around Indian rights and problems.

The revised constitution, adopted on June 7, 1953, partially reflects the new character which the club assumed

in these years. We present here only those portions containing relevant changes (Printed):

PREAMBLE

The purpose of the North American Indian Club is to establish a meeting center for the North American Indians.

To steadfastly and earnestly promote the study of Indian history, Indian Arts, crafts, customs, legends, traditions, songs and dances and keep alive aboriginal culture.

To prove that this culture was never devoid of beauty but always full of respect for life and enriching faith in a Supreme and Divine Power.

To place before the Public reliable information leading to a fuller understanding of the North American Indian.

To promote and assist Indians to attain higher education and to make every effort to elevate the environment of our Indian race and to lay a cornerstone of lasting friendship.

. . .

MEMBERSHIP--ELEGIBILITY TO NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN CLUB Section 1.

B. Hold a tribal membership card.

The preamble is pan-Indian. Except for the membership clause, the revised constitution contains no mention of tribe. Whereas the former preamble noted U.S. Indians and Canadian Indians, this is so Indian in character that even those distinctions have been removed. "Friendship," the final word in the preamble, has been substituted for "fellowship." We are not sure of all that this implies but we offer two interpretations: (1) The context of "fellowship" in the earlier preamble appears to be the

social relationships between U.S. and Canadian Indians. One might conclude that, given both the removal of references to the United States and Canada and longer adjustment to the metropolis, that factions between the U.S. and Canadian Indians are no longer a threat and that "friendship" has been adopted to refer to relations between Indians and members of the dominant society (Appendix D-16).

(2) The club has, however, become even more exclusively Indian. It now requires applicants for membership to have their tribe vouch for their Indianness by having granted them membership cards. Actually such cards are used in two ways: to certify Indianness, and as a means of maintaining social distance, or separation, from the non-Indian society (see Appendix D-17). We believe that the shift from "fellowship" to "friendship" is better explained by the shift from a social or recreational emphasis to one which is more pan-Indian and which envisions the group entering into social relationships with a variety of other Indian organizations. Furthermore, this interpretation does not shift context from Indian to non-Indian but retains the same perspective, Indian, for interpreting both preambles.

Although purposefully general, the new preamble also contains indications of revitalization and nativism beyond those found either in the former constitution or in the letters (Appendices D-14, D-15) previously noted.

1. The former culture imputed to Indians has been given a halo effect: " . . . this culture was never devoid of beauty but always full of respect for life and enriching faith in a Supreme and Divine Power."
2. Religious elements are not lacking: " . . . always full of respect for life and enriching faith in a Supreme and Divine Power." (See Appendix D-18.)
3. Certain elements of the former Indian way of life are selected for perpetuation or restoration, e.g., "To steadfastly and earnestly promote the study of Indian history, Indian Arts, crafts, customs, legends, traditions, songs, and dances and keep alive aboriginal culture."
4. Certain aspects of the dominant, non-Indian culture are given approval and selected to be part of the more satisfactory way of life sought, e.g., "To promote and assist Indians attain higher education and to make every effort to elevate the environment of our Indian race and to lay a cornerstone of lasting friendship."
5. The Association is to develop means for the achievement of all goals mentioned as implicit in the words "establish," "promote," "keep alive," "prove," "place before," "assist," "elevate," and "lay."
6. The accomplishment of the goals implies the changing of the current situation in which many Indians find themselves and also certain features of the dominant society. Of the latter we note one primary area in which the larger society is to be changed--its attitudes toward Indians and their culture. Of Indian culture of the past the Association is "To prove" to non-Indians "that this culture was never devoid of beauty but always full of respect for life and enriching faith in a Supreme and Divine Power," and of Indians in the present it is to " . . . place before the Public reliable information leading to a fuller understanding of the North American Indian."

A code (Appendix D-62) which can revitalize (Wallace, 1963:148,149) seems to be emergent at this time. It offers to restore one's self-respect as an Indian, to give him a new inner dignity and pride which will result in a more meaningful life, and, eventually, to alter the cultures of the tribes, reservations, and larger society for the better. It is based upon identification with all Indians, diachronically and synchronically, uniting participants in a cause larger than themselves and worthy of sincere and dedicated effort. Refusal is disgraceful since it is the betrayal of one's heritage; the denial of one's essential self, i.e., his Indianness; harmful, because it is indicative to the individual, since he realizes the choice he has made, of a basic flaw within his personal integrity, and to others because it is harmful to the Indian image; and isolates him in the non-Indian society from the support of other Indians while at the same time limiting their group effectiveness by lessening their numbers.

In our thinking this set of postulates seems to guide and qualify their thinking and activities from at least this point, to lie at the basis of their appeals to others to identify with their organization, to direct their missionary efforts to and on behalf of other Indian groups, and to control their more tangible goals and pragmatic activities on behalf of Indians. It is not

regressive. The great overriding principle seems to be satisfying adjustment to, and achievement in, the contemporary and future society as Indians in the land rightfully theirs. While some might tread the pathway of Anglo-American conformity becoming "nondistinctive members of the larger society" (Howard, 1955; Newcomb, 1955), this Pan-Indian innovation suggests a type of pluralistic adaptation in which they can feel themselves members of the larger society with honor and dignity while at the same time retaining their sense of peoplehood, their status as Indians because of treaties which are honored, cultural traits more or less unique to themselves, and demonstrate before the world the viability of the ancient Indian values.

In keeping with the changes occurring at this time were the expanding interest of members of the Association in the welfare of Indians and progressive group involvement. This is true to such an extent that most activities cannot be well understood apart from a consideration of both events transpiring on the national scene and intergroup relationships with organizations which are often regional or national in scope.

The Association has long been interested in relief for needy Indians. The plight of the Navaho which had stirred their sympathies brought financial contributions from the club through the Navaho Assistance, Inc., as late

as 1950. Although probably always interested in orphans, the Children's Institute of Ann Arbor inquired as early as 1946 about Indian families who were willing to adopt or board Indian orphans and appeals such as this, although occasional, are received to this day. Some of the members have responded by making such adoptions and help has been given to orphans from as far away as Ohio and Alabama and perhaps further. In December of 1947 the group organized a special Christman program, the proceeds of which went to orphans.

Later, interests expanded to include all needy Indian children, and then all Indian children. For many years the Club engaged in special programs to raise money for picnics for such children. Since 1947 the annual Christmas program has featured the giving of gifts to Indian children with a special effort being made to reach those in greatest need. A similar thing has happened with respect to the procurement of clothing for needy Indians. These people are highly resentful of badly worn, dirty, or out of style clothing which is given for Indian relief and; while accepting items which are useful, they prefer money which they can convert into new clothing. They feel that Indians are further debased and humiliated when members of the white society, so long their oppressor, offer things which would not be useful to themselves. Accordingly, in the era under consideration these Indians are giving

themselves and are found engaging in drives and presenting programs for the purpose of raising the needed funds. Distributions are made locally, on reservations, through the Northern Ottawa Association, and to distant places such as the reservations in South Dakota.

At an early date the group became interested in education as a means of bettering the future of Indian youth. In 1946 the Daughters of the American Revolution appealed to the club for articles of art and crafts for resale to help toward a scholarship for worthy Indian youths. In 1951 the issue of education came under discussion and in 1952 inquiries at places such as the University of Michigan were made regarding scholarships for Indian youth. This emphasis is recorded in the 1953 preamble but it found great expansion in 1957 when the education fund, of which we shall speak later, was voted into being. Sometime prior to but probably not long before 1957 the club organized its Indian relief committee which still functions.

The group has always been interested in the welfare of migrant Indians. One of the oldest and perhaps most cherished aspirations is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would open a relocation office in Detroit which would be instituted in a manner which would allow the Association (Appendix D-22) to serve with a relatively free hand the vital function of assisting as Indians other Indians

adjusting to the metropolis; thus giving of their experience to others who must make adjustments similar to those which they have already successfully made. By so doing they could assist the Indian people as a whole, especially those in transition, to perpetuate their work. This aspiration is not unrelated to another, namely to secure a building of their own similar to that of the American Indian Center in Chicago (Appendix D-19).

In 1948, because of the problem of overpopulation on the Navaho Reservation, relocation offices were established in Denver, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City. Late in 1951 a general Indian relocation program was begun and an office was opened in Chicago (Oswalt, 1966:510). The Voluntary Relocation Program was officially instituted in 1952 (Lurie, 1961:481). In 1954 the office was opened in Oakland, California and the one at Salt Lake City was closed; and in 1956 and 1957 eight other offices were opened in the Midwest, Southwest and far west. Prior to any of these dates the B.I.A. was active in similar activities in Detroit and throughout the period it expressed interest in a similar office there (Appendix D-20). In 1958 the emphasis of the Bureau began to shift somewhat from relocation toward adult education (Oswalt, 1966:514) and it currently appears that the office will not become a reality in Detroit (Appendix D-21). We would suggest that had the Bureau found an amicable way to have

established one in Detroit in the years between 1951 and 1956, the character of the Association might have been different today. The aspiration, however, fully attests both the pan-Indianness of the Association and the scope of its interests, and both are related to events on the national level.

Distasteful experiences with the dominant society on the local level have been a source of emotional concern. In the years 1948 through 1958 the club responded, but not as strongly as it would in the decade to come. In 1953 an itinerant Indian from Mantoulin Island, Ontario was unjustly accused of murder and the Association gave liberally, helping him win his case. Discrimination in housing occurred in 1954 when an Indian was stoned while attempting to move into an all-white neighborhood in Dearborn, and the club joined with the Amvets to keep a watchful eye and to try to prevent similar occurrences in the future (Appendix D-23). Due largely to negative stereotypes held by outsiders against Indians, the group seems to have had persistent problems in securing the beer and wine license for its parties until the chief of police championed its case, following which it made him an honorary member. Newspaper articles have sometimes portrayed the activities of the club incorrectly or unfavorably, or have made Indians the object of buffoonery; and

the club sought to effect change (Appendix D-24), but not to as great a degree as it would in the period to follow.

The beginnings of group dancing in the North American Indian Club appear to be related to a number of factors. Having learned that they had an asset as performers, their earliest aspirations to organize a dance group stem from a desire to present successful and paying pageants or shows, not pow wows. Further stimulus came from well-known Indian pageants elsewhere, e.g., Harbor Springs. Incentive was added by the desire to raise relief money for the distant Navahos. They were, however, severely limited because about the only adults who could do such dancing were the professional or semi-professional dancers previously mentioned (Appendix D-25) and the few young people they had trained. On November 12, 1949 their president proposed the training of a group of dancers, but it was not until late in 1951 that such efforts got under way. When it did it was the Pan-Indian type of dancing which was taught and which Howard (1955) and Newcomb (1955 and 1956) observed a year later on the Southern Plains.

[38], a full blood Taos Pueblo Indian, is both a very capable drummer and singer and an instructor in contemporary Pan-Indian dancing. After spending a year at Haskell and another at the University of New Mexico, he traveled over most of the United States, reaching Detroit in 1937 and becoming a charter member of the club. He

does not seem to have performed prior to World War II, but after an absence during those years we find him back talking about Indian dancing. [16], although always cooperating closely with the group, is essentially an entertainer in his own right and has not been actively involved in the training of others. Death claimed [17] in 1949 and [20] at 87 years. In 1952 [19] returned to Caughnawaga, and [23] remained. The reins of leadership in Indian dancing thus passed to [38].

The aspired pageant waited until July 4, 1951, the 250th Birthday Celebration Parade of Detroit. There were 168 floats, 30 telling in pageant form the history of the city. It lasted five hours, was seen by an estimated million people, and was covered by newspapers, radio, and television. The Pontiac Motors Division of General Motors sponsored the Indian club in a portrayal of the signing of a peace treaty between Chief Pontiac and the British. Spectacular success brought invitations to perform elsewhere (Appendix D-26), attendance immediately accelerated, and soon [38] was teaching a group of enthusiastic Indians to dance. From then on the group has primarily done Pan-Indian dancing derived from the Southern Plains. In this era dances were for the purpose of raising money for the education of Indian youth (Appendix D-27). In 1957 [39] became his helper. The Indian princess, chosen to represent Indian ideals and a regular feature of

contemporary Pan-Indianism (Howard, 1955:217,219), had become a regular feature of club activities in 1950. In 1954 the Club began sending her to Sheridan, Wyoming for the Miss American Indian Contest.

Probably around 1948 [17] visited Lansing (Appendix D-2b) and Walpole Island (Appendix D-2d) to give instruction in Indian dancing. Later, probably around 1953 or shortly thereafter, [4] regularly visited both Walpole (Appendix D-2d) and Sarnia (Appendix D-28) to speak and present Indian programs, and at least on Walpole to give instruction in dancing. The residents on Walpole had formerly presented excellent and well-known shows, including dancing, to which the Tashmoo regularly navigated in the 1920's, carrying spectators from Detroit and environs. For about a generation Indian dancing had evidently lapsed there until revived via the assistance of emissaries from Detroit. In the early 1950's [40], being impressed by the Club, sought assistance in starting the Canadian Indian Center of Toronto (Appendix D-29). He approached the Association and discussed the matter thoroughly and was given a constitution as a guide to follow. Today that group is modeled after Detroit. The American Indian Amvet Post No. 50 was organized within the Club by the fall of 1949 and continued to meet in association with it for several years. When it finally became independent, it featured some activities paralleling those of its mother

group although omitting part of her Pan-Indian features (Appendix D-31).

The Indian Claims Commission of 1946 raised the hopes of many Indians that at last the federal government would honor the treaties made with the tribes in former days and that money would be coming their way. Many Michigan Indians were unable to adequately trace descent to qualify should payment occur or were inadequately organized to press for such claims. In the metropolis some, now relatively long-time migrants from their tribal bases, feared that if payment should be made they would be left out. Others chafed, because they knew that they had either lost their tribal statuses or never had them. Between 1948 and 1952 there were numerous discussions over treaty rights and claims in the meetings of the Association reflecting this concern. Members began looking to Indian organizations on the national level for guidance and direction, and they began asking if a political interest on behalf of all Indians, including cooperation with these organizations, should not become a primary concern of the club (cf. Appendices D-14, D-15).

Aside from those organizations which it had a hand in either starting or assisting in Indian dancing, the club engaged in activities with others which were tribal, urban, regional, or national in scope (Appendix D-32). Of all these perhaps the relationship with the

National Congress of American Indians was closest (Appendix D-33). Almost all the relationships with these groups were related to issues more or less political in nature, revolving around either the Voluntary Relocation Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the House Concurrent Resolution No. 108, sometimes referred to as the "termination bill." It was the issue of termination, especially as it related to Michigan tribes, which brought the group to the place where it saw itself morally obligated to become a champion of Indians and their tribal rights. This vision and call to duty had been placed before them while termination was yet in the talking stages [Letter from [27] to members and prospective members, December 1, 1948.

(Mimeographed.)]:

. . . We should resist any move to turn the administration of Indian affairs over to the states or to place the Indians on reservations entirely on their own. They are not ready for any of this yet. It is my strong belief that Indians in Detroit are in a better position as to economic circumstances and education than those back home. I believe we are morally obligated to do something on a broad scale. If we do, I am sure we would benefit personally and collectively. The North American Indian Club is the logical organization we have here to work with.

Beginning in 1950 the major controversy in Indian affairs was over whether the United States should follow a program of pressing for prompt termination of tribes without the consent of their members (Brophy and Aberle, 1966:182). In 1953 the House Concurrent Resolution No. 108

was passed. From that date mandatory termination appeared the goal. Termination took place for the Klamath and Menominee in 1954 and for the Paiute in 1957. To those in the Club who were already either detribalized or marginal to their tribes it meant that unless this was blocked, in time Indians everywhere would be as they were. The future of the Indian people became a source of concern. In this Association with pan-Indian interests it meant that even if the individual or his tribe was not immediately involved, he and his Club should be vitally concerned. To many the abrogation of treaties was interpreted as a violation of their link with the past and their hereditary status as Indians. Being Indians, they felt their Indianness challenged and that of future generations placed in jeopardy. Being citizens, they felt their rights dishonored. The Club, having already many features characteristic of revitalization movements, felt it should do something. Being secular, it felt it should gather data and weigh the evidence first and then act as best it could. On February 21, 1954 concern was expressed that the Isabella Reservation would be terminated and a motion was made to look into the matter. At the next meeting a legislative committee was appointed.

[41], educated at the Indian boarding school on the Isabella Reservation, was president of the Club in 1956 and was also appointed that year to serve on the

first Governor's Study Commission. On October 7 he reported back to the Club the threat of termination to Michigan Indians, focusing on Isabella. On April 26, 1957 a special meeting of the Association was held to discuss the termination program of the federal government as it affected Michigan Indians, specifically those at Isabella.

This was followed by three other well-advertised meetings, all of the panel type with open discussion from the floor, all featuring resource persons imported for the occasion; and occurring on June 9 and November 23, 1957, and February 2, 1958. Resource persons included representatives from the Democratic Party (Appendix D-34), the Governor's Study Commission, an individual representing the Governor himself, the Michigan tribes, the American Indian Center of Chicago, and, besides the Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A., the Southeastern Federated Women's Club of Michigan. Perhaps the most understanding and contributive of all was [31], anthropologist and specialist in the American Indian, from the University of Michigan. These meetings were essentially a learning experience (Appendix D-35). Knowledge was accumulated, new perspectives were added, experience in the art of political maneuvering was gained, and some important decisions were reached.

Given the passage of the House Concurrent Resolution No. 108 in 1953, the Club sought to create for

Indians in the future a more satisfying way of life by taking a strong stand favoring Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 3, sometimes called the "American Indian Point IV Program," and Senate 809 (Appendix D-36). The former was designed to alter the effects of termination by providing economic, technical, medical, educational, and other types of assistance to Indians living on reservations; and assistance in relocation to those emigrating--without exacting termination. Furthermore, it made termination possible only when a given tribe first adopted its own plan for and then requested it. Senate 809 sought its implementation by providing \$200,000,000 for the program. Recognizing that the passage of bills such as these would require the support of considerable numbers of people and powerful organizations, the group communicated its position directly to the chairman of the Subcommittee of Indian Affairs and then sought the help of influential organizations. Some of these promised to alert their members across the nation and to support the cause in Washington (Appendix D-37). Although the bills did not pass, the efforts were not a failure. On September 18, 1958 the Secretary of Interior announced that no tribe would be terminated against its wishes (Brophy and Aberle, 1966:182), and Lurie (1961:481) commented, " . . . it was Indian resistance that blocked further termination . . . "

The meetings on termination resulted in two other efforts to effect a more satisfactory way of life for Indians: (1) The discussions focused attention on the plight of needy Indians everywhere and the Club formed its Indian Relief Committee in 1957. (2) The Education Fund was formally voted into existence on January 19, 1957. Interest in education had been present, and expressed in the preamble, for a long time but efforts on its behalf had been sporadic. In all the meetings on termination the matter of higher education entered, and after the issues had been weighed it seemed the paramount need of Indians as a whole and something which the Club itself could do something about (Appendix D-38). By constitutional amendment it became a permanent and primary function of the Association on February 22, 1958, requiring the support of its members (Printed):

EDUCATIONAL FUND

Section 1. Purpose: To help deserving Indians who have the necessary requirements for a higher education.

Section 2. Fund: This fund shall be raised by membership participation in activities especially set up for this purpose or by donation from members, persons or organizations. . . .

The annual banquet in May featured a faculty representative from the University of Michigan, who brought with her a student on an Indian scholarship, speaking on the subject. On March 2, 1958 the fund was launched by the Club voting

\$500 from its General Fund. In the summer which followed it raised an additional \$500, making the program operative in the fall.

1959-1968

This is the contemporary period of Pan-Indianism in Detroit. Although many of the current features of the North American Indian Association were developed during the years which preceded, some significant changes occur. In this era the Club accedes to the position of the leading voice for all Indians in southwestern Michigan (Appendix D-53), comes to view itself as a champion of Indians, and becomes the primary center of Indian activity in Detroit and an agency through which Indians do for Indians. It is also the period of the pow wow and the parade.

The Northern Ottawa Association came into being in response to the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 and the hope of securing financial payment for lands ceded to the federal government by the Ottawa and Chippewa tribes of Michigan. Today it has a total of some 5,000 members (Detroit Free Press, May 20, 1964). It is centered in Petoskey and includes a number of local Chapters in differing areas of the State. One of its first problems was to determine who might be eligible for payment because the Durrant Roll (Appendix D-51), Michigan's official registry of her Indians, was badly out of date. It also needed to organize these and bring suit for those claims.

Knowing the interest of the Association in the welfare and defense of Indians, especially those in Michigan, it requested aid in starting the Detroit unit. Accordingly, on October 18, 1959, the Detroit unit, Chapter 10, was started under the sponsorship of the Association (Appendix D-52) where it continued to meet for several months.

While regular membership in Chapter 10 of the Northern Ottawa Association is restricted to those who are descendants of tribes indigenous to Michigan, associate membership is allowed their spouses. Although a special purpose group, it features two dances per year, Halloween and Valentine's, and elects a princess who is the Sister Princess of that of the Association. The two groups share mailing lists and cooperate rather closely. Some of each attend the social activities of the other. Some are members of both.

During this era the Association became more actively involved in efforts to secure a better way of life for Indians on the national level. On January 22, 1961, it sponsored a petition in Detroit for the nomination of Oliver LaFarge as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and sent it to Washington, D.C. Later, it nominated Robert Bennett for the office. At least six of its members attended the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961, deciding among themselves to sit in on different sessions. Two were specifically commissioned to report on discrimination in

burial in Metropolitan Detroit. When the Kinzua Dam was under construction at Salamanca, New York, splitting the Seneca Reservation, it called a special business meeting on April 26, 1964, and voted to send two of its members as representatives to learn the conditions, bring back a report, and offer whatever help it might be able to give.

Although it has not actively protested the termination of Michigan tribes since 1957, it is not through with the issue. When two of its members, also on the National Indian Youth Council, reported that there were efforts in the West among Indians to secure the resignation or impeachment of Arthur V. Watkins, it reacted strongly, deciding to mail its affirmation of the same to President Johnson, all members of Congress, and all Indian tribes. Watkins had introduced General Policy Bill No. S.2837 during the 85th Congress, providing for termination in Michigan, against which the Association had fought so hard. Senior Senator from Utah, he had also been Chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs during the 83rd Congress when the termination bill had been passed in 1953. He also had been responsible for similar legislation affecting the Klamath of Oregon, the Ute in Utah, the Sac and Fox of the Missouri Tribe in Kansas and Nebraska, the Iowa in Kansas and Nebraska, the Seminole of Florida, the Turtle Mountain Indians in California, and the Flathead (Workshop on American Indian Affairs, 1956:133,134). At

this meeting the members had been informed that he had been behind Menominee termination as well.

On the local level the Association quickly became the champion of Indians and their rights. It has become the sole voice to which Indians in the metropolis appeal when certain treaties are at stake. This is more than militant defense against the dominant society. It is a way of making life more secure, and therefore more satisfying, for Indians in the contemporary, largely non-Indian society. According to the Jay Treaty, for instance, Indians are permitted to cross without visas from Canada to the United States. We have been present at meetings when Indians, non-members and unknown to the Association, have come for no other reason than that they were having difficulty in this regard. We have seen the members reacting with emotion and have witnessed the group writing warning letters and threatening legal suit unless treaties were adhered to and correction made at once. One of the members, a Sioux who is also a drummer and singer, is an Immigration Officer and is very valuable in this context.

Today the Association is fairly quick to threaten the use of legal means in defense of Indians. It seriously considered bringing suit against the Coca Cola Company in the case of a contaminated bottle, the Y.W.C.A. where it meets, when a wallet was stolen, and Moral Rearmament on civil rights, in the few years we have been attending.

We have not only been present when such vote was taken but also when lawyers were present advising about the chances of success.

The organization is very careful about its reputation and the image of Indians it presents to the public. Accordingly, it will not allow any person who has been convicted of a felony to hold office: "No person shall be qualified to hold office who is an employee of the Indian Service or who has been convicted of a felony" [Current Constitution. (Printed.)].

It comes quickly to the aid of Indians in need in criminal cases. In 1962 the son of one of its members was accused of murder on circumstantial evidence. Members of the Association were sure of his innocence and wrote a letter of understanding and support to his parents. They then gave money toward his defense. With legal help available, he was cleared of suspicion. It has even fought for those in legal difficulty when the case seemed hopeless or beyond its ability to cover, and has given help to some returning from imprisonment. Perhaps because of factors such as these, but more likely because of the total range of its interest in behalf of individual Indians in need, it appended the last sentence in the preamble of its constitution in 1964 [(Printed.) Underscoring is ours]:

To promote and assist Indians to attain higher education and to make every effort to elevate the

environment of our Indian race and to lay a cornerstone of everlasting friendship, and to assist each other in time of need.

The Association is quick to react if it suspects there is or has been discrimination against Indians. Its major case concerned George Nash, Veteran of World War I and member of the U.A.W., who was refused burial in White Memorial Cemetery in August 1960. The burial plot had been sold at the death of his wife in 1956 by an undertaker who had completed the forms attesting Caucasian descent. The cemetery, upon learning that this was an Indian family, offered to purchase a lot in another cemetery for them and remove his wife at its expense, but George Nash had refused. On his death, the cemetery officials, having discovered that the burial certificate stated that he was an American Indian, lowered the body into the grave and, after the family had left but before the vault was sealed, removed the casket. He was eventually buried in the Perry Mount Park Cemetery, Pontiac. The White Chapel Memorial Association argued the right to free choice on the part of those who had established its rules in the first place, the protection of the wishes of those buried there and their families, and appealed to the most recent Supreme Court decision of 1955 (Appendix D-54). The Nash family thought to make it a test case of discrimination against non-Whites, but the North American Indian Club saw it as an insult to and discrimination against Indians.

As quickly as it could assemble them, the Association called a mass meeting of all Indian organizations of Michigan in the Y.W.C.A. and organized a Coordinating Committee (Appendix D-55), the earliest form of the Coordinating Council of Indian Affairs. Indians were moving now in a unified effort to petition the Michigan Legislature to pass legislation outlawing discrimination against Indians. The petition prepared by the Resolutions Committee read (Mimeographed.):

. . . THEREFORE, be it resolved, that we, the North American Indian Club of Detroit, the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association, the Potawatomes of Michigan and Indiana Incorporated, the North American Indian Amvets Post #50, the Saginaw Band of Chippewa Indians Inc. and the Original Band of Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Indians and Their Heirs urgently request the 1960 House of Representatives and the Senate of the State of Michigan, now in session, to provide and enact legislation whereby any form of discrimination practised against any North American Indian solely because he IS an Indian, in (1) the rental or purchase of real estate of his choice, including cemetery lots and business establishments (subject to zoning laws) (2) equal educational opportunities in public schools, business and trade schools, colleges and universities (3) equal employment opportunities (4) admission to all commercial enterprises and establishments, be made unlawful and deemed a felony made punishable by law as the legislature may designate.

Also concerned were churches, the United Auto Workers, the Oakland County Amvets Post #14, and other groups. Telegrams were sent to President Eisenhower, Senator John Kennedy, Vice President Richard Nixon, and Governor G. Mennen Williams in protest. The petition was circulated widely. In the spring of 1961 the group learned it had

failed. One of the Association members had collected 17 pages of signatures.

So determined were the Indians that they started all over in their fight against discrimination, only with enlarged goals for Indians everywhere. These included better aids for education, no legislation without representation, better employment opportunities, the disallowment of the misrepresentation of (non-Indians making) Indian arts and culture, and the refusal to allow people to excavate or otherwise molest Indian graves. They began with a memorial service for George Nash on August 13, 1961. They issued a call for Indians to gather in costume at the State Fair Grounds. From there, the solemn procession, under a police escort, moved quietly in auto to the Pontiac cemetery [Letter by the Secretary of the Association. (Mimeographed.)]:

We are asking all those who can wear costumes to wear them as we want to bring it to the attention of the public that although the Michigan State Senate unanimously passed an anti-discrimination bill for burial the bill died in the Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives.

They again circulated petitions. In the spring of 1962 they found that they had failed once more in their fight against discrimination to Indians in Michigan. Someone had added the words "and Negroes" to the Bill. One of the members commented that now the original inhabitants of this continent, who once roamed wherever they would, lacked even a burial place for their dead.

Aside from assuming a leading role in defense against discrimination toward Indians in the metropolis, the Association, always having a representative on the Governor's Indian Commission, keeps in close contact with events in the State, e.g., discrimination at Bay Mills (Appendix D-56). It respects the activities of other Indian organizations and does not intervene. Accordingly, such events are ordinarily left to the group concerned or to the Indian Commission. If, however, no group appears in defense of said individual or cause, the Association responds. This was the case at Mackinaw Island on discrimination and the sale of Japanese-made "Indian crafts." It also responds quickly to prejudice against Indians, e.g., a negative newspaper report of Hannahville.

The Association views alcohol and its excessive use as one of the most harmful things which White man has brought to Indians. It is not a temperance union in any sense for it argues the equal availability of it for Indians and asserts that Indians can "handle their drinks as well as the White man." In this context we have heard members speak of the orgies which White people have, but not Indians, and of the drunkenness of so many Whites. The Association is aware, however, of the harm which excessive use of alcohol has done and is doing to many Indians and, accordingly, it posits that Indians should exercise self-control and avoid drunkenness. Heated

discussions sometimes take place about what they call exaggerated reports of Indian alcoholism and the negative stereotype of "drunken Indians" which they foster. In Detroit they feel that there is much at stake because many Whites both have little understanding of Indians and hold negative stereotypes of them. In their meetings comments are often made that as representatives of the true Indian, i.e., noble Red Man, and in light of what they want and can become, they must protect their reputation as an organization. Accordingly, their efforts to maintain control and decorum at their social events has become an element in their code of behavior of which they are proud. It is related to their goal of a better way of life for Indians.

The Association continues in its effort to provide food and clothing to needy Indians. Only recently it collected 40 tons of provisions and clothing for those in the Upper Peninsula (Appendix D-58n). It continues to do Indian relief work, providing clothing and food to needy Indians, and has recently set itself to improving conditions in Detroit's Red Ghetto--seeing it as its own responsibility (Appendix D-58a). It continues to help Indians find employment (Appendix D-58b) in addition to all those services started in former years. Its members realize that it has passed from a club status, primarily recreational, to something else. It holds the undisputed

status as the local voice and representative of all Indians in Metropolitan Detroit. Consciously aware of its expanded role as champion of all Indians in the area, it changed its name on March 6, 1966 from the North American Indian Club to the North American Indian Association of Detroit.

Through its regularly scheduled calendar of events the Association has become the major focus of Indian activity in Metropolitan Detroit. Aside from its pow wow and semi-monthly meetings, it features for Indians an annual (Table 2.10): Thanksgiving Dinner, Children's Christmas Party, New Year's Dance, Princess Dance, Banquet, and Labor Day Picnic. Each of these is attended by between 150 and 300 persons, but each event appeals to a somewhat different group.

The Thanksgiving Dinner is attended essentially by adult members and their friends and/or relatives who live in or are visiting in the metropolis. It is probably the least attended of all. It is a fine meal, sometimes with a program and perhaps in the Y.W.C.A.

The Children's Christmas Party, held in the Y.W.C.A., is attended by almost all of the active members and their families. These invite as many Indian families with small children as they can, bringing them along as guests. It especially attempts to invite needy families, if they have small children, to its Christmas Party. The program is essentially for children and early adolescents, and

features a Santa Claus with appropriate and useful gifts which the organization has purchased for the occasion. At this time the Association also distributes food, clothing, and sometimes money, to needy Indian families in the metropolis. In addition, it sometimes engages in special drives to secure help for Indians on an adjacent reservation or in out-state Michigan.

The New Year's Dance is a gala occasion and probably is the most attended of all and is confined to adults and adolescents who are accompanied by adults. It draws Indians from across the metropolis and from the adjacent reservations in Ontario, most of whom are not members but who look forward rather eagerly to it. Sometimes auto caravans are made up at the Six Nations Reserve at Brantford, Ontario (near Toronto) to bring visiting Indians. The Association always accepts Canadian money at par with that of the United States. Hats, horns, and an excellent orchestra are all provided. It is the most lively of all events and the most heterogeneous in persons attending.

The Princess Dance usually occurs in April, but sometimes in March or February. It appeals essentially to the same metropolitan Indians as the New Year's Dance, but not to as many from the reservations--unless a girl from one happens to be a resident of the metropolis and is running for the Princess. In this case they may turn

out in numbers to insure the election. Because it is attended by persons who are not members, the Association exercises care to insure that the Princess elected has the qualities it deems desirable. She may be elected by those in attendance or selected by judges; the means differ. An attempt is made to hire an Indian dance orchestra for the event.

The Annual Banquet, which occurs in early or mid-May, is a formal affair. Perhaps half of the women and some of the men come in formal attire. It is an occasion at which Indians can feel on a level of social class which is somewhat comparable to that of the best of Whites. It is held in one of the larger and better hotels of the metropolis, features the crowning of the Association Princess, the Indian Mother of the Year, possibly the bestowal of either life or honorary membership, and a well-known speaker on a subject which relates either to the Association's goals for the Indian people or the political issues which it is currently facing. Such speakers might include a representative from the B.I.A., such as the Commissioner himself in 1969 and 1970, the president or chairman of a Pan-Indian organization at the national level, or a university professor--if such has something pertinent to contribute at the time, e.g., to speak on the pending Chicago Indian Conference. It recognizes the Sister Princess of the local branch of the Northern Ottawa

Association and, since it commemorates its own founding, it honors all previous princesses and presidents. Rarely does this feature draw Indians from the adjacent reservation. Often, however, Indians travel from considerable distance--especially if they have been members in earlier years--to attend it.

Following the parade at the Detroit-Windsor Freedom Festival on the 4th of July the Association features a picnic at Patton Park. This is attended essentially by the paraders and their families. The major picnic of the year is the one held on Labor Day. This is a family affair and features outdoor recreational activities. Many Indians and their visiting friends attend this, including persons who are not members. It lasts from early afternoon until dark. On this occasion a number of softball games occur, the primary one being between the Indians at Walpole and those of the Association. Both teams represent their respective groups and accordingly wear the uniforms of such.

The New Year's Dance and the Annual Banquet feature Indian floor shows, i.e., a few dancers from the Association doing some Indian dancing. These, plus the Princess Dance, feature the selling of beer and wine at a bar. The Annual Banquet features, in addition, the selling of hard drinks. Some of the families bring alcoholic beverages with them to the Annual Picnic. We have never observed a case of drunkenness. At all events, with the

exception of the Annual Labor Day Picnic, the Association hires a police guard. It does this since it is mindful of the importance of its reputation and because it desires to control "undesirable persons" which might result in distasteful incidents.

According to the records the first parade the club participated in was the Golden Jubilee Parade in 1946. Its second and most important was Detroit's 250th Birthday Festival in 1951. In 1959 it began to take part regularly in the 4th of July Parade, occurring on the final day of the Detroit-Windsor Freedom Festival. It has since become the primary group representing Indians in the metropolis in such settings. In 1968, for example, it took part in the St. Patrick's Day Parade in March, the 4th of July Parade, the Labor Day Parade, and the Columbus Day Parade. Sometimes it participates in others. In their business meetings they often discuss, sometimes heatedly and with emotion, the parade in general but especially the insults which many of the White bystanders often hurl at them. This suggests that, for them to continue to parade under such circumstances, the activity must be highly important rather than fun. Those who parade sometimes feel keenly and individually the lack of understanding, negative stereotypes, and the sting of the insults hurled at them by White bystanders. Three attractive females who always parade commented:

- #1 "I parade always if possible but I do not go for it because you run into too many ignorant people with their assinine questions."
- #2 "I don't like to parade because sometimes I think people all think we are queer when we parade. I do not like the shuffling around. Some have spit on my costume."
- #3 "It is a form of bravery. It takes courage to parade."

When we asked our respondents the meaning of parades (Appendix B, Item 28), our data seemed to fall in the following categories and in the rank order in which we present them (Table 2.15):

1. The importance of the message which they seek to convey takes the overwhelming lead.
2. Feelings of ethnic identity. Here we enumerated comments such as "we" Indians as opposed to non-Indians, etc.
3. The significance and appreciation of Indian costumes (Appendix D-49). This is almost as important as ethnic identity and is probably related to it.
4. Recreation. Interestingly, in converse, some of those who always parade dislike it but feel compelled to join in.
5. Opportunities for socializing.

Religion is not mentioned, nor is the Education Fund. The last is understandable because payment for parading is very low and does not go to that fund.

Since the message appeared so important we were interested in learning its content. The conditions of the parade and the inability to speak determines much of what can be conveyed. In order to understand the areas most

meaningful to our respondents we ranked the responses relating to the message (Table 2.16). Using these data, the exact words of our respondents as far as possible, their concepts, but disregarding in a few cases the rank for the sake of continuity, we suggest the following reconstituted message of the parade:

We represent and speak for all Indians, the true Americans who were here first.

We want everyone to know that we have been mistreated generally. Our country has been taken away, our life span has been shortened, and in the American society usually we have not been counted for much in comparison with others. Our appearance here in Indian garb should give White people food for thought and make them ashamed.

We seek to correct certain misunderstandings: 1) You may have thought that Indians are a thing of the past or are even now dying out. You are wrong in this because we are very much alive and are even now among you. 2) We are not ashamed to be Indians. On the contrary, we are proud of this fact and are proud to let you know it. 3) We have a culture to be proud of. We are not savages and wild like a lot of you seem to think. See for yourselves, we are civilized and as good as anyone else. 4) Even though you may think of us as scattered and disorganized, we have a sense of unity. Today, we have become organized as you can see.

We desire recognition. Understand what we have been saying. See us as Indians and treat us with equality.

[38] became president of the club in 1959 and in that year it held its first pow wow. We are not quite sure who was responsible for bringing it to Detroit but we are quite certain that it was derived from a southwesterly direction, specifically, the Chicago area (Appendix D-39). Many Indians in Detroit were unprepared for this and it

created division at first, some interpreting the southwestern Pan-Indian type of pow wow as a dancing marathon of some sort (Appendix D-40). It was held in the Y.W.C.A., featured 50 costumed dancers, and had an attendance of over 500. Visiting Indian dancers were from Mt. Pleasant and Hopkins in Michigan, and the American Indian Center in Chicago. The success of the event outweighed the misunderstanding. Although not nearly as large as those on the Southern Plains, the Detroit pow wow clearly had their characteristics from the beginning. It was intertribal with participants of differing tribes coming from a distance, it lasted two days, it featured Pan-Indian dancing, in music and song it was southwestern--its singers and drummers were from the Southwest (Appendix D-39), it afforded considerable opportunity for intertribal socializing and exchange, it featured its Indian Princess, and it had booths for the sale of Indian crafts. The members aspired to hold it outdoors, but due to the rapidity of their decision to have it, the time of year, and the difficulty of finding a suitable site, they were forced to hold it where they had their semi-monthly meetings.

The annual fall pow wow has not changed greatly from its early character. In order to provide better theatrical facilities (Appendix D-2f) and to accomodate bigger audiences it was moved into the larger high schools of the metropolis. In recent years the group has added

a second pow wow for Indians. This occurs in the early spring in the Y.W.C.A. and is not advertised to the non-Indian public. Incidentally, a Pawnee Indian from Oklahoma was present in 1969 to teach a hand game (Lesser, 1933; see also Herskovits, 1958:90-94). Early in the fall of 1969 it held its first outdoor pow wow at Novi, Michigan (see frontispiece), the third for that year. Currently, it plans to add this as a regular summer activity. It does not cooperate with MIDA (Appendix D-2g), the Metropolitan Indian Dancing Association, which is composed primarily of white people whose special interest is Indian dancing. Their dances too are of the southwestern Pan-Indian type and they hold "pow wows" annually, inviting Indians across the metropolis to attend. When we speak here of the Detroit pow wow, we have reference to the traditional annual fall pow wow of the North American Indian Association. From its small beginning, profiting \$300, it has grown so that today it is apt to be attended by a total of nearly 3,000 persons and profit nearly \$2,000 (Appendix D-42).

A group or pow wow may have features making it qualify as Pan-Indian with or without features which are revitalistic. The pow wows specified above for the North American Indian Association have a number of revitalistic qualities. They were organized for the express purpose of raising money for scholarships for Indian youth desiring

a higher education. This, as we have seen, grew directly out of their meetings on termination which focused their attention on the unsatisfactory and distorted culture of many Indians; and their aspirations to join together in a deliberate, organized attempt to create for them a more satisfactory way of life. Education came to be viewed as the greatest single need of most Indians, and highly trained Indian leadership came to be thought of as being the most contributive to the Indian people in the long run. They had come to believe that they could not depend on others and that Indians must do for Indians. Having weighed the issues and focused on a goal which seemed of paramount importance, they dedicated themselves to raise together by mutual cooperation money for that purpose. Attendance at their business meetings has for the most part remained remarkably stable, almost never running less than 30 or over 40. When they sought for a practical means of achieving their ends, given both their few numbers and special talents, they elected the pow wow. In our personal opinion an interesting thing has occurred, whether or not they realize it. They placed themselves in a position where they can make the white society, the perceived cause of the Indian plight, pay--pay them to accomplish their goals. They had learned how to use their Indianness to advantage.

When the Association settled on the goal of raising money for an Indian scholarship fund, it immediately drafted its membership into cooperative behavior in whatever means it would eventually choose, placing this requisite activity in its constitution: " . . . This fund shall be raised by membership participation in activities especially set up for this purpose . . . " [1958. (Mimeographed.)]. Accordingly, cooperation or participation in the pow wow to make it a success has become almost a code of behavior. It is so organized as to require the services of all its active members (Table 2.4). Careful notice is taken of all those attending (Table 2.5) and we have noted extreme disappointment and have experienced mild rebuke for having missed one for whatever reason. Indeed, more time and effort is spent today by the club in discussing and preparing for the annual pow wow than for any other event during the year. Dance rehearsals are held regularly prior to the semi-monthly meetings and sometimes more frequently. Some of their members have so freely given of their time for years, [38] for at least 18 and [39] for nearly as long in drumming and teaching others to dance (Tables 2.1, 2.2; and Appendix D-48), others have done nearly as much in other activities, that it appears almost incredible to us. So great is their concern and so intense their activity that we find it difficult to conceive motivation apart from

revitalization--a common vision and deep commitment to its accomplishment.

An unwritten code has developed regarding the pow wow and associated activities which specifies that all work be donated. In fact, visiting dancers are given lodging and board but are not paid for their services or given transportation expenses. The code can be illustrated by comparison with that of the Grand River American Indian Society which is quite similar (Kurath, 1966:78):

A few showmen have financial gain in mind. . . . All of the participants can use these few extra pennies. In fact, they need them to cover their expenses, just as White performers. In the large festivals they rarely take in more than expenses. The members of the Grand River American Indian Society have a rule that they must put 10 per cent of their receipts into the treasury, if they have a surplus.

The Detroit pow wow is financially successful but no performer takes anything. The same is true for the Association members who sell crafts at its booths and work behind the scenes. It does, however, allow visiting Indians to profit from craft sales. We have no reason to believe that Indians in Detroit are in any less difficult circumstances financially than those in our comparative group. The total receipts of the Association, with the fall pow wow accounting for about half, would conceivably allow the payment of something to its excellent dancers (Appendix D-2h) and some of the others who work to make it a success. We suggest that pow wows serve a variety of functions,

accomplish different ends, and meet with varying degrees of success. We think that the Detroit pow wow reflects a number of the revitalistic characteristics of its sponsoring group. Accordingly, the code is rigorously maintained. Those who quite likely do profit are from outside the Association (Table 2.8).

In our opinion the Detroit pow wow (Appendix D-60) has features which perpetuate a tradition. We believe that these are generated in part by the perceived unsatisfactory conditions under which many Indians live and the aspiration to effect change. Kurath's definition of the Algonquian pow wow for the early nineteenth century is relevant (Kurath, 1966:55):

Then it referred to a council or to an intertribal conclave. Such parleys for peace included not only speeches and discussions but also prayers, tobacco invocations, pipe dances, war dance contests, and social group dances. They were occasions for trade. . . . In the early nineteenth century Frenchmen might watch from the sidelines.

The setting has changed, the personnel have changed, and conditions have changed. Outwardly the Detroit pow wow is a theatrical performance to extract money from the non-Indian public. More important are other features which are more elusive and difficult to document. In this setting the people are not merely playing Indian, they are being Indian. It has become an intertribal assembly of "Indians." One cannot attend this pow wow without realizing that, despite the apparent cordiality at the

booths, the Indians in costume are set apart from non-Indians in a social unit of their own. Into this closed circle the outsider is not welcome. Non-Indians truly watch from the sidelines. As we see it, an interesting phenomenon has occurred. Here for a brief moment of time Indians of differing tribes and backgrounds, assembling in larger numbers, are able to feel in their mutual association a sense of unity and strength. In this pow wow, organized around revitalism, they have reversed the dominant-subordinant relationship so characteristic of Indians and Whites since at least 1870. This is their show and they are in complete charge. Non-Indians have become subordinant and guests. Instead of its being an occasion for politicing between tribes as in former days, this has become one where the group can address itself with both dignity and authority to members of the larger society without contradiction or opposition. The theatrical atmosphere provides audience control and in the lime-light is the master of ceremonies, who parleys for his people. (See Table 2.16 for the message conveyed through parading publicly in costumes by the group.)

The master of ceremonies is a full blood Cherokee from Tulsa, Oklahoma, and is a somewhat charismatic leader of Indians. A university graduate with a major in law, he entered the entertainment field. For 21 years he traveled as an Indian night club entertainer, performing

over all North America, most of Europe, and in the British Isles, Africa, South America, Hawaii, and other places. He came to Michigan hoping to fill a post as Director of the Governor's Indian Commission. When this failed, he stayed on. He was president of the North American Indian Association for four years, 1964-1967, organized all Indian groups in Michigan in the fight against discrimination in burial, and is permanent chairman of the Coordinating Council of Indian Affairs in Detroit. He is unusually progressive in outlook and, as a showman, is an expert in knowing how to handle audiences. When he parades with Indians in Detroit he holds himself with a dignity which gives something of a regal appearance. On such occasions he conceives himself, we are sure, and certainly impresses the public as a chief-like representative of all Indians. He laments the distorted cultures and unsatisfactory conditions under which Indians in general are living and views them as the result of contact with a larger, more powerful, and often unscrupulous non-Indian society. He proclaims a personal vision (Appendix D-43) of a new culture which would bring a more satisfactory way of life for Indians in the future. He envisions this culture as retaining the best of what remains of former Indian culture(s), particularly in the realm of values, but seeking out the benefits of the modern era. He legitimizes his claim to leadership on the bases of his

aspirations for the Indian people, his training, and his previous experiences both in the dominant society and in dealing with that society. The means he espouses are essentially those of the Association. He preaches to the membership, condemning conduct seen as unbecoming to Indians and exhorting them to the true Indian way which is only good (Appendix D-61). He is evangelistic in spirit, often appealing to the membership to "go out and do missionary work among your people." Illustrative of his Pan-Indianness and revitalistic leadership is a homily-like appeal in one of his letters while president of the Association to the Indians of Metropolitan Detroit [June 23, 1966. (Mimeographed.)]:

Fellow Indians,

. . .

We hope to make this our best year, but we need you to make this possible. Why procrastinate? What is to be gained by waiting? Look around you. Everyone else is uniting and organizing, while the Indian is rationalizing. Be proud that you are an Indian, and make others proud to know an Indian. We can do it, all we have to do is unite. But let's do it now.

The North American Indian Association of Detroit is a growing organization, and we are a moving organization, moving on to greater things, and a better way of life for all North American Indians. We solicit your membership now! So that our collective voice will become a mighty roar that cannot be silenced by a promise, and can no longer be ignored by an apathetic legislature. With the power of numbers, we can, and will, amplify our voice 'till all the world can hear it, and we will not be placated nor silenced until we have achieved our goal, and justified our being.

(NOTE: We have underlined only the words "a better way of life for all North American Indians" because of their relevance in this paper.)

As the lights are lowered and the curtains drawn [46] steps into the spotlight in full regalia before a listening audience at the Detroit pow wow. Backed by perhaps 100 assembled dancers in costume, he appears as the representative of all Indians, parleying and asserting their cause. Every performance is carefully explained, and each time the previous culture(s) of Indians is extolled in a deliberate attempt to dignify the past. He presents the contemporary Indian in the most favorable light possible and, with a commanding voice and sense of authority, he denounces the activities of the federal and state governments, and of White people, which have been or are harmful to Indians. For example, interspersed in the program are pointed remarks about cases on the national level such as termination, relocation, or the Kinzoa Dam incident; and cases more immediate to those listening such as the removal of the Indian school at Mt. Pleasant, or discrimination at Hannahville, Bay Mills, or in Detroit. In this way information is conveyed and Whites are made to feel their sins as a group against the Indian people. A professional entertainer does not ordinarily criticize his paying audience, in this sense ethnically. Indeed, with his experience, it is a little surprising to find the pow wow conducted as it is--unless one sees in it the perspective of revitalization. As the representative of all Indians, we see him pleading their case--of the

unsatisfactory culture they desire to escape and the more satisfying way of life to which they aspire.

After the Flag Song (see frontispiece) and the Grand March (Appendix D-16) at the beginning of each pow wow [48] (Appendix D-20) does the Medicine Man's Dance and [49] the Lord's Prayer in Indian Sign Language. Although these performances may appear only exhibitionist to outsiders, they have real meaning to many Indians. There seems to be a sense of religious continuity with the past and a compulsion to perpetuate and defend it (Appendix D-18). At the 1966 pow wow we were able to transcribe only a portion of the comments of [46] prior to the performances by [48] and [49], paraphrased as follows:

I want you to understand that the American Indian believed in the Great Spirit. You call Him "God." People who believe in the Great Spirit are not pagans. Pagans do not believe in the Great Spirit, or "God" as you call Him. The Indian is not now, and he never was, pagan. The Indian was highly religious. The Indian was highly religious.

This is more than a defense of Indians before non-Indians; it is also a message to those Indians present.

Kurath, who considers mostly Michigan Indians outside of Metropolitan Detroit, views contemporary Indian dancing and the pow wow as overtures of friendliness and as a possible solution to the racial tensions in the United States: "Such reciprocal friendliness might suggest a way out of the racial tensions of today. It would, if

it were more extensive" (1966:81). In this context she reports the myth, "The Creator Sings for Three Races" by Eli Thomas (Kurath, 1966:80). In the same vein she suggests that White people should take up Indian dancing and perhaps hold their pow wows, and she offers her book as a guide (p. 81,82). She also indicates that Michigan Indians agree with her in this (p. 81):

In any event the main consideration is to capture the spirit and style. The Indians' chief criticism of White imitators is their over-attention to steps and posture intricacies of fancy war dancing, with consequent tension and self-consciousness. It is better to specialize in the run or stomp and to enjoy all the neat mime and formations of the Fish Dance and the like. At a later date the youngsters can tackle the fancy steps. . . .

Not all tribes favor the imitation of their dances by other peoples. But Michigan Indians are glad to share their lore. Jim Eagle Shaffer expressed this friendly attitude in a letter this spring, "Learning our dances is the first step in learning to understand our Indian people, and we want to give you our best wishes at this time. . . . We hope to see you all soon at one of our many powwows during the summer."

Within the context of revitalization and for the North American Indian Association, our interpretation differs strikingly from that of Kurath. Inasmuch as they seek a more satisfying way of life, one contrasting with the current unsatisfactory one which is perceived to be the result of sociocultural distortion peculiarly directed against their best interests, revitalization movements are often characterized by rather intense in-group feelings (i.e., "we") as opposed to the out-group(s) (i.e., "they").

In Pan-Indianism there are strong feelings of ethnic uniqueness, a phenomenon corresponding well with our descriptive term, "ethno-syncretic."

We also collected the Creation Myth which Kurath refers to but without references to Whites and Negroes singing; and with, in contrast, an emphasis upon racial separatism, and also the concept that North America is the land which is rightfully theirs (Appendix D-2i). This latter element is also in the Flood Myth (Appendix D-45). Neither suggests sharing, cooperation, or fusion. Rather than Indians leading the way in the solution of the current racial tensions in the United States, members of the Association feel that the problem was not their doing and is neither theirs to solve nor something in which they should become involved. This is aptly expressed in their Legend of the Serpents (Appendix D-46), which contains in addition the almost millennial notion that Indians shall yet come into their own land after the Whites and Negroes have spent themselves in conflict. The Association gladly welcomes members of the White society to its pow wows, and there it parleys, explaining and arguing its case (see Appendix D-44). Members feel, however, that Indian culture is theirs by right of inheritance. Associated with this are feelings of alienation toward non-Indians who: claim to be Indians (Appendices D-4, D-5, D-17, D-49), wear Indian costumes (Appendix D-70), engage in public

parades as Indians (Appendix D-47), or do Indian dancing. Therefore, it will not cooperate in the dances or "pow wows" of MIDA (Appendix D-2g) which is composed largely of non-Indians. As it refuses to admit non-Indians into membership, so also it does not admit them (Appendix D-2j) into its dance group or to its Indian dances as participants, whether at its pow wows or elsewhere. We are quite sure the same attitude characterizes some Indian groups out-state. The Northern Ottawa Association and the Grand River American Indian Society which meets in Lansing have, for instance, the same requirement of 1/4th or more degree Indian "blood" as the North American Indian Association. The Grand River American Indian Society is the very group of which Shaffer (Kurath, 1966:59) is a member. The Detroit Association has also recommended these criteria to other Michigan dance groups (Appendix D-2j).

Associated with the pow wow, and many of its other activities, is the manufacture and sale of Indian crafts. These seem to be important both from the perspective of nativism and from that of economics, being sold to secure needed money for various projects, at first Indian welfare and more recently the Education Fund. Because of the latter, but perhaps also because of increasing involvement in pow wows, the Arts and Crafts Committee was formed on January 22, 1961. Shortly thereafter [13], Oklahoma Cheyenne artist, began teaching the silk screen process,

and [47] (Appendix D-57), Indian beadwork. Today it sells considerable numbers of silk screened Indian greeting cards, beadwork, and other crafts made by its members. Perhaps it buys even more items, excepting the greeting cards, wholesale from the more immediate reservations in Ontario and sells again retail. All is without personal profit and for the Education Fund.

The Indian dances and crafts at the Detroit pow wow illustrate the nativistic efforts of the Association to perpetuate selected elements of the previous culture(s) [from an early program; n.d., but about 1952. (Printed.)]:

The early American Indian . . . expressed himself to the Creator in the movement of his dances and in his songs. The dancers in this group are members of the North American Indian Club. . . . Their aim is to perpetuate the culture, crafts, dances, songs of the early American Red Man. The following program is presented for your enlightenment--We hope you enjoy it.

The attitudes and behavior regarding Indian crafts are in agreement with those on Indian dancing. In keeping with their belief that Indian culture is theirs by right of inheritance, they are very careful about the authenticity of their crafts (Appendix D-41) and selective about persons making them. They allow only Indians to have booths at their pow wows and to sell only items from the Indian culture. They consider items represented to be Indian but made by non-Indians, Japanese or others, to be forgeries and do all they can to restrict the sale of such.

It could be argued that this is because of their economic interests, but their earnings are not so great as to make this a viable explanation (Table 2.7).

The Association attempts to foster intertribal socializing and thereby create a sense of Indian solidarity and unity. Its members, acting as hosts (Table 2.3), feel it their responsibility to get to know their Indian guests and make them feel welcome. The Association provides meals free of charge where Indians can eat and talk in large or small groups throughout the course of the pow wow. It also features an evening of dining and dancing without cost to the participants in a rented building since it must leave the school premises. This occurs following the Saturday evening performances and lasts until nearly daylight. It thus provides both formal and informal opportunities to make new acquaintances, and to share and exchange culture traits. Participants come from across southern Ontario and Quebec, as far as Caughnawaga, and occasionally from the prairie provinces in Canada. They also come from both the upper and lower peninsulas in Michigan, and from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Since there is a B.I.A. relocation office in Chicago, that group will usually contain individuals from the Southern and Northern Plains. Occasionally dancers will come directly from those areas.

The North American Indian Association itself, and through its members as emissaries, has been instrumental in starting pow wows elsewhere. [4], working with the [24] family, especially [26], had a hand in the beginnings of the pow wow on Mantoulin Island in 1962 (Appendices D-30, D-18). [25] moved from Mantoulin to Toronto where he initiated the pow wow (Appendix D-29). The Indians on Walpole Island, inspired by the pow wows at Toronto and in Detroit, and helped by the close cooperation of the Detroit group, started theirs in 1966 (Appendix D-2d). Those on the Sarnia Reservation (Appendix D-28), inspired by the pow wows at Walpole and in Detroit, have since started theirs. [38] of the Detroit group has both given of his time and been hired by each of the above groups to go as drummer and singer, and sometimes to instruct. Finally, the Association had a role in starting the Indian club in London, Ontario via [59], who came to it for help and guidance (Appendix D-50). That group does not as yet have a pow wow.

Around the turn of the decade a few Indians thought of starting a dance group, and later a pow wow, in Grand Rapids. Accordingly [52] (Appendix D-2j), Pawnee from Oklahoma, came to Detroit seeking assistance from the Association. He was given a constitution as a guide to follow and advised to adhere especially to the section on membership, i.e., to make sure that the new organization

was exclusively Indian by the refusal of membership to non-Indians. However, the Grand Valley American Indian Lodge which came to be organized in Grand Rapids in 1960 featured open membership. It held its first pow wow in 1961. By 1964 leadership had passed to the White dancers, a White businessman (Kurath, 1966:59) being elected chief, and the group split. The Indians, including [52], who broke away in 1964, formed the Nish na bah, "Indian," dance club. This either was or developed into the Grand River American Indian Society (Kurath, 1966:59), now centering in Lansing. The new group has the membership requirements which had been suggested to [52]. Many of its members are in the Northern Ottawa Association of Michigan.

Social relationships have always existed between the North American Indian Association and the Ottawa living in the northwestern portion of the Lower Peninsula. Interestingly, almost all of the Indian dancers in that area, mentioned by Kurath (1966:56-57), who attempted to revive the art among Michigan Indians, have had close kinship ties with active members in the Detroit group. The Association awarded honorary membership to [53], a well-known Ottawa dancer who has for some time been actively involved in out-state dancing and pow wows (Kurath, 1966:57,58,122), in 1963 for his contributions to Indian culture. [53] is the father of [47] (Appendices

D-57), professional Indian bead artist of the Detroit Association. [47] finished in 1968 her Last Supper in beads which measures 11 feet, 6-1/2 inches long by 5-1/2 feet high. She lived in Detroit for 25 years. Since our interviewing she has returned to Petoskey and traveled widely, as far south as Florida and perhaps west of Chicago. The Association has also always worked closely with the head of the Northern Ottawa Association and has featured him as guest speaker on several occasions. It awarded him, circa 1952, honorary membership for his contributions to the contemporary Indians in out-state Michigan. The recently organized program of the Northern Ottawa Association by him, which meets in the Petoskey High School for the purpose of raising funds for Indian education, appears to be modeled after the Detroit pow wow (Appendix D-2k).

Members of the Association travel considerable distances to pow wows. Using weights, we obtained a rank ordering which gives a rough measure of those which are most important (Table 2.6). They attend virtually all of the pow wows in Michigan. The ordering of those in the United States, but outside of Michigan, appears to be:

- (1) Chicago, Illinois; (2) Tama, Iowa; (3) Oklahoma, Arizona; Taos Pueblo in New Mexico; and Minnesota;
- (4) Gary, Indiana; Sheridan, Wyoming; Wisconsin; and Cleveland, Ohio. Using the same rank ordering for Canada

we suggest: (1) the Walpole Reservation, Ontario; (2) the reservations at Sarnia and on Mantoulin Island, both in Ontario; (3) Toronto (urban), Ontario; (4) the Caughnawaga Reservation, Quebec; (5) the Six Nations, Garden River, and Moravian reservations in Ontario; and (6) the Oneida Reservation in Ontario. We think it significant from the perspective of diffusion that the most important pow wows in the United States lie to the southwest, extending through Chicago to the Southern Plains and the West; and that the four most important in Canada are the very ones where the Association has been active in starting Indians to dance and/or pow wow.

We asked our respondents what pow wows mean to them personally (Appendix B, Item 26) and found the members of the Association focusing overwhelmingly on the opportunities for intertribal exchange, then dancing, crafts, costumes, etc. Our rank ordering of the responses (Table 2.14) indicates that the following are meaningful in the order presented:

1. Pow wows offer the opportunity to meet old friends, make new ones from diverse tribes, and to socialize generally with Indians. Included is a definite feeling of supertribal Indian unity (see Howard, 1955:218,220). Those coming together appear to have a feeling of peoplehood, common interests, and generally similar goals.
2. Nearly as important is the enjoyment and appreciation of Indian dances, crafts, and costumes (Appendix D-49). Closely related are nativistic feelings which are expressed in terms

such as "restore," "perpetuate," and "keep alive." Costumes are of minor importance in this category.

3. The goal of raising money for Indian scholarships.
4. Expressed feelings of ethnic identity in terms like, "It makes me feel more like an Indian," "my people," "my culture," "our culture," "we" Indians as opposed to non-Indians, etc. We used this category in our enumeration simply because it was so often clearly separated in the actual responses of our informants. We counted only where such expressions were explicit. Had we surmised and counted where we believed them implicit, ethnic identity might have been most important of all.
5. The message which Indians have to convey to others.
6. The religious meaning of the pow wow (Appendix D-18).
7. Recreation.

At this point we return to the parade because we think the meaning of both the pow wow and the parade can be understood more clearly than if we had compared them earlier. The parade has some interesting similarities to the pow wow. It does not always follow the form which we present, probably because of factors such as personnel, the presence of a float, etc. We offer a generalization on what we have seen. Leading the group will be two Indians, one bearing the Indian flag and the other, that of the United States. Following these often comes [48], the medicine man, although he may on occasion walk somewhere in the front ranks of the dancers. All Indians

parade in costume. They usually walk about four abreast following the medicine man. In the front ranks are their drummers and singers. Most of the rest are dancers. In the center of this group are two or three convertible automobiles with tops down and sometimes a float with a tipi and a few Indians depicting a scene from the former way of life. Riding in the first convertible is [46], sometimes the only male, excepting the flagbearer, wearing a full head dress. Often we have heard those on the sidelines excitedly comment, "There is the chief!" He fills the role well, greeting the bystanders as the representative of all Indians. In the auto with him are usually several others, among whom is almost always [4], their official representative in Pan-Indian organizations at the national level. Seated atop the back of the rear seat in the second convertible is the Association Princess, usually accompanied by the Sister Princess.

We have never heard any of the members discuss the symbolism of the parade but we have never missed it. We see it in the personnel, the order of their marching, the presence of their representative--[46]--and in the presentation of their Princess, who represents their ideals. On this occasion, like their pow wow, there are two clearly defined groups of people, Indians and non-Indians. This is clearly evident to all because of the very setting and because each Indian is in costume. We

observe, however, that the situation is also quite different from the pow wow because here the Indians lack audience control, and here it is the non-Indians who are dominant. We have also felt that in this pageantry these Indians are trying, as they are at their pow wows, to communicate with the larger society, and we have felt that the message might be related to revitalism. It was for this reason that we sought the meaning of both the pow wow and the parade from all our respondents.

In the parade the importance of the message which they seek to convey is most important and in the case of the pow wow it is fifth. When we considered the pow wow we found that the opportunity to socialize at the inter-tribal level was first whereas in the case of the parade it was fifth, or last. Herein we think we find the key to some important differences between the two. In the parade Indians from distant points geographically are not present and the local Pan-Indian group by itself has to represent the cause of all Indians. The dominant-subordinate relationships are what they have been since White dominance, and the issues are those with which the local group and individuals have had to cope in the very setting in which they parade. These are immediate and personal, and the previous experiences of the group with the White society are important. Furthermore, those who parade may feel, even while parading, the negative stereotypes which

some non-Indians hold of Indians, their lack of understanding, and even abuse. It is the message which they seek to convey which keeps them at it (Table 2.16). The pow wow exists, on the other hand, because of their long-range goals for Indians as individuals and as a people. There, feeling the support of many of their fellows from distant points, they focus on their goals for the Indian of tomorrow. Their statements that socializing with Indians of other tribes are most meaningful to them personally appears to indicate a growing feeling of Indian unity and consolidation. Most important in both, had we elected to analyze our data differently, might have been ethnic identity, of an emergent sense of peoplehood as Indians.

[46] served for four consecutive years as president, the longest to date, and the Association accordingly elected a new president for 1968 who still holds the office. Quite different, he is a young man in his mid-30's, a full blood Oneida from Canada married to a Detroit-born Oneida. A veteran of the Korean war in the U.S. forces, resident in a better-than-average middle class home, and reared in the Association, he shows good leadership and promise. The former president is very much still in evidence, cooperating fully with the new. Currently the group seeks its own building in hopes of achieving an old aspiration (Appendix D-19), that of providing and operating a center for Indians in Detroit. In the rapidly changing

metropolis this has become especially important if they are to do all they wish for those in and immigrating into the area. We are impressed with their hope of success and current scope of interests. Even though it postdates the temporal closure of this study, we attended a business meeting on April 5, 1970 to provide a brief but illuminating outline (Appendix D-58) of a typical business meeting.

Summary

The emergence of metropolitan Pan-Indianism as seen in the North American Indian Association of Detroit can be viewed as falling into a pregroup stage, followed by three phases: the years from its inception through 1947, 1948 through 1958, and 1959 through 1968. This conceptual arrangement was developed for ease in the analysis and presentation of data, using as criteria (1) important shifts in the pan-Indian features developing locally, (2) the local acceptance of Pan-Indian traits diffusing from the Southwest, and (3) revitalistic features emerging. We suggested that a group might have one or more of these features without the other(s). Here we review this continuum, looking at select data which relate to revitalism.

The devastating effects of white dominance in Indian life was already old to Indians generally, and very real to those, mostly from rural and/or reservations, who

migrated to Detroit in the 1930's and 1940. Their former tribal cultures being nearly destroyed, most had found those lifeways which followed inadequate to satisfy their needs. Immigration and adjustment to the metropolis was for them a second setting of sociocultural change which might be conceptualized as an "era of increased individual stress." Most had come in hope, seeking escape from poverty, discrimination and prejudice, lack of opportunity, and humiliation, but had settled in the skid row area with the bars as their meeting places.

The Association began as the result of the vision and efforts of one man, himself an Indian, of elevating the environment of Indians and providing for these a better life, i.e., of countering: factionalism between them, alcoholism, the loss of Indian identity in the metropolis, and the unsatisfactory adjustment of those migrants in the urban setting. Its polity was democracy and its means were essentially secular and recreational, since he felt that these would appeal to the greatest numbers in winning allegiance. Because his own visits to the city were brief, occasional, and to continue but a short time into the future, he entrusted the group to an organization where he felt his purposes, given conditions at the time, could be realized most effectively.

Factors were already present at its inception which would contribute to its becoming pan-Indian.

Generally speaking, "cultural forgetting" was so extensive that for Indian dancing to develop, revival and/or relearning would have to occur. Immigrant members came from widely distributed reservation and non-reservation areas across Michigan, the United States, and Canada, bringing with them somewhat comparable experiences but differing abilities and traits. Intertribal socializing between persons such as this in a democratic atmosphere meant that out of the exchange would probably emerge perspectives which would focus on all Indians and a set of traits unique to none and common to all, including some from the larger society. This would be reinforced by the mass media, the attitudes of the dominant society, and the sponsoring institution in which it was meeting, which tended to classify them all as Indians rather than tribesmen.

In addition to the predetermining ones mentioned above, other factors also contributed to make the Association pan-Indian by 1947--before it was Pan-Indian. The Y.W.C.A., by giving of and using its status and experience, was an important factor in thrusting the group into the public eye as the representative of Indians generally, and in providing invaluable instruction in the art of appealing to and manipulating the non-Indian public. Members learned that their Indianness could be an asset under certain conditions in the metropolis. Highly

successful and well-known Indian entertainers, active in the club, increased their status as Indians and demonstrated how talents which were unique to Indians might be used. Members responded to invitations from civic organizations at certain events to appear in a group as guests and representative of Indians. From 1940 through 1947 much attention was given to research into, relearning, and the sharing of elements from their own and other earlier tribal cultures. These combined factors must have resulted in the perspective of a generalized pan-Indian cultural heritage, cf. Howard's (1955) "supertribal culture," and sense of ethnicity or peoplehood which encompassed all Indians in both temporal and spatial perspective. Their identification with Indians temporally had been enhanced by the relearning and sharing of tribal traits from the past. Their identification with Indians spatially was enriched when men, returning from World War II and broadened in perspective, suggested that they could do something for Indians in general. It was further stimulated by the appearance of a number of pan-Indian organizations at the national level in both Canada and the United States, and by the appearance locally of speakers from these other organizations who urged unity, cooperation, and action in a common cause. This sense of pan-Indian ethnicity caused them to see themselves as part of, while at the same time uniquely distinct in, the total society.

This novel development enabled them to perceive Indian society and culture as a system, distinct from the non-Indian other system, thus fulfilling Wallace's criterion (1956:265) for revitalization:

. . . the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not) . . .

Life in the metropolis, plus developing pan-Indianism, focused attention upon features of the overall sociocultural system which were inconsistent with the welfare of Indians in general, the relevant unit. They were already aware of the unsatisfactory cultures in the rural areas from which they had come and the many difficulties facing Indians in their adjustment to the metropolis, because of both inadequate preparedness and conditions in the larger society. Continued residence in the larger, non-Indian society brought increasing exposure to the American success theme, e.g., "you can strive for and be what you want" with its associated promise of "equal opportunity for all" (cf. Merton, 1957:131-160; Parker and Kleiner, 1966:55-66; Graves, 1967:319), which might apply to society as a whole but which they knew from experience was not generally true for Indians. Their association with politically oriented pan-Indian organizations at the national level focused attention on the violation of Indian rights and treaties by the governments and the plight of those on distant reservations, e.g.,

discrimination, poverty, unsympathetic agents, inadequate housing, poor sanitation, meager medical facilities, lack of educational opportunities, etc. Their perception of Indians as a disadvantaged people was given added emotional intensity because of the plight of the distant Navahos following the winter blizzards of 1947. Thus, the years 1945 through 1947 were also those of increased perception of cultural distortion.

Their perception of the U.S. society as distorted against Indians has also increased since 1948, due largely to the struggle over legislative issues as they relate to Indians. They saw termination as threatening and part of a long and unsatisfactory set of changes resulting from contact with a larger and more powerful society which now exhibited clearly its falsehood, lack of intent on keeping its promises to the tribes; its betrayal of trust; its bias against the true welfare of the Indian people because of its own economic advantage; and its lack of concern with the wishes or opinions of Indians when making decisions pertaining to them. Their failure to remove the legislation or to have it softened by the passage of the American Indian Point IV Program did not improve their feeling of disenfranchisement. Their failure, as late as 1962, to have the Michigan Legislature make it illegal for others to discriminate against Indians in burial, housing, education, employment, and accessibility to public

buildings contributed further to their feeling of social and cultural bias against themselves, bringing it to an all-time peak. Thus, many areas in the generalized real, or actual, culture of Indians came to be viewed as warped, atrophied, or distorted--needing change.

When anthropologists say that revitalization movements are "organized" they usually have in mind two essentially different types of participants: a core group, those most influential and at the center of activities; and the followers, those at the periphery. The core group is sometimes conceptualized as being composed of leader(s) and disciples (Wallace, 1956:272-275). The message, vision of a more satisfying way of life to be achieved, appears to flow from the leader through the disciples, others in the core group, to the followers and prospective followers, the target population. It often comes to the leader in a "moment of insight" or "inspiration" with stress-relieving, therapeutic value and is essentially a resynthesis of current cultural traits in a new form, i.e., innovative, offering hope to those distressed because of the distorted social and cultural conditions under which they live. As time continues it may be reworked, with others in the core group contributing. The leader and others in the core group are able to legitimize the message by virtue of its relevance to conditions, and their status by virtue of access to appropriate means for securing the desired end

result. Movements which are religious in means feature religious visions and access to supernatural power, whereas those which are secular should be expected to feature aspirations with rational insight and means should be (essentially) secular and pragmatic.

The democratic polity of the Association is consistent with its sociocultural setting, i.e., that of the larger U.S. society, the type of tribal organization expected of those tribes voting acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the training provided by the Y.W.C.A., and their own notions of the manner in which Indians of the past typically arrived at decisions. It appears to us that those who are active in the business meetings throughout the course of the year include the core group in the sense mentioned. Important leaders have appeared in this category in each of the phases discussed, and in a nearly unbroken sequence. As suggested in the literature (see Useem, 1964:8; Voget, 1956:259), these are "successful" Indians, adept in the non-Indian society and both knowledgeable and accepted in the pan-Indian subsociety. Accordingly, we have presented their qualifications and perspectives from the data with suitable comments from them. In addition, there is the possibility that others, e.g., at the national level, have exercised a comparable relevant role with respect to this group.

In our opinion the most significant leader from the perspective of revitalization was the president during the period of our field work. We have taken care to present our own impression of him in this role (Appendices D-43, D-61). He presents himself as a leader of Indians with a vision, i.e., goals which he has developed, of "a better way of life for all American Indians," and calls on his fellows to unite behind him in a cause much greater than themselves and of critical importance. Locally, he stands easily above his fellows in access to power, i.e., training, experience, and success in the dominant society. He is evangelistic, preaching that many Indians have suffered considerable harm at the hands of the dominant society, that they have developed feelings of inferiority and lost their personal integrity and pride as Indians. He calls them back to the true Indian way of honor, truthfulness, integrity and pride which will restore their self respect and give new meaning to life (Appendix D-61). He seems invariably to compel a following, taking the lead in any meeting where present; and he challenges his followers to "go out and do missionary work among your own people" (Appendix D-61).

The year 1948 can be conceptualized as the beginning of the period of revitalization. Several important leaders had appeared in the few years immediately preceding who urged the members on to pan-Indian cooperation and

union, asserted that the club was morally obligated to alter its manifest purposes and change its means in an effort to alter the dominant society in a manner which would effect a better way of life for Indians (Appendices D-14, D-15). This change is reflected in the group members consciously and deliberately changing the very nature of their organization, its goals and some of its means by a near complete reworking of the Preamble of their Constitution in 1952.

Wallace (1963:148,149) suggests that at the heart of revitalization lies a code which, when accepted, promises the individual a new and highly desirable quality of life and which, when followed by the group, promises to secure the aspired results for the society in question. We have defined this as a set of postulates (Appendix D-62) and suggested that it seems emergent by 1948, was consolidated by 1952, and that it has not changed significantly in the years which have followed. The essence of this code is expressed in the evangelistic preaching of its charismatic leader. It includes the retention of one's Indian identity; willingness to announce one's Indianness with pride before non-Indians; continued association with Indians, in this case via membership in the Association; and loyal dedicated efforts, without personal financial rewards, in the efforts of the Association to secure its goals.

In the years 1948 through 1956 the task of communication was well under way. Already mentioned are the evangelistic appeals to members and to other Indians in the metropolis. These years are also those of considerable missionary activity, although beginning slightly earlier and continuing considerably later. The missionary perspective and efforts of the Association are evidenced by its having sent emissaries into numerous areas of Michigan and Canada. There they have been instrumental in starting similar groups to itself and, also, dance groups. In addition, it has stimulated other already organized groups to pow wow. Indeed, Indian dancing and pow wows have been spread from group to group by individual carriers who have evidently felt it their duty (cf. Kurath, 1966: 56-59). Our data also indicate that such appeals sometimes have decidedly religious-like overtones (Appendices D-2d, D-18, D-28, D-29, and D-30). Sometimes the Association has responded as an organization, assisting an individual from another area in such a project. Indeed, the emergence of Pan-Indianism across Michigan and adjacent Canada is so interrelated through the activities of such emissaries that to understand the emergence of Pan-Indianism from the perspective of revitalization (as illustrated by the North American Indian Association) is virtually to understand something of its emergence throughout the area.

Other important changes occurring in this era relate to the suddenness with which the members begin to eagerly learn the Pan-Indian dancing of the Southern Plains. It is significant that this occurs at the time when the group, already pan-Indian in perspective, alters its primary purposes for being, seeks new means of communicating with the non-Indian public, and evidently seeks new and clearly understandable symbols of identification. A number of events occurred which made for ready acceptance of Pan-Indian dancing: (1) There had developed during the closing years of the preceding era an interest in raising money for the relief of impoverished Indians, i.e., the Navaho, on distant reservations. Very soon thereafter attention is shifted to include all Indians and especially orphans and children, and the club is taken with the idea that the presentation of pageants or shows which feature Indian dancing holds promise. (2) The example of the successful and paying pageants at Harbor Springs created the impression that similar affairs could be successfully staged in Detroit. (3) The club already had as active members skilled drummers and singers from the Southwest who could instruct in the needed skills. (4) The decease and/or removal of almost all of the former professionals and semi-professionals, leaving the above as the only capable instructors. (5) The catalyst, however, was the successful performance at Detroit's 250th Birthday

Birthday Celebration Parade which brought prestige, considerable encouragement, and immediate opportunity to perform as dancers. With this, in 1951, came immediate acceptance of Pan-Indian dancing with instruction and rehearsals occurring regularly twice a week. From then on virtually the only dancing was Pan-Indian, although there was and is some occasionally from elsewhere, e.g., Caughnawaga. Until 1959 all performances were at pageants or shows as costumed dancers.

The task of adaptation under its new goals appears to fall into two stages, the first continuing through 1958, the second beginning in 1959, with a third being imminent. Being pan-Indian, the Association is sensitive to whatever might affect Indians generally. Accordingly, it has reacted to every piece of major federal legislation which relates to the withdrawal of federal services to and/or the termination of tribes or reservations. It did not, however, at first become involved at the local level. Its interests then were with issues somewhat distant from itself but they afforded valuable instruction and experience, and the group became committed. Except for the pow wow it was Pan-Indian. When these issues came to concern Michigan Indians, it responded in 1957 and 1958 by trying to halt or alter the decisions of Congress. Its struggle over termination brought change by infusing into its pan-Indianism a political motif, i.e., it came to see itself

as participating in the political arena as a champion of Indians--a response to one of the visions proclaimed by an earlier leader and by its active leaders at the time. This struggle brought into focus once more the unsatisfactory and distorted cultures of many Indians and the bias of the dominant society against them. Out of their aspirations to join together in a deliberate, organized attempt to create for them a more satisfactory way of life grew their current welfare program and Educational Fund for higher education. Their failure to alter the legislation of the federal government emphasized the notion that Indians would have to do for Indians. Finally, formal education came to be viewed as the greatest single need of most individual Indians, and highly trained Indian leadership came to be thought of as most contributive to the Indian people in the long run. As a specific target this goal could be brought within the range of accomplishment, given the special talents of the group.

The year 1959, marking the beginning of the second stage of adaptation, features the commencement of contemporary Pan-Indianism in Detroit. This is the era of the pow wow and the parade, and the era in which the Association became politically and legally involved, no longer at a distance but in its own setting, as the champion of all Indians and the group through which they do for themselves. It broadened the issue on discrimination

deliberately, evidence in itself of the perception of distortions in the dominant non-Indian society which are unfavorable to Indians, to include discrimination in housing, education, employment, and admission to public buildings. It organized all Indian groups across the state for battle, appealed for assistance at the Chicago Indian Conference, and fought the issue via every political means available, and lost. In this stage it became actively affiliated with pan-Indian organizations at the national level where it has its representatives and through which it speaks. At a given meeting (Appendix D-58) its members may hear first hand reports of current and often unpublicized events transpiring or yet to transpire from as far away as both New York City and San Francisco. Because of the pow wow its members travel considerable distances across both the United States and Canada, socializing with others on the individual level. While its concern for the welfare of Indians extends to all levels, locally it has become directly involved in almost every case relating to them. As their champion it does not hesitate to use whatever means it feels necessary, political, legal, economic, representative, or other.

The Association is, like other Pan-Indian organizations, secular in character and means, but religious elements are not lacking. The religious overtones of its Pan-Indianism are evidenced in the Preamble of its

Constitution, the symbolism of the pow wow and the parade (Appendix D-18), its code, and the missionary endeavors of its members (Appendices D-2d, D-18, D-30). Ethno-syncretic Pan-Indian motifs are also found in some of the myths we collected from members of the group (Appendices D-2i, D-45, D-46). While most belong to Christian churches they recognize that Christianity has been a factor in the destruction of Indian culture and religion, in bringing about factions between Indians, in creating negative stereotypes about Indians and, accordingly, they have set as one of their goals the responsibility of defending contemporary and past Indians against the charge of being pagan. They are, therefore, very careful in all of their activities not to let religion divide them. Their means are secular and rational, the techniques employed being those which they believe best designed to fit the occasion and situation (Appendix D-64).

There are nativistic elements in its vision and program. It seeks the perpetuation of Indian treaties, Indian status, and certain perceived Indian "values" (Appendices D-61, D-62). Other elements which it seeks to preserve include costumes, crafts, songs, drumming, the pow wows, and "correct" information about previous Indian cultures.

We have suggested the use of the term ethno-syncretic, descriptively, as conceptually different from

"sacro-syncretic," "econo-syncretic," etc. Our term seems fitting because the Pan-Indian culture appears as a complex mosaic from the experiences of its carriers, the former cultures of differing tribes, and from the non-Indian society. Included are the traits mentioned for the Southern Plains, Howard's (1955:215,220) "supertribal culture." Carrying this Pan-Indian culture are persons of Indian descent who associate together over great distances and at different levels in the Pan-Indian sub-society, Newcomb's (1955:1941,1042) "Pan-Indian society."

Both Howard (1955 and Newcomb (1955 and 1956) saw on the Southern Palins in a final stage of acculturation which they called "assimilation," some adjusting to the dominant society as "nondistinctive" members while others were becoming Pan-Indian. We have suggested that those following the route of nondistinction are doing so in accordance with the ideology of Anglo-conformity, so old and still viable in the larger society, while those who are adapting via Pan-Indianism are more in keeping with the newer ideology of cultural pluralism. Were we to compress the goals of Pan-Indianism into a single statement, we would suggest that the great overriding principle seems to be satisfying adjustment to, and achievement in, the contemporary and future society as Indians in the land conceived as rightfully theirs. Pan-Indianism is not, in our opinion, regressive. Quite to the contrary,

it denounces regressive behavior and feelings of inferiority for being Indian and calls back to renewed pride in their Indian heritage and offers a new dignity and meaning to life for those who adopt this change of attitude. It then goes on to challenge them to higher achievement in the current and future society and to dedicated efforts to reclaim others. Its pluralism is not that of separatism but rather "as Indians" within the total society. It is because of this that its nativistic and political motifs take on meaning. To remain "as Indians" implies the perpetuation of Indian treaties, tribes, reservations, Indian status, Indian rights, and certain traits unique to themselves with a sense of dignity because these are honored and respected by the non-Indian society. Without these they become "nondistinctive" members of that society. It also means that distorted areas of the current generalized Indian culture, and of the non-Indian society and culture, which are harmful to Indians must be corrected. Their goals of achievement (Appendix D-63) seem to say that, given achievement with distinction "as Indians," they can demonstrate that their ancient Indian heritage--biologically, socially, and culturally--is viable regardless of time or changing conditions. This seems to lie at the heart of the concept of the "new Indian." Individuality is to be expressed within these parameters. We have heard it repeatedly said, "Whatever you seek to do

or be, be the best." One of our member informants commented, "We shall yet place Indians, who are proud to be Indians, in top positions in this country. In this way we shall come back in our own again--in our own country." It is thus innovative. It does not seek to withdraw from the advantages of contemporary civilization, nor does it run to it and lose itself in nondistinction. It is a new type of adaptation, ethno-syncretic, in which members of diverse tribes are made to feel as one within a larger society, with an ethnicity and cause uniquely their own.

PART II

ANTECEDENT FACTORS UNDERLYING ACTIVE
PARTICIPATION IN METROPOLITAN
PAN-INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

We translated our theoretical framework into operationally-defined variables and developed methods for testing the hypothesized relationships in Chapter I. This chapter describes our overall research design used in the analysis of these variables in our exploration for antecedent factors underlying individual identification with metropolitan Pan-Indianism. Here we specify the technical definitions and procedures which controlled this phase of our field work, discuss our data-gathering instrument, and describe our manner of obtaining and treating the data.

Early Contacts

On December 17, 1964 we elected to do a study on Pan-Indianism in Metropolitan Detroit. Since there are no official records (e.g., census, B.I.A., etc.) on the whereabouts of Indians in the area, we were faced with the problem of locating the population on which we wished to make our observations. Don Meyers had written a series of five articles entitled, "A New Deal for Our First Americans," in the Detroit Free Press, appearing May 17-24, 1964. A reading of these directed us to the North American

Indian Club (its name at the time) and gave the names of several members of the Indian community. On December 18 we telephoned an eminent male, making an appointment for the following day. On the occasion of the interview almost his first comment was that the Indians in Detroit did not wish any anthropologist or sociologist studying them because of having suffered misinterpretation and misrepresentation, and being hurt in the process. After learning that we had lived for some time on the Crow Indian Reservation at Pryor, Montana, had visited most of the reservations and some of the rural Indian communities in Michigan, and were rather well acquainted with some persons in these areas, we were invited to the coming New Year's Dance. We also called a second person, a prominent female, who also invited us to the event and with whom we also made an appointment for a future date.

The dance was a gala affair. It was held in the center of downtown Detroit. The little building was packed and noisy. At the door we were eyed with considerable suspicion and informed that the building was filled to capacity so that no one else could be admitted. The mention of the names of the two who had invited us gave immediate entrée and our first real contacts with Indians in the area began.

The second appointment was kept on January 9 at three in the afternoon and lasted until nine in the evening

without interruption. It began like the first with expressed feelings of disapproval toward anthropologists or sociologists working among the Indians. Then there came a period of testing. We were queried in some detail concerning our own personal history and attitudes toward Indians in general. Next, we were told in rather intense tones about the injustices which had been heaped upon the Indian, the discussion involving mostly discrimination. Then we were informed about the "golden past" of Indians and told that Indians are "God's people." Before the coming of the white man they were not pagans but "Christians," though perhaps not knowing it. We recalled that Kroeber (1948:437) had suggested that "...nativistic endeavors or revivals...envelop with a sort of halo the culture that is passing away..." Finally, we were invited to visit some of the meetings of the Club if we so chose.

At first we wondered how long we could hold on as observers in the Club, but gradually the members came to accept and trust us. In May of 1966 we were esteemed highly enough to be made honorary members. This was without precedence. It involved vote by the members after recommendation by the Executive Board and sponsorship by members of given tribes, the wife of the author being adopted as Chippewa and the author as Mohawk. Indian names were bestowed, that of the author having significance on

the Caughnawaga Reservation, being formerly borne by one there but now deceased.

Comparability of the Groups

Our research design called for the study of two groups of individuals in Metropolitan Detroit, one which was Pan-Indian and one which was not. We planned at the outset controls on which the two groups might be similar, selecting those of space, time, "Indian blood," age, and sex. We also aspired to make explorations into the area of social class for the additional insights which it might afford.

The modern metropolis is an interesting phenomenon across which we would seek interviews. About it, Blumenfeld has stated (1965:68):

The modern metropolis differs from the traditional city in several critical respects: (1) it combines the function of central leadership with the functions of providing the main bulk of material production and services; (2) its population is up to 10 times larger than that of the biggest preindustrial city; (3) with modern fast transportation, which has increased its commuting radius about tenfold, it is up to 100 times larger in area than the biggest city of former times; (4) it is neither city nor country but a complex of urban districts and open areas; (5) its residential and work areas are no longer combined in one place but are located in separate districts; (6) its workers have high mobility in the choice of jobs and occupation. . . .

We noted that the Association holds its regular monthly meetings in the Central Y.W.C.A. in the heart of downtown Detroit. This also coincides well with the observation of Blumenfeld (1965:71):

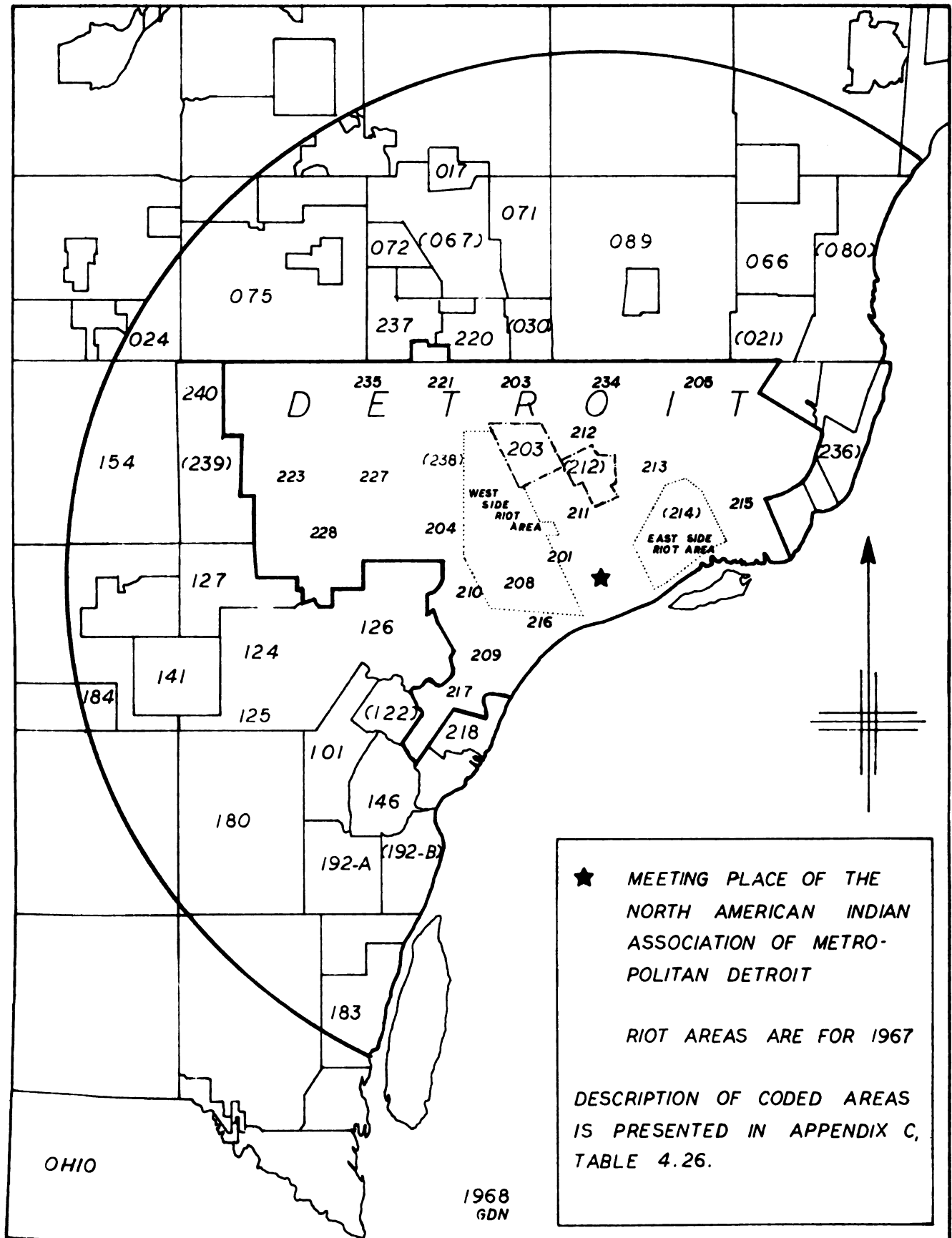
The central area epitomizes the essence of the metropolis: mutual accessibility. It attracts particularly those functions that serve the metropolis as a whole and those that require a considerable amount of close interpersonal contact.

In light of this, it appeared that proximity to the meeting place of the Association, thus affording both members and non-members more or less equal ease for attending the meetings should they desire to do so, would be of merit. Accordingly, we accepted as limitations of the area (space) in which we would do our interviewing Blumenfeld's definition of the metropolis (1965:64):

"Metropolitan area" can be defined in various ways. . . . In agreement with the German scholar Gehard Isenberg, I shall define a metropolis as a concentration of at least 500,000 people living within an area in which the traveling time from the outskirts to the center is no more than about 40 minutes.

Our technique for circumscribing our area was simple. Typical driving times to the meeting place of the Association were established by driving forty minutes along several arterial highways from the Central Y.W.C.A. at the times the meetings were usually held. Using a highway map and locating the average of the distances obtained on the points of a compass, we drew a circle. We elected to exclude areas in Canada and outside the circumference (see Map 2).

The criterion of time was simply that all who might be interviewed should live within the specified area at the time the interviewing was done.



MAP 2. AREA OF FIELD WORK. INTERVIEWING WAS DONE WITHIN THE ARC, AN AREA WITH A RADIUS OF APPROXIMATELY 40 MINUTES DRIVING TIME FROM THE CENTRAL CITY MEETING PLACE OF THE N.A.I.A.

Our definition of an Indian and reasons for the same have been discussed in Chapter I. It imposed upon us the criterion of one-fourth or more "Indian blood." Because our interviewing might take us to persons unknown, we added another, namely that the person admit this as true of himself.

Since we planned to study the disjunction between the individual's aspirations and achievements for himself in the areas of education, occupation, and pay, we wished to control for age in a manner which would include only those for whom these measures would be most relevant. We did not feel free to assume that persons outside these limits would feel the same pressures, e.g., toward occupational achievement, as others and hence feared that without controls our findings would reflect bias. We thought that persons over 61 might more often be incapacitated, retired already, or very likely looking toward retirement, and that those under 21 would include many still in school or in the U.S. Armed Services. However, in order to be sure of interviewing over 30 persons in the Membership Group, it became necessary to use as the criterion of age those between 21 and 63.

We wished to have the sexes fairly equally represented, but we soon recognized that this might be impossible. We observed that the Membership Group was heavily weighted toward females and we had no way of knowing prior

to deriving the sample for the Non-Membership Group how it would be represented in the matter. Since we were doing an exploratory study we recognized that sex might be important. If we should be unable to obtain equal representation of the sexes, male and female, we felt that at least we should obtain a fair, proportional representation of the same for each of the two groups under analysis. Accordingly, we decided for married persons and their families the head of the household (male) or the spouse, and to alternate by taking first one and then the other. We did this by using slips of paper and drawing, males being selected as the starting point. Of course, if only the head of the household was "Indian" we took him, and if only the spouse was we took her. We alternated only where we must choose between the two. Also, if the respondent was unmarried we took him or her, having no choice. We never deviated from our plan. If with the last couple where we had a choice the respondent had been female, then with the next the respondent was male.

Sampling for the Non-Membership Group

The North American Indian Association of Metropolitan Detroit professes to have the most complete and accurate listing of Indians in the area and most likely, aside from our own, it does. There are other records as well. The Y.W.C.A. holds in custody for the Association all of its records which include, among other things,

membership records since its inception in 1940. It also has its own records, part of which include, among other things, the semi-annual and annual reports of its professional personnel to the national organization and the frequency of attendance at the semi-monthly activities of the Association by person. The former are complete for the years covered by this study and the latter, for the years 1956 through 1960 and 1963 through 1966. On March 14, 1966 we were given access to the indexed files of the Association and in July of that year to the records of the Y.W.C.A. We worked on these intensively for about a year and then again at the time we drew our sample, improving and extending that data.

The Association has two indexed files, one on members and the other on non-members. They include the names of all Indians it can locate in the area but, because they are used primarily for mailing, names are occasionally culled if it is felt that the individual cannot be reached or interested. Persons included are: (1) members, (2) persons who formerly have been members, (3) persons who attend, if only occasionally, any of the activities of the group, (4) persons, known to be Indian, who have been reported to the Association for one reason or another, (5) the lists of the Northern Ottawa Association in Detroit, and (6) the names of those last registered in Detroit as Michigan Indians with legal tribal status. This latter

group is sometimes conveniently referred to as the local Durrant Roll, although it is not this officially. The Durrant Roll is Michigan's official record of its Indians by name and is badly out of date at this time. Because there was an interest in land claims in 1960, the Indians undertook a self-registration in that year. An advertisement was run in the Detroit newspapers with the Association sponsoring the registration, the results of which it includes today in its records. The files contained a total of 682 cards, counting both members and non-members, on individual Indians. Usually these were filled out by the person in question--the degree of completion ranging from only name and address to the total requested information. Data relevant to our purposes includes name, address, occupation, religion, tribe, degree of "Indian blood," birthplace, date of birth, father's name, mother's name, nearest relative in Metropolitan Detroit, the address of that relative, and the date the card was filed.

Our first task was to visit the Y.W.C.A. and there to alphabetize the Association files by family name for ease of identification, eliminating duplicates should they occur, and then to type for our own records all of the information. From gaps in the data and information implicit in the names of others listed for Metropolitan Detroit, it was apparent that considerable refinement was necessary for adequate understanding. Also, it was evident

that the employment of an informant would be of inestimable value. Such an informant should also be paid since we envisioned considerable amounts of time spent in the effort. We selected the most knowledgeable person on the Indians in Metropolitan Detroit whom we could find. One of the founders of the Association, our informant has been very active in it since its inception--including work on the mailing lists. From the beginning of our interviewing we were permitted the use of a tape recorder. The work began on April 21--meeting on an average of three full afternoons per week--and continued until August 10. During July and August we met on the average of four afternoons per week.

We asked our informant to complete as far as possible all of the missing data for the indexed cards and to provide us with the same information for the other Indians suggested by the cards (e.g., mother, father, closest kinsmen in the area). At home we carefully examined the lists of earlier members and added those which were not referred to in the indexed files to those on which we were working with our informant. We prepared one five by eight card for each such unit. On the front of each of these we placed the data from the indexed card of the Association and, also, that gleaned from the informant. In order to guarantee that the same questions were being asked for all persons we dittoed a form for specific information on the top of which we checked the years during which he had been

a member of the Association and the offices which he had held. This was affixed to the card.

We were impressed with the ability of our informant to recount kinship lines for many families, sometimes to the extent of four or five generations, and felt that this should be utilized. Accordingly, we elected the approach of kinship as a means of stimulating memory and to gain for ourselves a more complete and better organized picture. Recalling the technique of Franz Boas--sometimes giving native informants limited amounts of anthropological training for purposes of fuller understanding--we trained our informant to read kinship diagrams. Then, in addition to having names and addresses added from pure memory, we asked our informant to draw kinship diagrams as fully as possible for each family. These data were placed on the back of our cards. We watched the processes closely, challenging the informant at certain points, correcting errors and verifying statements. In our study we worked on a large drafting board, redrawing all of these data and interrelating them. We took our problems of interpretation and possible linkages back to the informant for clarification. In addition, when we thought that still more data could be gathered without arousing undue suspicion or opposition, we queried directly those whom we knew in the Association. In this manner we corrected our misconceptions and the data on the index cards and added measureably both

to the number of names and addresses of Indians in the area as well as relevant data on each. We also obtained by this method verbal statements on whether or not the individual had legal and official status as a member of his tribe and why. In addition, considerable other data were gathered on many matters, some being relevant to Pan-Indianism.

During the summer of 1966 the wife of the author devoted her entire day to the typing of the taped interviews. In the fall and winter of 1966-1967 we hired secretarial help to complete this typing. Our previous work had been on the family cards and on the extensions of names via the stimulus of kinship lines, and we had been able to proceed with our informant even though all of the data had not been typed. When this finally was done, we returned to our findings to recheck our work. After this, we took our remaining questions to our informant once again for a few days of clarification and for a final check. We then grouped our cards into residential units. Eventually, we had 975 cards on such units--a considerable increase over the 682 individuals we had started with. Of the 975 household units 129 were in the membership category and 846 in the non-membership category. The latter featured 225 which had utility for sampling purposes inasmuch as the persons represented had never been members of the Association. In addition, our criteria pertaining to age, time,

and space had eliminated some. Finally, some were deceased. Our findings are presented in Table 3.1.

We elected to draw a simple random sample from those in the non-membership population whom we had located and whom we felt we might be able to locate. We arranged the cards on these household units in alphabetic order and numbered them consecutively from 1 to 225. Utilizing a table of random numbers (Young and Veldman, 1965:423-427), we made a pencil jab on the first page and selected possible respondent by card number whenever its random number occurred. We drew 150 in this manner, hoping that from this number enough would respond to allow us to predict with some degree of confidence to a larger universe. We recognized at the time that an N of 30 would be minimal and that many more were desirable. We also recognized that since this group comprised those who associated least with the Pan-Indian community, which was our starting point for collecting the data, persons in it might be the more difficult to find and/or interview.

The Membership Group

The records which served as a basis for our determination of the Non-Membership Group served also for our selection of the Membership Group. We desired that the Membership Group should faithfully represent Pan-Indianism. Merton (1957:285,286) has suggested three criteria, which we have selected, for a membership group: (1) frequency

of interaction, (2) the persons define themselves as members of the group, and (3) that persons in interaction be defined by others as belonging to the group. The first of these criteria was met by examination of the records of the Y.W.C.A. The second criterion was met via response to an item in the Interview Schedule. The third criterion was satisfied by an examination of the published membership lists.

Our primary difficulty in selecting the Membership Group lay in frequency of attendance. These records stopped at the end of 1966. We noted, however, that with only one exception members appeared to continue in attendance at relatively the same frequency. A few had entered the group and had become officers. We therefore deleted the one who was no longer a member and included in the Membership Group those who had recently joined and become officers. This included all new personnel showing any degree of attendance at the time the interviewing was done. Wallace (1956:273) suggested that persons join revitalization movements for a variety of reasons. We suggest that those having least in common with the group might also be those who attend with less frequency. For this reason we were reluctant to use as the criterion on attendance a very low ratio. We aspired to use a frequency of attendance for the years 1965 and 1966--those in which we had been doing our participant observation on the group--

of thirty or more per cent of the semi-monthly meetings. When we analyzed the current group in this light we obtained a possible N of 32. This caused concern since we recognized that, should we be forced for some justifiable reason(s) to exclude part or not be able to interview the entire group, our usable N might fall considerably. Since we did not wish this to happen, we were eventually forced to lower our criterion on frequency of attendance to only ten per cent, and this raised our N to 35. While we felt this somewhat weakened our data, it nonetheless offered greater numbers to work with and some statistical advantages. With so few our goal was to use, if possible, the entire universe from the defined Membership Group.

Field Procedures

The author did all of the interviewing. In preparation for this a letter of introduction (Appendix A) was prepared by the current chairman of our Ph.D. Guidance Committee. Another letter (Appendix A) was prepared by the author and a personal calling card was printed. This second letter was designed for initial contact with persons in the Non-Membership Group should they not be at home when the first house call was made--its contents centering around civil rights. This approach was used because it is much in discussion in our day and because it was felt that it might offer entrée. It was not felt to be dishonest or unethical because we did gather data on this. Prior to

our interviewing we filed a copy of our interview schedule with the Civil Rights Commission in Metropolitan Detroit. It was not felt that our letter would contaminate our findings. Its contents were deliberately vague but carefully worded to elicit from possible respondents willingness to cooperate. We always emphasized the randomness of selection and the privilege of being able to contribute.

We reasoned that it would be more difficult for a possible respondent to refuse an interview were he approached face to face than in any other manner. We also recognized that we would appear unexpectedly before our respondents and that some would simply not be able to give us an interview at the time, whereas others might use the excuse "Not now" to avoid an interview altogether. We therefore elected to spend time in an area first--in making appointments for interviews and in establishing whatever rapport we could--and to return at a future date to make the interview. We were not bound by this rule since we believed that some, given time, might change their minds. Consequently, we attempted to make our appointments on days when we had no interviews scheduled and, especially if we felt that the respondent was reluctant, to do the interview on the occasion of initial contact if possible. For economy in time and money we sorted our sample according to mailing zone.

We had anticipated using as a standard opening with each respondent the one printed on the front of the Interview Schedule (Appendix B-1). We tried it on our first contact with the Non-Membership Group and, finding ourselves faced with a very strong refusal, immediately altered our approach and thereby found the method which would be used henceforth. The individual was an Oneida male from the Oneida Reservation, Muncey, Ontario. He had been surprised at our approach and had reflected the same type of opposition we had first met in our contacts with persons in the Association. On his refusal, we began talking about the research and the appointment was granted. That evening we made ourselves lists of those to be contacted by tribe and sending point. We sorted our five by eight cards into packets corresponding to the area in which we would be making our contacts. These we could review, with the data on tribe and sending point, prior to meeting our possible respondent. Thereafter, our approach essentially was:

You are _____ (name). I'm so glad to meet you!
 You don't know me but I have heard about you.
 You are a _____ (tribe) Indian from _____ (sending point). I know _____ (some of his kinsmen. We both named them and their relationship to him.)
 I know also _____ (persons known to be his friends in the tribe).

Invariably the person was surprised and attempted to stammer back something about how we knew this. We responded something about our acquaintanceship with Indians and perhaps

experiences among them and introduced ourselves by handing him our calling card. We then produced the personal letter which had been prepared for those not at home and gave it to him, to tell him what this was all about even though he was at home. We also showed him the letter of introduction and then said: "Let's see now, when is best for you that we get together?" If the individual was hesitant, we fell back to talking about things Indian and reminded him that the purpose of the initial visit was to get acquainted. Sometimes the discussion took another half-hour or more.

We inquired of the neighbors about those whom we could not locate at home. Data thus collected sometimes afforded reasons for exclusion. If the respondent still lived at the address, we left our letter and card and returned a minimum of four times. If the site was at all near the residence of another on whom we were to call, we returned when convenient. We obtained new addresses on a few of those who had moved and eventually located them in other areas of the metropolis.

We aspired to the collection of data which would reflect both the efficiency of methods and eliminate as far as possible bias in our samples. We saw at once that in an area as large as Metropolitan Detroit we would meet with certain problems. We knew from our experience among these Indians that they were scattered. We recognized

that, with random sampling, the Non-Membership Group could be expected to be broadly distributed across the metropolis. We also knew that living conditions varied considerably, and sometimes within a few blocks, not only in the City of Detroit but also in its suburbs. Given these conditions, we elected to gather certain types of demographic data in the Interview Schedule itself on the two groups interviewed, and to make observational data on all at the time the interview was attempted (Appendix B-2).

We gathered these additional types of data (Appendix B-2) on those whom we could not interview. Some of this comes from our files--the result of the work with our informant--and some from observations in the field. We carefully recorded and coded data gathered on the whereabouts of Indians whom we could not find. For every person, wherever we went, we gathered data reflective of social class. Using the criteria of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960), we recorded house type (see Appendix B-3) and residential area (see Appendix B-4). We also developed an ordinal scale on the degree of racial integration characteristic of the neighborhood, i.e., the relative number of Negroes living there (see Appendix B-5). Assuming that the neighborhood has not changed appreciably since the respondent died or moved, this affords some insights. Those known not to meet our basic criteria of time, space, age, and degree of Indian "blood" at the time of the interview have been excluded.

Representativeness of the Membership Group

We were able to complete the interviews on the entire universe from the Membership Group. With the exception of two individuals, this group was interviewed first. We made our appointments primarily while at meetings of the Association. The research has never been announced at meetings of the group and the Association has in no way sponsored this study. Arrangements were all made face to face. Some, whom we could not complete arrangements with in this manner, were contacted by telephone. This was possible because of our rather intimate relationships established over a period of three full years. For others, whom we knew less well, initial contact was made in the home. We started with those individuals whom we knew best in an effort to gain experience, and then we contacted and interviewed the others.

Representativeness of the Non-Membership Group

Our interviews extended from January 22 through October 26, 1968. During the administration of our interview schedule we finally completed 128 telephone calls and 429 house calls. We made 53 house calls on the Membership Group, 181 in completing interviews on the Non-Membership Group, and 195 in seeking interviews with others in the Non-Membership category but without success. We believe

this entailed between 10,000 and 15,000 miles of city driving. Of all those in the sample of Non-Members whom we could locate and who met our criteria, we met with only two refusals. Considering that we could only locate 47 persons eligible and that we interviewed 45 of these, this means that we met with a 95.7 per cent success in this segment. Table 3.2 (Appendix C) presents the response to the field work and data, except for social class, on the persons not interviewed. If we compute our success on the basis of refusals versus successes for both Members and Non-Members, our success in interviewing reaches 97.6 per cent.

One of those who refused the interview was a male who worked two jobs, the second nightly until eleven or twelve and Saturdays and Sundays. The other refusal concerned a female. In this case the non-Indian husband first refused us permission to see her. Later, and at a contrasting day and hour, we attempted again and were met once more by the spouse and with even more opposition. A half-dozen or so caused considerable difficulty in that they were not at home at the time of the agreed-upon interview. These we kept in contact with, both by telephone and house calls, until the end of our interviewing. By so doing we were eventually able to complete about half of these interviews.

Our operational hypotheses are on measures of central tendency on which the two groups do not significantly differ. Assuming for the moment more or less normality of distribution, we could estimate our mean at 50 per cent and use the formula for the standard error of a proportion as a method of estimating the standard deviation of the sampling distribution of all possible proportions in a binomial distribution (Cohen, 1954:110). Our control group is our Non-Membership Group. If we use our N of 45, and apply the above formula in an attempt to infer to an infinite population, we find that the mean of our sample can be expected to deviate 7.4 per cent in either direction from the true, or theoretical, mean. If we correct this formula for a finite population, thereby inferring from our findings only to the specific group of 225 from which we sampled, we obtain a 5.8 per cent deviation of our sampling mean around the true mean (cf. Cohen, 1954:101; Spiegel, 1961:142).

If we do not assume more or less normality of distribution in our population, a procedure which we think better and under which we operate, non-parametric methods may be used, although they are somewhat less sensitive and require larger samples. On these methods, Dixon and Massey (1957:194) suggest that with a sample of N=47 there is a 95 per cent chance that 90 per cent of the responses will be between the two extremes of the infinite universe.

With a sample of $N=38$ they suggest that there is a 90 per cent chance that 90 per cent of the observations in the sample will be between the two extremes of the infinite universe. We mention these factors because of their theoretical relevance when we accept or reject hypotheses and in our inferences to be made. We have not discussed these in connection with the Membership Group because we have interviewed the entire universe.

The size of the sample is related to the power of the statistical test, but at any significance level the one-tailed test will be more powerful than the two-tailed test (Smith, 1953:542). Power efficiency almost always increases as the sample size increases, but it is important also to ask, "Is the test simple computationally?" and, "Is the model (set of assumptions) required for this test 'true to life'?" (Smith, 1953:545). We have made an attempt to meet this last criterion and, to insure responses relevant to the same, we have exercised great care in the development and use of our data-gathering instrument.

The Interview Schedule

Our interview schedule (see Appendix B-1) was the result of many months of work. It was designed to gather a wealth of data descriptive of Indians in Detroit, useful in research beyond the present dissertation, but primarily to obtain data pertinent to the present study in a smooth and efficient manner which would not in any way arouse

hostility and thus jeopardize either our work or that of others who might succeed us. Its construction was begun only after we had observed the Membership Group for two years and we felt we had come to understand them. We were concerned with the disjunction between aspirations and achievements, or actuality, and associated stress, and thus we came to replicate in part the questionnaire of Parker and Kleiner (1966:366-394). We were also interested in relative deprivation, discrimination, and tribal marginality; and we were concerned with maintaining continuity in our instrument. Some of our items follow theirs, actually 42 of our 195 or 21 per cent. Most of our items, however, differ considerably from theirs; some have multiple responses, and most which deal with perception call for additional open-ended responses beyond the coded data. Our general research plan is modeled on theirs both for reasons of continuity and because we believe their approach affords a convenient, simple, tested, and practical means of gathering meaningful data. In our effort to elicit responses relative to the achievement of goals toward social class mobility we considered not only the individual items but their proximity to each other in the Schedule so that the mind could easily follow from one subject to the next. Since we wished to faithfully represent those among whom we were working, we undertook the pretesting of our

schedule, following which, it was reworked three times before it appeared in its final form.

We were aware that research on a population in a metropolitan setting such as ours is somewhat different than that done in some distant place and perhaps among non-literates. Many of those among whom we were working were well acquainted with anthropological research, sometimes by first hand experience. Some read ethnographic accounts of their own tribes. Some we met at meetings of the American Anthropological Association. One insisted that we take her. At the same time, most spurned the writings of anthropologists as being untrue or hurtful to Indians. We knew that some would follow our research with interest and quite likely read the same. Considering these factors, along with others, we elected a straightforward approach, while not revealing our theoretical interests for fear of contamination.

We used only six persons for our pretest in an effort to economize in both time and money. These were selected from those who could not possibly be drawn in our sample. The selection was with care. We chose these so they would split one way to include half who were former members and the other half who were current members but who never attend the meetings, or if so, they do less than ten per cent of the time. They were also selected to equally represent Indians from Michigan, distant areas in the

United States, and Canada. We selected them in a manner which would afford an approximation to different levels of social class achievement. When we introduced ourselves to them, we frankly explained, given the limitations mentioned above, our interests and that their responses would not be included in the study inasmuch as they had been selected to help us prepare a set of items which would be faithful to Indians and which Indians would correctly understand. We went over each item first and then asked the respondent how he interpreted it. We made careful notes on their interpretation of the items and, by working over their schedules with our own notes on their comments, we gradually revised our initial interview schedule and developed the one in use here. Some of the items we had wanted to ask we saw as irrelevant or inapplicable. We attempted to retain those which were relevant to our special theoretical interests and to develop them so that they would be both understandable to our respondents and meaningful to ourselves. In keeping with our promises to these individuals, we have not used any of their responses in the present study.

The final Interview Schedule is presented in Appendix B. Aside from demographic items, all those areas of that schedule pertinent to this study are discussed in Chapter I. Furthermore, for the convenience of the reader we note under our tables for Chapter V the specific item

from which the data were drawn. Considerable data were gathered through the Interview Schedule which are not utilized in this study. Because of their irrelevance here, these items are not discussed but are marked with the word "Omit" in the Schedule itself.

We left a copy of our final Interview Schedule with the Civil Rights Commission in Metropolitan Detroit in advance of our field work. Prior to the interview, we always informed the respondent of this and told him that both professional ethics and contemporary U.S. policy seeks to protect the respondent and guarantee him anonymity. During the interview should he, following urging, refuse an answer, we never pressed him. We conducted ourselves with courtesy and respect toward the informant, and attempted to identify with him so that he would feel no embarrassment and would respond frankly to our items. At every interview we asked to sit at a table or place beside the respondent where he could see the Schedule and where we could write. We allowed him to examine and read the item for himself, should he choose. Usually we found respondents very interested in our obtaining exactly the answer which they intended to convey. Despite what the respondent had said, we never once found objection to our writing down the exact words of his response. We believe that our purposes were achieved and that the interviews were satisfactory experiences for our respondents. After

the interview we left a letter of appreciation (see Appendix A) signed in waterproof ink. Some, we are sure, retain these as souvenirs of the occasion. We wanted, should some who were not interviewed hear of the interview, that they would aspire to being interviewed also. We were quite gratified with the statement of one of our respondents, "My mother still talks of an interview with Fred Voget and I shall never forget this one with you."

Social Class

The measure of the disjunction between aspiration and achievement calls for indices in the area of social class. This led to some methodological difficulties since no previous studies for metropolitan Indian Americans have to date been undertaken. To do such a study prior to the gathering of our data would not only have involved us in expense in time and money beyond our ability but would also have presented difficulties which, at least for our area and in our time, would have been almost insurmountable. Accordingly, we selected the alternate of gathering pertinent data via the Interview Schedule.

We elected to use the scale for education which had been developed by Parker and Kleiner (1966:399-400) in their study on Negro Americans (see Appendix B-6). While this is not exactly appropriate for Indian Americans, we feel it is not far off since it is essentially that of

Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:154). The scale used has the merits of bringing the two groups into meaningful comparison, both of which have been handicapped because of minority group status. The steps appear to be both reasonable and meaningful in educational achievement and, once explained, are readily understandable to our readers. In addition to this, we use actual years of schooling when comparing the two groups.

For occupational aspiration and achievement, we elected to use the measures of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:140-141). When correlated against social status, this has an r of .91. Our item on pay achievement and aspiration included a schedule ranging from "nothing" to over \$20,000 per year take-home pay. We are not using this in an analysis of social class. Since we elected to forego the measure of the size of the (D) discrepancy between aspiration and achievement, we reduced this to a seven-step table for social class only. The salary schedule is reproduced in Appendix B-7.

Our feeling that some sort of a measure of social class achievement by Indian Americans in Metropolitan Detroit should be offered led us to choose the measures of Warner, Meeker, and Eells--knowing that anthropologists and others readily understand its meaning. This is an approximation but it has the merits of adding information against which comparisons might be made. Our justification

for this also lies in the comment by Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:129):

If limitations of time and personnel do not permit completely separate analyses for each ethnic group, it is probably true that no very serious error will be introduced by treating the ethnic individuals as Old Americans for the purpose of social-class prediction.

We also reasoned that the measure seems rather appropriate since our purpose is precisely that of measuring social mobility in the non-Indian world, and that, by simply gathering data on house type and residential area, we would be in a position to say something about those whom we were unable to interview and thus to add another dimension to our work. Accordingly, we are using the three characteristics of occupation, house type, and dwelling area (Warner, Meeker, and Eells, 1960:149-154;183-185). By simply using the weights of 5 for occupation, 4 for house type, and 3 for dwelling area we are able to arrive at a rather good evaluation of social class, one which has multiple correlation ratio of .964 and a standard error of estimate of 1.16.

We were able to derive weights from our respondents for the criteria of social class. Our interview schedule (Appendix B-1, Item 88) was designed for this purpose. The item and method were taken from Parker and Kleiner (1966:4,46). It contains a series of eight potentially relevant criteria for status position. Each of our

respondents was asked to rank three of these in order of importance in deciding what social class a person belongs to. The criteria were: education, income, family background, neighborhood, skin color, occupation, influence in the community, and organizational membership. The item selected as most important was given a score of three, the next a score of two, and the least important a score of one. Group scores were obtained by adding the scores on the individual protocols; and weights have been derived by calculating proportional increase. Considering occupation as a base and using only occupation, pay, and education, we would suggest as weights: 1 for occupation, 1.6 for pay, and 4.9 for education. We have not done this for the purpose of the analysis of social class but, because these areas of striving are under analysis here, the weights are indicative of the salience of certain social goals. Since this type of data is not ordinarily available on metropolitan Indians, the findings are reported to add to the store of knowledge.

Data Processing

On the evening of the interview, we read the whole Schedule and our comments to be sure that every response was clearly marked and that all of our handwritten comments, which included the open-ended responses, were clearly legible. When the interviewing was over, during the period extending from January through mid-October

in 1968, we typed each comment on a three by five card, or sequence of cards which had been fastened together, and coded each in the upper left-hand corner according to the item number in the Schedule, and in the upper right-hand corner according to the number of the interview. These were filed according to item number for all respondents so that they could be quickly pulled and analyzed should the need arise. The number of the interview, the official code number assigned each respondent, corresponded with the sequence in which interviewing had been done.

Many of our items had been precoded but many had not, e.g., tribe, sending point, geographical area in the metropolis, etc. We sorted our data into meaningful units according to demography, Pan-Indian interests, and our variables, and then assigned codes wherever these were lacking. We then developed a code book and, using this, with the help of an assistant, transcribed all of our data to IBM data coding sheets. In the end we had six IBM cards per respondent and nearly one card containing data on those whom we had not been able to interview. Of great use to us was a table-size drafting board which enabled us to keep items properly arranged. As the author carefully called the code number for the proper column, his spouse repeated the code and recorded the same. This greatly accelerated the speed by which the transcription could be done and at the same time insured accuracy.

We have mentioned that this study utilizes only a portion of our data collected and concerns only a few of our potential variables. Much of our data is demographic and/or descriptive. After consultation, we elected to hand tabulate our findings. We felt that, should we attempt a more exhaustive study at a later date, a more complete study could be executed by machine. Accordingly, our data coding sheets were zeroxed, cut and scotch-taped together in a manner which assured the perfect alignment of all columns. When these were affixed to the drafting board properly, we found that we could fasten our triangles at points on the traverse bar beside the columns in a way which would exclude all data other than that being used at the moment, and, by moving the bar down the board, could accurately tabulate all our findings. Should we desire correlations, we simply fastened more triangles beside the appropriate columns, again excluding other data, and as we moved the bar down, the responses which were then being used appeared in their proper relationships with each other and for each respondent. All tabulations were made at least twice to insure accuracy. All of our mathematical calculations have been done with the aid of an electric desk model type of calculator which is capable of many operations.

Levels of Significance

All of our tests will be one-tailed in the positive direction. Where specific predictions have been made in this study, this shall be at the .05 level. Given appropriate tests, this means that we shall consider all differences significant when such differences between the groups under analysis can occur by chance no more than five times out of one hundred.

Reporting the Findings

When we can meet the necessary assumptions, we shall utilize the more powerful parametric tests. Because much of our data is in the form of nominal or ordinal scales and because we do not often wish to assume normality of distribution, we shall often utilize non-parametric methods of analysis. Tables presenting our findings will be located in the Appendix. With these we shall indicate the test used and, if significant, the level of confidence achieved. Controls and specific tests will be discussed in the text which follows.

CHAPTER IV

INDIANS IN THE METROPOLIS

In this chapter we present generalized background data on Indian American adjustment to life in Metropolitan Detroit. We do this to accomplish several ends. First, demographic findings on contemporary Indians in Detroit add understanding on metropolitan Indians in general. Second, it provides a more adequate setting against which we can evaluate the findings which follow in successive chapters. Accordingly, we purpose to bring to light not only characteristics on which the two groups under analysis differ but also some on which they do not. Non-significant findings cannot fairly be considered as antecedant to Pan-Indianism. By observing them, however, we can grasp the comparability of our groups and are in a better position to focus on other issues, i.e., our hypothesized antecedant variables. Third, we look at a portion of the data we have been able to gather on those persons whom we have not been able to locate and interview in the original sample because we wish to offer what insights we can into the possible effects of this upon our study. By so doing we hope to establish more fully the adequacy of our control, the Non-Membership Group, against which we essentially draw

our conclusions. Our statistical tables are located in Appendix C and we shall simply refer to the table number with the understanding that the reader should consult the proper Appendix if he is so interested.

Our data comes from respondents who represent not only one person per household in the Non-Membership Group, and the entire Membership Group. Occasionally the Membership Group features two persons per household, e.g., two unmarried females, a boarder, etc. When we made the second interview to these households we were careful to space it from the first by a minimum of three months and sometimes by as much as six in order to avoid, as far as possible, contamination. We randomly determined in advance controls for household where we had sex differences by drawing numbers from a box where one represented males and two, females. Where we had sex similarities we did the same but used one for older and two for younger. Our decision for sex followed the same method we had used in alternating respondents in the Non-Membership Group where choice was possible. In the Non-Membership Group we never deviated from the method. In the Membership Group we always interviewed the predetermined and selected respondent first. Because a consideration of all persons in the Membership Group would inflate that portion of our demographic findings presented in this chapter by sometimes counting the same data twice, we abstract from the

Membership Group those who were second to be interviewed. Our only exceptions are those which deal with pre-migration data and perceptions. This method means that we sometimes lose three males and two females in our analyses here but that we gain in precision.

By definition we delimited our criteria of space, time, and "Indian." We were unable to project the possible frequencies of male versus female or the mean ages of the populations we would interview. We therefore used the cautions referred to hoping to obtain comparability in age and sex. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 present our findings in this matter and it will be noted that indeed there are no significant differences between the groups in this regard. However, it should be noted that we are dealing with populations which are essentially one-third males to two-thirds females. Our age distributions extend from 22 years of age through 63, with a mean for the Non-Membership Group of 45.9 and for the Membership Group of 46.8. This suggests that in the households concerned many of the children will have left home and that such should be borne in mind when data on absolute household size is considered.

The tribes represented in this study are by persons who claim to be one or a combination of the following:

Apache	Mohawk	Potawatomi
Cayuga	Ojibwa	Sioux
Cherokee	Oneida	Tarascan
Chippewa	Onondaga	Taos Pueblo
Choctaw	Ottawa	Winnebago
Delaware		

It should be noted that all Canadian "Chippewa" are here referred to as Ojibwa and that for Canadian Indians the tribe of birth may differ from that of membership since when females marry cross-tribally they usually, although not always, transfer membership to the tribe of the spouse. Our data on the representativeness of the tribes by birth, including those not interviewed, is presented in Table 4.3. From the table several interesting things emerge: (1) the presence of Mexican Indians, (2) the under representation of Ottawas in the Membership Group, and (3) the types of intertribal combinations. Tarascan appears in combination with Mohawk--offspring of a cross-tribal marriage in Detroit. Aztec appeared on the list--a person we were unable to interview. The Membership Group is not completely lacking in Ottawas since Ottawa does appear in combination with other Michigan Indians there--Chippewa and Potawatomi, but the Ottawas are considerably under-represented--a situation to which we shall return when we consider pre-migrational data. We analyzed the two groups under consideration, controlling for mixed tribal descent (see Table 4.4), and found no difference. This could not well be done on those persons not interviewed since we had no way of knowing in advance which adult, should we be forced to select on the basis of sex, would be selected. However, since there are ten of mixed tribal descent in that group as opposed to nine and nine in the other two, we do not

suspect that there is a significant difference there or that our sample from the non-members is therefore impaired in any way in this regard. Another way of looking at the tribes is in terms of national origin. We shall do this later when we consider citizenship.

We considered the degree of Indian "blood," utilizing all of our data and controlling for household (Table 4.5) and found no differences between the groups. However, it appeared that if we controlled by fourths there might be significant differences. We did this at the four-fourths level and found a significant difference at $P < .02$, and at the one-half level or more and the significance dropped to a $P < .05$. Our most important findings occurred when we divided our groups at the three-fourths or more degree of Indian descent, $P < .01$, which data is offered in Table 4.7.

We analyzed our groups on their stated ability to speak their tribal languages (Table 4.7) and found that almost half, 42.7 per cent, could do so and that there are no differences between those involved in Pan-Indianism and those who are not. Purely for descriptive purposes, we looked at religion and found that almost 60 per cent are Roman Catholics with the rest mostly Protestant (Table 4.8) and again the groups are comparable. We did, however, note that the Membership Group included one of the Longhouse religion; one, Christian Science; one, self-styled as a

Free Thinker; and that the Non-Membership Group included one who was a member of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Pre-Migrational Data

Map 1 indicates the areas of Michigan Indian emigration to Metropolitan Detroit, the data for which is presented in Table 4.9. We have already noted that large percentages of Ottawas are not participants in Detroit Pan-Indianism and in consequence we elected to look at their points of origin in Michigan. A consideration of this as seen on Map 1 indicates remarkable agreement with the findings of MacLachlan, Rosenberg, and Stanley which were compiled in map form under the direction of Sol Tax of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1957. This increases our confidence in the representativeness of the Ottawas whom we interviewed. Sometimes we hear, however, of rural Indian communities in Michigan, the determination of which left us with something of a problem. This was enhanced by social and cultural change which must have occurred in those very areas since our respondents emigrated. In an effort to solve the dilemma we gathered several types of data: (1) birthplace (Table 4.9); (2) type of birthplace, e.g., rural, urban; (3) migration during the years of socialization, ages 0-17; and (4) the relative ratios of the "best friends" of the parents or foster parents, indicative of the degree of integration of the family of orientation

into the dominant society. Using the modal number of years and the scale on which the respondent indicated the place type, referred to above, we obtained the data reported in Table 4.10 which indicates significant differences at a $P < .01$ level. Essential differences are found in that 53.4 per cent of the Non-Membership Group, essentially the Michigan Indians, were socialized in a non-reservation rural area or in a village whereas 51.4 per cent of the Membership Group were done so on an Indian reservation. The term "village" was used to refer to a concentration of persons of less than 10,000 to avoid confusion with "small city" which was defined as 10,000 and upward to some thirty or forty thousand. When we controlled for rural versus non-rural backgrounds we found no difference. When, however, we controlled for reservation versus non-reservation as a place of socialization (see Table 4.11) we again found the result significant at the $P < .01$ level. We studied those in both groups who have lived on an Indian reservation and found no differences, the mean years of those in the Non-Membership Group being 14.3 and of those in the Membership Group being 15.4. It should also be noted that we have persons who were born on a reservation but not socialized there and that, given Indian schools such as the one which formerly existed at Mt. Pleasant in Michigan, those who were not born on a reservation but who

were socialized on one. Place of socialization is, we believe, more important than place of birth.

Indian reservations in Michigan are small and sometimes adjacent to urban areas, thus affording considerable exchange with the non-Indian white community. The same is true of the Walpole, Moravian, Muncey, and Oneida reservations in Canada, those closest to Detroit. Given possibly differing orientations of individual families toward the dominant society even on reservations, plus possible rural Indian communities in Michigan, we felt that the family of orientation might be more significant than the type of sending place by itself. Assuming that the more an individual is integrated into the dominant society the more white friends he will have in comparison to Indian friends, we used the relative ratio of the number of white friends of the respondent's parents in contrast to the Indian friends of those parents as an indicator of the degree of integration of the family of orientation into the dominant society. The basic data is presented in Table 4.12 and the significance reaches a $P < .001$ and it is dichotomized for comparative purposes in Table 4.13 with the same level of significance. A comparison of all these data would therefore seem to indicate that not only has the Membership Group come more often from reservation areas but that its members, including those from Michigan, have probably come from areas of greater Indian concentration,

since when we move from a consideration of the reservation to the family of orientation the strength of the relationship climbs from a phi of .355 to one of .555. In contrast, those not orienting to Pan-Indianism appear to have come essentially from non-reservation rural communities or villages and have received more often socialization which was oriented more toward the non-Indian segments of society than the Indian.

It is interesting to note that 28.9 per cent of the Non-Membership Group have come from small cities or metropolitan areas whereas 34.2 per cent of the Membership Group has done the same. We have not tested this for significance because we do not believe that such could be achieved, but we do issue the warning that, given a third of the Membership Group coming from urban or metropolitan areas, we should not be hasty to conclude that Pan-Indian identification is purely a function of an Indian-oriented type of socialization.

Has our inability to locate a sizeable portion of the Indian community in metropolitan Detroit seriously affected our study? At this point let us consider the tribes represented most often. Table 4.3 indicates that these are the Ottawas and Chippewas. On inspection we note that the combined frequencies for Ottawas, Chippewas, and Chippewa-Ottawa in the Non-Membership Group is 31 or 68.9 per cent. Had we been able to interview the entire group

of persons on whom we have tribal data, the frequencies would have climbed another 56 and the total number interviewed, another 81. We then would have had 87/126ths or 69.0 per cent. The difference would have been negligible. Those designated as Ottawas would have differed, but we are not sure that some might not be in fact Chippewas or Chippewa-Ottawas.

Migration

It appears that there have been three periods during which heaviest immigration into Metropolitan Detroit has occurred: 1) 1930-1932, 2) 1936-1944, and 3) 1948-1952. These correspond roughly to 1) the economic recession following 1929, 2) the years immediately preceding and during World War II, and 3) the Korean conflict. The data are presented in Table 4.14. The average age at permanent migration into Detroit is between 23 and 25 years (Table 4.15) and the average years of residence has been 25 (Table 4.16). On all of these there is no significant difference between the groups concerned. Given these data, it does not appear that mere passage of years in the metropolis brings with it a lessening of interest in things Indian. Indeed, those actively involved in Pan-Indianism appear to have lived there as long as have those who are not. We have not presented tables dealing with back-migration to the sending-point since only two from the

Membership Group and four from the Non-Membership Group have returned there to live one or more times following the first move to Detroit. Both groups seem, therefore, to be well-established in the metropolis.

Does one group maintain more meaningful social relationships with their tribesmen in rural areas than the other? To ascertain this we queried our respondents on two matters: (1) the relative ratio of kinsmen, first cousin or closer, remaining in the rural area, and (2) the relative ratio of their best firends living there. Our raw data on kinsmen is presented in Table 4.17, with a significant difference of $P < .02$; and that on best friends in Table 4.19, with a significant difference of $P < .01$. In order to assess the relative importance of the two we dichotomized our data at about one-half or more living in such areas and found that the Membership Group have both more kinsmen (Table 4.18), $P < .01$; and friends (Table 4.20), $P < .01$, living there but that the strength of the relationship is stronger on kinsmen than on friends. The phi coefficient on the former reaches .371 but on the latter, .346. Considering the two together, this would suggest that persons concerned with Pan-Indianism maintain closer social relationships with their rural tribesmen than do others (see also Table 5.42). While both groups appear, therefore, well-established in the metropolis, the

Pan-Indian group maintains the more active social relationships with its rural tribesmen.

Table 4.9 suggests that (aside from the question of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Chippewa-Ottawa--a point already considered) important differences between the two groups might lie in the point of national origin. In order to analyze this we have used the criterion of current national citizenship (Table 4.21). Most of those involved in Pan-Indianism in Detroit assert that the country of birth is of minor importance since the Jay Treaty affords Canadian Indians the opportunity of crossing the border and residing in the United States without the restrictions placed on non-Indians and that "the border is white man's doing anyway." Nonetheless, border-crossing does pose inconveniences and even continued residence in the United States does not mean official citizenship with full social participation, e.g., the privilege of voting. While 50 per cent of the Membership Group are Canadian citizens, 11.1 per cent of the Non-Membership Group are. This difference could not have occurred by chance-- $P < .001$. An interesting observation made during the course of our field work was that of the 24 Canadian Indians interviewed only one has altered citizenship. This was a detribalized male who has been employed as a CPA most of his life by the U.S. government. Considering this, it appears that neither group tends to alter citizenship, given long-time residence in

the U.S. When we weigh national citizenship against reservation background for our Detroit Indians, we find that the former is the stronger with a phi of .431 as compared to .355. We comment at this point that the marriage of a Canadian Indian female to a U.S. citizen involves loss of tribal status. Since this is related to our variable of tribal marginality, we reserve comment until the variable is analyzed.

Has our inability to interview everyone in the non-membership category affected our findings? Our raw data suggests that among the 81 on whom we have relatively good data 13 were of Canadian origin. Had this been added to the 6, which includes the one who altered his citizenship, the percentage would have raised from 13.3 per cent to 15.1 per cent in the Non-Membership Group. This assumes that we would have been able to have interviewed everyone. In the Non-Membership Group there appeared two persons from Canadian tribes who were born in Buffalo, New York. These were not included in our frequencies on persons of Canadian origin. When we determined the point of origin of those not interviewed we used tribe as the indicator of nationality. Had we done the same, without knowledge of birthplace, for the Non-Membership Group, the resultant change had everyone been interviewed would have dropped from 17.8 per cent to 15.1 per cent. Considering this,

we do not believe that this portion of missed respondents would have affected the results of our study on this point.

The Household

Newcomb (1955:1043; 1956:120) considered that cross-tribal marriage was one of the important factors leading to Pan-Indianism. Howard (1955:219) believed it to be both the cause and the effect of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, Newcomb (1956:120) believed that the marriage of Indians to non-Indians worked against Pan-Indianism and was contributive toward complete assimilation. We do not deny that marriage to a non-Indian may be contributive to assimilation or that it constitutes a social bridge to the dominant society. It may not necessarily lead to assimilation but to a marginal status between Indians and non-Indians. Given rejection by non-Indians, on the other hand, it may lead to withdrawal from the non-Indian society. We have been interested in noting the contributions of our data.

Table 4.22 presents our data on marital status by group and indicates that there is a significant difference in the ratio of unmarried persons involved in Pan-Indianism, $P < .05$, with the Membership Group having the higher number. These are all females. Because of the high rate of non-Indian marriages, we were unable to meaningfully analyze intertribal marriages as opposed to intratribal ones. We could, however, consider marriage to another Indian as

opposed to that with a non-Indian. This data is presented in Table 4.23 and is non-significant in that it does not reach the $P < .05$ level. It does, however, reach the $P < .10$ level which is suggestive. From our knowledge of the Membership Group it appears that marriage to other Indians often occurs after identification with the Association which suggests that it is the effect rather than the cause of Pan-Indianism, although we would not deny that the former exists elsewhere. We considered the marriage of Michigan Indians to Michigan Indians, Michigan Indians to non-Michigan but U.S. Indians, and U.S. Indians to Canadian Indians and found the results in every case to be non-significant.

During our interviewing we felt that we observed that the Membership Group boarded other Indians more often than the Non-Membership Group and that this would attest, in a sense, Indian hospitality. Accordingly, we analyzed household size and also the number of children per family. The former is presented in Table 4.24 and the latter in Table 4.25. In neither case is there a significant difference. The average household size for the Non-Membership Group is 4.4 although it ranges from one to nine. The average for the Membership Group is 3.9 and ranges from one to eight. The average number of children for the Non-Membership Group is 2.3 and for the Membership Group, 1.7. It should be recalled that four per family or household is

a fairly good estimate when considering households against population, but it should also be remembered that the mean age for the Non-Membership Group is 45.9 as compared to 46.8 for the Membership Group. Since this probably means that many children have re-moved already, our household sizes are probably affected. Considering these data which we have, however, our total persons in the Membership Group are 117 and those in the Non-Membership Group are 198 with a total of 315. Considering the 75 households, this gives us an average size of 4.2. In Table 3.1 we listed our original findings. Using the average of 4.2, we could project a population size of 4,095. Considering those whom we believed to be living in Metropolitan Detroit, 640 households, we would have had a population of 2,688. This would not have included the Indian population which has either moved out of the metropolis or into it and, consequently, we would not wish to project beyond this point. We do not suggest that this projected Indian population is nearly complete, but it is what we have been able to project from our own efforts.

The Metropolis

Our area of field work is indicated on Map 2, the data for which is presented in Table 4.26. Here we describe briefly certain areas of the metropolis which are relevant to this study. The description is not meant to be

exhaustive but is offered only to throw light on the areas in which our respondents live and in which we did our interviewing. The numbers on the map refer to mailing zones. Since the digits "48" precede all of these, they have not been reproduced. We subdivided the area according to these zones for purposes of economy in our interviewing and, accordingly, our areas and data are coded to conform with this field work. In addition, their use on the map serves as coordinates for purposes of discussion. The modern metropolis is a complex phenomenon and in metropolitan Detroit slum areas are interspersed in semi-slum areas and even better neighborhoods, ghettos are interspersed in and adjacent to non-ghettos, etc. This advice is offered since, when we describe the metropolis, we do not mean necessarily "all" or "solid" when we use such terms, but rather "the presence of."

If one were to draw a line from the eastern boundary of our area, the Detroit River, through 216 to 208, then in a northeasterly direction to 211 and back in an easterly direction midway between the star and 214, one would include the primary slum areas; although they are also to be found at about 214 and extending from the area toward 203. Semi-slum areas are to be found throughout the same general area heretofore mentioned but extending beyond them essentially into 204, then northward and east of 238, then into the western half of 203, and south again

to 211. Areas inhabited primarily by Negro Americans also extend throughout this same general territory. The area of highest migrancy, characterized by cheap hotels and transients, is in the heart of downtown Detroit, primarily at 201. It was in these areas where we were unable to locate and interview 32 persons, or 30.9 per cent of the group not interviewed. In these same areas, however, we did interview 22.9 per cent of our Membership Group and 13.3 per cent of our Non-Membership Group, as a review of Table 4.26 will indicate. While this is informative, we do not know for sure the meaning of so gross a measure because the actual nature of the residential areas is so apt to change considerably and within a few blocks. For this reason, our measures on residential area, degree of racial integration characteristic of the neighborhood, house type, and social class are the better ones.

We have indicated on Map 1 the riot areas of 1967 (Corsi, 1968:162,163). The areas of primary activity were approximately where we have placed the wording. These were heavily oriented toward race and were not necessarily in the lowest residential areas or in the poorest housing areas of the metropolis. The riots occurred after we had compiled the lists from which we were to sample and prior to our interviewing. Indians were threatened and bewildered by this activity. Only a few evidently lived in the immediate areas of the activity. From our knowledge two were

shot but not killed in the confusion. One, who had entered a burned and looted super market with friends for food; and the other, a visiting lad from a Canadian reservation, who went into the west side area to see what was going on and was standing with the crowd. When the crowd was ordered to stop, it dispersed but the Indian lad, because he did not know the metropolis and because he was bewildered by it anyway--according to our informants, started to run but did not know where to go. We felt that the riots perhaps contributed to our failure to find some of our possible respondents. Review of the map will indicate that very few of our informants were in the areas concerned and none in the areas of primary activity.

Certain features of the metropolis are interesting when we consider the location of those Indians interviewed. Generally speaking, Michigan Indians and those married to Michigan Indians live scattered across the metropolis. The same is true of Indian immigrants from areas in the United States which are outside of Michigan. We have indicated heretofore that the largest reservations and those most adjacent to Detroit are in Canada. The primary route to the Walpole reservation is US 25. This extends in a straight line outward from 213 through 205 and 066. This reservation contains, as does the Sarnia Reservation adjacent to it, mostly Ojibwa and Potawatomi Indians, and, interestingly, most from these areas are to be found in 080,

066, 021, 205, and 236. Since 236 is one of the elite residential areas in the metropolis, we were not surprised to find the respondent moved. The same can be said for 080. Other reservations which contribute heavily to the Detroit Indian population are the Caughnawaga, Moravian, Muncey, Oneida, and Six Nations reserves. There are two exits from the metropolis primarily used by Indians migrating back and forth from these areas. These are the tunnel under the Detroit River (just east of the star on the map) and the bridge (east of 216). From these areas have come mostly Delaware, Mohawk, Ojibwa, Oneida, Onondaga, and Caldwell Potawatomi. Most transients, and some who have not adjusted well to the metropolis, live at 201, an area already discussed. It is here in the area of Third and Cass that the "Red Ghetto" (Detroit News, March 5, 1970) is located. It is in this area that are located the city rescue missions. This is a mixed neighborhood but largely white and Indian--in the relevant area. The particular subsection of concern is only a few square blocks with Indians favoring residence in some of the buildings. There are two, perhaps three, bars in the area which are favored by the Indians. We both pretested and interviewed in this area. The Indian population of the area is small in comparison to that in the rest of the city. Non-transients from the reservations and tribes last mentioned apparently favor the bridge as a point of exit from the metropolis

and are most often found in the areas indicated on the map by 216, 210, 209, 217, 122, 218, and 192b. Generally speaking, the Indian population appears to be interspersed among the rest of the population.

Considering the metropolis as a whole, it is very difficult to explain or analyze differences either between respondents interviewed or to assess the possible effects on our study which relate to those whom we were not able to interview. Because our study deals in part with the phenomenon of social class, we elected to record for every address house type (Appendix B-3) and residential area (Appendix B-4) according to the criteria of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960). Because of the possible effects of the 1967 race riots on our study, the possible relevance of the civil rights movement to those involved in Pan-Indianism, and the possible social distance existing between Indian Americans and Negro Americans, we elected also to assess via an ordinal scale the relative percentages of Negro Americans living in each area we visited (Appendix B-5). When we combine the first two measures we get a very rough indication of social class for all concerned, and when we *add* the third our total picture of each of the areas should *be* far more complete.

Our raw data on residential areas (Table 4.27), degree of racial integration characteristic of the neighborhood (Table 4.28), and house type (Table 4.29) suggests that

there are no significant differences in any of these between the Membership Group and the Non-Membership Group. The Membership Group does live in somewhat lower residential areas and poorer house types but the χ^2 in each case suggests that such could have occurred purely by accident and therefore does not merit serious consideration. In Metropolitan Detroit 9.3 per cent of our Indians interviewed come from above average residential areas, 54.7 per cent from average areas, 21.3 per cent from below average areas, and 14.7 per cent from low or slum districts. With regard to house type, 9.3 per cent live in above average houses, 36.0 per cent in average houses, 30.7 per cent in fair but somewhat below average houses, and 24 per cent in poor and very poor houses. On the matter of the degree of racial integration characteristic of the neighborhood, 76 per cent live in communities containing no Negroes, 16 per cent in communities containing some but less than one-half Negroes, and 8 per cent in neighborhoods which contain mostly Negroes or all Negroes other than the family concerned.

Has our study been impaired by our failure to interview those missed among the non-members in the subjects *under* consideration? Our data comparing the Non-Membership *group* with those not interviewed on residential area (Table 4.30), degree of racial integration characteristic of the neighborhood (Table 4.32), and house type (Table 4.34),

indicates that in each case there is a significant difference. The greatest difference, $\phi = .313$, is in residential areas where those not interviewed are found to be from consistently lower areas than the Non-Membership Group. The next most important difference, $\phi = .281$, is in the matter of house type where again those not interviewed live in consistently poorer houses, especially at the lowest levels. The area of least difference, $\phi = .267$, is in the degree of racial segregation characteristic of the neighborhood. On this more of those not interviewed were found to be from areas of "more than half or all" Negroes, whereas more of the Non-Membership Group were from areas of "about half or less than half" Negroes. We added the data from those not interviewed to that of the Membership Group to see if it would have made a difference in our analysis. This combined measure was analyzed against the Membership Group, as if every person sampled were living at his former address and had been interviewed. The final analysis on residential area (Table 4.31), degree of racial segregation characteristic of the neighborhood (Table 4.33), and house type (Table 4.35) is exactly congruent with our first comparisons made on the two groups under analysis herein--no significant difference. It thus appears that our analysis has not been hampered by the lack of this type of evidence since, even if we had it, our findings remain unchanged.

Social Class

We suggested in the beginning that we would offer some data on social class. This can be conceptualized in the context of vertical mobility in the class structure of the dominant society, i.e., achievement. Although we have already described weights for the criteria of education, occupation, and pay, we suggested that the more ready and easily understood measures of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:149-154) would be used, thus making these findings more broadly applicable. The rationale has been already discussed under our chapter on "Research Design." The method has the advantage of combining measures in a more composite picture.

Most of the Indians in Metropolitan Detroit can be described as being in the upper-lower class (Table 4.36). There is no significant difference between the Membership Group and the Non-Membership Group on this matter. We combined upper-middle with lower-middle in the analysis since two households were found in the Non-Membership Group in the lowest strata of that category, and we termed all those so concerned as middle class. In order to further check our findings we ran the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test (Siegel, 1956:132-136) which utilized all our data on each of the substrata within the class divisions and found even less difference than we had with our chi-square test. Following this, we turned to other areas of analysis to see

what, if any, differences might exist between the two groups under analysis.

We have seen that there are no differences between the two groups on residential area and house type. We measured educational achievement on the Indian respondent, controlled for household, in as precise means as we could devise, by the actual number of years of schooling completed (Table 4.37) and again found no significant differences between the two groups. The mean achievement by the Non-Membership Group was 10.1 years and by the Membership Group, 9.9 years. Consideration of the table indicates that more in the Membership Group have had some college training, but the combined data do not allow us to predict with confidence that such data are not accidental.

Our analysis of occupational achievement utilized data taken on the head of the household (Table 4.38) according to the seven-step scale of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:140,141). On comparison, we found no significant differences. Most are at step five or below for both groups. When we compared the groups using weekly take-home pay (Table 4.39), we again found no difference. In order to make this more understandable we presented the complete data in terms of the annual take-home pay of the head of the household (Table 4.40). Here we also used the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test and found the results non-significant. The median take-home pay for both groups

is slightly over \$8,000 per year. Not only, therefore, on the measures of Warner, Meeker, and Eells, which used residential area, house type, and occupational step, but also on the other measures of education and take-home pay, we have found both the Non-Membership Group and Membership Group similar.

Summary

In this chapter we have presented demographic data in a manner designed to make our findings useful both to others doing research on metropolitan Indians and as a background against which our subsequent findings can be interpreted. We have presented pre-migrational information on all persons whom we interviewed. Given migration into the metropolis, we have controlled for household. Our findings of non-significance are as worthwhile to present at this point as are those which reach a level of significant difference in that the former demonstrate variables on which the two groups being studied do not differ. Essentially, they suggest that differences between the groups on any of these phenomena can be attributed to chance and therefore cannot with confidence be considered *in this study* either as correlates of or antecedents to *Pan-Indianism*. We have asked if our control, the Non-Membership Group, against which our significant findings have and will be made, is biased and therefore impaired

because of our inability to interview a higher ratio of those sampled. We did this in all areas where we had information on those who were not interviewed by adding it to that of the Non-Membership Group, as if we had found every respondent living at the address which we had for him and he had met our criteria and we had interviewed with 100 per cent efficiency, and then reanalyzing our data.

Generalizing on Indians in Metropolitan Detroit as a whole and as we found them, we offer the following. Almost all are immigrants with a mean residence of about 25 years. Most appear to come from outstate Michigan, then from reservations in southeastern Canada, and least from more distant areas in the United States. The rate of marriage to non-Indians is high, being at about 80 per cent. Most are relatively well-adapted to life in the metropolis as indicated by years of continuous residence with practically no back-migration except to visit. We do not pretend to know how many Indians are living in the metropolis, but, assuming that as many have moved in as have moved out since we compiled our original lists, we predicted, using the same relative ages and household sizes as we found for our combined groups, a population of at least 2,688 although we know that there are more. As a rule, Indians appear to be interspersed in the general population throughout the area but with disproportionately

fewer in the Negro ghettos. Those from Canada appear to favor areas adjacent to routes leading from the metropolis, and those who are temporary transients of a few weeks appear to be located in the so-called "migrant zone" in the center of the metropolis where there are a few bars where they often congregate. Using the Warner, Meeker, and Eells system of assigning social class, we found about 60 per cent describable as upper-lower class with the remainder about equally divided between lower-lower and lower-middle. About two-thirds claim to be one-half or more of Indian descent and half said they could speak their tribal languages. Approximately 60 per cent are Roman Catholic and the rest mostly Protestant, although we have talked to some who are of the Longhouse Religion or who belong to the Native American Church.

We found our two groups comparable on general matters such as age, sex, whether the individual was of mixed tribal ancestry or not, the ability to speak one's tribal language, degree of Indian ancestry when measured by fourths, and in distribution across the metropolis. When we looked at the pre-migrational factor of whether or not the individual had been reared in an urban (small city) or metropolis versus those who were not, we found them again comparable with about 35 per cent in each receiving such socialization. Looking at migrational data we found them again comparable on such matters as the time of migration,

age at migration, years of continued residence in Metropolitan Detroit, and only about ten per cent or less back-migration to live following the first move to Detroit.

In the metropolis, we found them comparable on the rate of marriages with whites, although a 10 per cent level of confidence is achieved on the Membership Group. They are also comparable on both household size and the number of children per family. They live in comparable types of housing and residential areas, and over 70 per cent in both live in neighborhoods containing no Negroes. There is no difference in social class between the groups and when we looked closely at education, occupation, and pay we found them almost identical.

We did not attempt to correlate our significant findings because of internal variations within the data itself. The family of orientation, conjugal family of one's parents or foster parents, does not always coincide with the place of socialization. One's rural tribesmen or Indian friends may or may not live in Indian communities. Current national citizenship for Canada usually means a reservation background, though not always; and for Michigan Indians, usually means a non-reservation place of socialization, though not always. There is no real 1:1 relationship. Taken together, however, our significant findings do seem to imply for the Membership Group a more heavily oriented reservation or rural Indian community pre-migrational

background than for the Non-Membership Group. We feel that our best measures are our phi coefficients themselves without attempting to correlate data which are sometimes incongruous.

The significant differences between our groups--found in this chapter--have been arranged in rank order according to their phi coefficients and are presented in Table 4.41. Since we have been careful to reduce all tables to two by two types and at the points where the differences were greatest, these coefficients are both comparable with each other and also evaluated to indicate their greatest relative strengths. It will be noted that the findings appear to group themselves according to the level of significance reached. Those which are very significant, $P < .001$, appear to rise above others concerning either the reservation as a place of socialization or the continued social relationships with one's rural or reservation tribesmen in strength of relationship with Pan-Indianism. Apparently the family of orientation is suggestive not only of reservation background but also of more concentrated rural Indian communities in Michigan. Apparently also, current national citizenship is suggestive of more than reservation background because it not only rises above it in strength, but because we recall that a number of reservation Indians are not from Canada but from the United States, especially in the Non-Membership Group.

We believe its significance for Pan-Indianism in Detroit lies in the detribalization of Canadian Indian females following marriage to U.S. citizens, a point we shall analyze later.

We asked if our control group has been biased due to our inability to interview some in that category. We believe not. We found that large numbers of Michigan Indians, especially Ottawas, are not participants in Pan-Indianism. However, when we added all known data on Michigan Indians to that which we already have in our control group and reanalyzed our data, we found that our findings were not altered at all. In fact, the percentage of the Michigan Indians would have been increased by only one-tenth of one per cent, from 68.9 per cent to 69.0 per cent. Our ratio of Canadian Indians was low in the Non-Membership Group in comparison to the Membership Group. Among those in the former group interviewed we found six, or 13.3 per cent. Using tribe as an indicator of national origin we found that, by adding known data from those not interviewed, the ratio jumped 1.8 per cent, from 13.3 per cent to 15.1 per cent. We then stated that tribe is not a perfect indicator since even among those interviewed in the Non-Membership Group two who professed descent from Canadian tribes were born in a U.S. metropolis. Given the same potential for those not interviewed, we asserted that we do not believe that our control has been biased by the

failure to obtain a representative number of Canadian Indians. We had no means of predicting for sure on urban or metropolitan types of socialization between the Non-Membership Group and those not interviewed. Finally, we attempted to study the persons not interviewed in comparison with the Non-Membership Group to determine what differences might exist. We found that these were present with our Non-Membership Group not living as often in the lowest residential areas, the poorest house types, or in the Negro ghettos. This difference did not, however, impair our control because, when we added the data from the two and replicated our analysis of the Membership Group in comparison with those known never to have been members, the results did not vary at all. The data did suggest, nonetheless, that very likely persons might have moved because of the riots in the summer of 1967 or that those missed were, perhaps, more highly itinerant.

Our bias, if there is one, appears in the ratio of males to females. Although the Membership Group and the Non-Membership Group are comparable on this, females appear to outnumber males by about two to one. We cannot explain this from our data apart from speculation but we note that Hurt (1961-1962) found much the same. His study was in Yankton, South Dakota, an urban area not nearly as large as Metropolitan Detroit and one which is not only closer to a reservation but one which is much larger than those

adjacent to Detroit. Following five years of research, he also found females to considerably outnumber the males in Yankton and attributed the same to the more transient lifeways of the males. Perhaps, therefore, ours is not bias but reflective of actual conditions as they are.

CHAPTER V

SOME CORRELATES OF PARTICIPATION IN THE
NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ASSOCIATION
OF DETROIT

In Chapter II we considered the emergence and characteristics of contemporary Pan-Indianism in the U.S. metropolis as illustrated by the North American Indian Association of Detroit. From the general perspective of revitalization we observed phenomena in the larger society to which the group has responded, the type of reaction engendered, and the effect of these in shaping the organization in each of the various eras, finally making it what it is today. In diachronic perspective all of these in combination and mutual interaction, which predate 1968, can be considered as antecedant--contributive--to the resultant or dependent variable of Pan-Indianism under study. Our primary interest there centered on issues largely external to the individual, although quite obviously meaningful to him. The focus of this chapter is quite different. Here, our search for antecedant factors centers on the relationships between certain specified variables which are assumed to be stress-provoking, i.e.,

meaningful internally, and metropolitan Pan-Indianism. Assuming that the organization in question is a response to the independent variables under study, it seems fair on the face of it to expect that active participants will exhibit those attributes more often than will non-members. Accordingly, we deal with the responses of individuals to our interview schedule, i.e., stimulus, testing specifically the hypotheses offered in Chapter I, where we also presented the theoretical basis and operational measures underlying our present discussion.

The basic plan of this chapter is to consider each of the minor hypotheses first, then the major hypothesis, and finally the two major hypotheses together. Incorporated into the plan are several devices used to improve the quality of our offerings:

1. We have been interested in controlling for diverse factors which might affect our findings. Because of the strictures placed upon us by the relatively small numbers in each of the two groups under comparison, we found ourselves limited in the controls which might be effectively employed. For this reason we exercised care in the presentation of our data in Chapter IV, noting areas in which there are no significant differences between the groups and those in which there are. We reasoned that those phenomena on which significant differences were found to exist might affect our findings here. These have been

presented in rank order in Table 4.41, Appendix C. In converse, those phenomena on which the groups are similar, i.e., no significant differences exist, should not be expected to materially affect our findings reported herein because, whatever the effect of the attribute in question, its effect would be relatively the same in both of the groups, except for chance variation.

2. Because a major portion of our analysis concerns current aspirations in the areas of education, occupation, and pay, we have consistently controlled for maximal comparability in this chapter by eliminating in analysis the responses of all persons in both groups found to be incurably ill and from women found married to men who are retired. This reduced our Membership Group to 32 and our Non-Membership Group to 39.

3. Following the presentation of the basic data, pertinent to a hypothesis in question and used in correlation, we usually make use of differing controls which are relevant and feasible in the light of our data to provide what further insights we can.

4. We are often able to offer supplemental data on the variable through a series of pertinent and differing measurements which utilize other, but relevant, data and which offer somewhat different perspectives. These shall be explained, when given, along with the controls used. They are sometimes important, especially in the

search for antecedant factors where implications of time are desirous.

5. Most of our data in this chapter are subjective, i.e., they deal with perceptions and valence. We feel this relevant in the light of revitalization theory, i.e., (Wallace, 1956:265): "...the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive...they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory..." We have, however, also used objective measures as often as possible. In addition, we have suggested that this entire chapter be considered in the light of the objective data offered in Chapter IV.

6. In all cases the acceptance of our hypotheses rests not on a single measure but on several. Only following a summary of all of our findings do we make the decision to accept or reject.

7. We shall present in this chapter only the hypotheses offered, i.e., the alternate hypotheses, in Chapter I. This introduces consistency and, we believe, avoids ambiguity. All of these predictions have been made in a manner which requires that relatively more persons in the Membership Group exhibit the attribute under analysis than in the Non-Membership Group, i.e., the tests are specified as one-tailed in the positive direction at the .05 level of confidence. Every test is made against the operating hypothesis, sometimes called the null hypothesis,

which in every case is simply that the Membership Group will not differ significantly from the Non-Membership Group in our findings or, if it does, that it will do so in the opposite direction. This being stated here, it seems rather meaningless to do so on each particular test which we shall subsequently make.

8. Since we have been forced to use the chi square in analysis we have taken certain precautions. We have not used the machine method which lumps all of the data and which, therefore, makes for loss of certain information. Rather, we have manipulated these data via the long method which allows us to assess the contributions of the various cell-square contingencies. This assists in making our decision regarding the direction of the difference, if one is found to exist. For the convenience of the reader we place beside the observed frequency in each cell the observed percentage of that cell for the particular group. This, in itself, offers some added information. If the finding is found to be non-significant, it shall be reported as n.s. This includes significance in the wrong direction. If it is significant in the wrong direction, this shall be reported under the table. We shall report the level of confidence or significance, P (the probability that our finding might have occurred by accident or chance) in a two-tailed manner (Blalock, 1960:452, Table 1), this being in keeping with the customary tables. Since the test

is one-tailed, the reader should bear in mind that we always divide the reported P by two when making a decision to accept or reject (Blalock, 1960:218).

9. In our search for antecedant variables in this chapter we have made an effort not only to determine what correlations might exist and to determine antecedants in terms of time, but antecedants in terms of predictability (Guilford, 1956:333):

One of the most important fruits of scientific investigation and one of the most exacting tests of any hypothesis is the ability to make predictions. . . . Particularly is this true for the reason that statistical reasoning is basic to all predictions. Statistical ideas not only guide us in framing statements of a predictive nature but also enable us to say something definite concerning how trustworthy our predictions are--about how much error should one expect in the phenomenon predicted. The practical significance of this cannot be questioned.

This relates to the question, "How sure are we that identification with Pan-Indianism, i.e., the Membership Group, is the result of the variable under analysis rather than the other way around?" Conceivably, prediction might exist in one direction only, either way; in both directions, but with different meanings; or not at all. To do this we shall use the principle of maximum likelihood and offer the forecasting efficiency, FE , under each table, if this is in the direction allowing predictability from the hypothesized independent variable(s) toward the hypothesized dependent variable. This figure is always a percentage in terms of gain in predictability over an expected, chance

prediction without the knowledge in the table. When we consider the total populations, Membership Group = 32 and Non-Membership Group = 39, the expected likelihood of chance prediction is 54.9 per cent. The FE reported, therefore, gives us a measure of predictability beyond the expected 54.9 per cent.

10. Finally, given comparability in the numbers of cells in our tables, the reported phi coefficients allow us to measure the relative strengths of relationships in a consistent and meaningful manner. In addition, when used in correlation (see "Response Significance as by Phi," Guilford, 1956:339,340), they also have predictive meaning. All tables are located in Appendix C.

Hypothesis Ia: Disjunction between aspirations and achievements and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

This variable deals specifically with vertical social mobility in the social class system of the larger society as measurable in three goal areas: education, occupation, and pay. Since non-Indians as well as Indians might experience a disjunction between their aspirations and achievements in any of these areas and also stress associated with the same, the variable in itself does not specifically relate to Indianness or Pan-Indianism. If, however, disjunction and associated stress in any one or more of these areas is found to be also associated with

the perception that one is disadvantaged because he is identified as an Indian by and in comparison with non-Indians, Hypothesis Ib (relative deprivation and associated stress) and Hypothesis Ic (discrimination for being Indian), we believe that Hypothesis Ia takes on relevance.

Considering Indians as a whole in the metropolis, we observed that they might "pass" or attempt to "pass" into the non-Indian segment of the larger society at any level of achievement--the lowest as well as those higher--and that a Pan-Indian organization might contain its comparable share of well-trained "successful" Indians, usually as leaders. This led us to suspect that, if we compare Indians with Indians, Pan-Indianism is not a function of inferior social status, i.e., that those who are actively involved in Pan-Indianism do not achieve less highly than those who are not. The perspective of revitalization led us to predict that those involved in the phenomenon would be more often dissatisfied with their current level of achievement and experience stress associated with the same more often than others. Since we found in Chapter IV that the Membership Group does not differ significantly from the Non-Membership Group in any of the areas of class achievement, we move with greater confidence to the testing of our hypotheses. As explained in Chapter I, unachieved aspirations is synonymous with the disjunction between aspirations and achievements or, a discrepancy between the

two. This D (disjunction) is most often dichotomized into a "presence" or "absence." When associated with a positive score on V (valence of failure) which is the expressed feeling of psychological discomfort should the respondent fail to achieve a given aspiration, we have the measure of "associated stress" for the given area. Thus, a respondent who expresses himself as aspiring to a goal which he has not achieved (D) and also who expresses himself as feeling psychological discomfort should he not achieve it (V) is recorded under the "present" category in our tables, indicating the measure of associated stress. Those who have no D measure and the very few with it but without the corresponding V are grouped with those having neither under the "absent" category. Non-significant findings are taken to indicate equivalence, significant findings in the wrong direction to indicate "lesser," and significant findings on the Membership Group in the predicted direction to indicate "greater."

Education

We recorded our data on education in terms of actual years of formal schooling, which in turn was reduced to a seven-point scale (Appendix B-6). Due to the mean ages of the two groups, approximately 46 years each (Table 4.1), a meaningful measure of this variable in the area of education, using current aspirations and current achievements, was impossible. We, therefore, have elected to use

as an alternate the (D) disjunction between the respondent's former aspirations, during the last few years while he was in school, and his current achievement. Table 5.1 presents the data in a dichotomized form showing significance at the $< .01$ level. For greater refinement we analyzed this by step and found it again significant at the $< .01$ level (Table 5.2). This latter test was made on the assumption that greater stress can be assumed to be associated with greater discrepancy (cf. also Parker and Kleiner, 1966:90), which has been found to be generally significant (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:94,95) for this age group. Since most are migrants after schooling was completed, excepting one in the Non-Membership Group and two in the Membership Group, it seems fair to assert that this finding is antecedant in time as well as being statistically so.

Noting the emphasis of the North American Indian Association upon educational achievement, we wondered if its members had aspired higher while still in school, only to fail more often as indicated by the comparability of the groups, than the Non-Members. Accordingly, we analyzed the data in terms of this former aspiration (Table 5.3) and found the differences even more significant, at the $< .001$ level. It seems fair to assume that greater stress could be expected, given higher aspirational achievement, especially at the college level where the greatest differences

occur. Since it might be argued that we should have controlled for achievement somehow, we reanalyzed our data, noting that the father of the respondents usually achieved an elementary school education or less and used this as an indicator of the educational status of the family of orientation, it seems appropriate to assume that the greater the discrepancy between the educational achievement of one's father and his own former educational aspirations for himself, the greater the associated stress--i.e., the more intense his desire to achieve beyond the conditions under which he was reared, or to escape it. Controlling, therefore, for the educational achievement of one's father at levels 6 and 7, we assessed the discrepancy (Table 5.4) to find it significant at the $< .01$ level. We note for this measure that those among the omissions, 11 in the Non-Membership Group and 6 in the Membership Group, had no idea of the educational achievement of the father.

Following the items which asked the respondent for his aspirations and achievement, we asked each for his aspirations for a hypothetical son. The measure of a discrepancy between this and Ego's educational achievement was in part a replication of that taken by Parker and Kleiner (1966:59-61), who found significant correlations between it and mental illness. They assumed that "in these hypothetical situations the individual projects onto the hypothetical son the goal striving which he, himself, is

experiencing" (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:59). It appeared to us that the measure would be apt in the area of assumed stress and, in the case of education, especially appropriate. Most of our respondents indicated that they would wish for a college or professional education for the hypothetical son, but with the Membership Group leading at a $< .01$ level of confidence (Table 5.5). Following our pre-test, we discussed the matter of valence in this area with Parker, who suggested an item which would operationalize it: "Would you do your best to help provide him with funds to get this type of education that we have been talking about?" (Item 41, Appendix B-1). We found the responses on this to be significant in the proper direction at the $< .10$ level, $< .05$ one-tailed. When we reflected on the aspirations we could not escape the notion that some asserted a college education for the sake of appearances to the interviewer. We also observed that a measure which reflected an aspiration of high school education, given metropolitan residence, for a hypothetical son, when combined with one's own education to give a discrepancy, might not be too meaningful since the high school education was also relatively meaningless. Therefore, in devising our measure we utilized college education, combined with willingness to help (Table 5.7) and found the results significant at the $< .05$ level, one-tailed. We report the results because we feel them informative, although we

personally feel somewhat dissatisfied with them since we believe they may be subject to error.

Summarizing in the area of education, we have found the results significant in each of the tests, although we have not been able to provide a relevant measure of valence as associated with the disjunction between the respondent's former aspirations for himself and his eventual achievement. One measure which may improve this in part is a correlation between this and his perception of being deprived in this very area, relative to non-Indians--a measure which we shall subsequently discuss. We have indicated that we think our measure on the hypothetical son is subject to error. This, in our opinion, is directional in a manner which decreases the actual significance which we obtained. Thinking that this might occur, we decided prior to our interviewing to query each respondent regarding children in, anticipating, or through college--or if without children, siblings. The results of this are interesting.

	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group
Specific statement of goals for children via a college education	7	8
Money laid aside for the above education	(0)	(4)
A child, brother, or self anticipating college in fall semester	1	3
One or more children in college now	1	7
One or more children with a college or professional degree now	1	8
Total	10	26

Thinking in terms of actual commitment, it appears to us that these data are indicative of greater concern, stress, on the part of the Membership Group for higher education for their children. Furthermore, this is in keeping with the purposes for which most of the monies of the organization are raised.

Occupation

Our basic scale used in measuring occupational aspirations and achievement was that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:140,141), although we included in the disjunction category aspirations for another job than the one the respondent currently held providing he felt it better. Using this, plus the measure of valence of failure, our basic data on the disjunction between aspirations and achievement and associated stress in the goal area of occupation (Table 5.8) is significant at the $< .01$ level. It is relevant, given female respondents, to raise the question of whether or not the individual aspires to full-time work or to a part-time job. Controlling for females, we therefore tested for this (Table 5.9) finding no significant difference between the groups, although it appears that there may be a tendency for women in the Membership Group to aspire more often to part-time or full-time work than in the Non-Membership Group. Subjecting our data to re-analysis, this time controlling for full-time work (Table 5.10), we found significance again at the $< .02$ level.

These measures indicate dissatisfaction with current occupational status and aspirations for something other, almost always higher, than that which the respondent now has.

When we considered occupational achievement in Chapter IV (Table 4.38), based on the head of the household, we found no significant differences between the groups. Since it is possible for women to achieve social status, occupational in this particular case, through marriage, we reasoned that some might relinquish occupational aspirations for themselves following marriage or that a measure relating to them alone might not have the same meaning that it would have for the household of which they are a part. In this case we assume that the family or household is an economic and cooperative unit. Accordingly, we analyzed our data for the disjunction between occupational aspirations and associated stress for the head of the household, controlling by using the male in the marriage relationship or else the female if unmarried (Table 5.11), and found significance at the $< .01$ level. This is not the whole story because, considering the occupational aspirations of each respondent for the head of the household in comparison to the achievement of the same (Table 5.12), there is a significance at a level of $< .001$. The reduction of this to the $< .01$ level in the previous table was due to the fact that every woman in the Non-Membership Group and all but two in the Membership Group said that she would not care at all if her

spouse failed to achieve her aspired occupation for him. Nonetheless, the measure, taken both ways, confirms greater occupational stress at the family or household level for the Membership Group than the Non-Membership Group.

We were interested in inferring time in our measures on occupational status. In thinking of the span from the past to the present we sought to analyze the presence or absence of a disjunction between one's previous occupational aspirations for himself (Item 54, Appendix B-1) versus his current occupational achievement. For reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph, we did not feel it fair to include non-working females in the category evidencing a discrepancy and, accordingly, relegated them to the "absent" category. When we made our analysis (Table 5.13), we found a significance at the $< .001$ level. Another means of inferring time is to think in terms of the present in comparison to the projected future. This is possible through the measure on the hypothetical son, although it is probably also a measure through which the respondent projects himself onto the son--more so in the case of males with occupation than with females. Considering that males most often become the head of a household, we sought comparability by measuring the aspired occupational status level for the hypothetical son against the achievement level of the head of the household (Table 5.14)

and found significance at the $< .02$ level. It would thus appear that the Membership Group has not achieved its occupational aspirations in the past as often as has the Non-Membership Group and that it also projects onto its children, itself by projection, higher occupational aspirations for the future than those Indians not involved in Pan-Indianism.

In summary, considering our basic measure and all of those supplementary to it, excepting the aspirations of women to work, we find every one to be significant.

Pay

Our scale for measuring aspiration and achievement in the goal area of pay is presented in Appendix B-7. When the finer scale was taken by itself (Table 4.40) or when it was collapsed into a seven-step scale (Table 4.39) and analyzed, both groups were found comparable in the area of achievement. Our basic measure on the disjunction between aspirations and achievement in pay (Table 5.15) indicates significance at the $< .01$ level. We sought supporting data by controlling for those aspiring to full-time work, which always includes the males, and found significance again but at the $< .05$ level, two-tailed (Table 5.16).

Because of changing pay scales in the U.S. economy, we were unable to make comparisons between the past and the present or the present in relation to the projected future.

We were able, however, to do this "synchronically" at the household level (Table 5.17) and found significance at the $< .001$ level. The three tests that we have, therefore, all point in the same direction favoring our stated hypothesis in this area.

We have presented 16 tests of the data in the area of Hypothesis Ia as stated and have found every one significant, more often at the $< .01$ or $< .001$ level than others, the level being from a two-tailed table. In every case there is a forecasting efficiency indicating the ability to predict from the independent variable to group membership. In the areas of education and occupation we have been able to infer time as well. We thus accept the hypothesis of significant correlation in the direction predicted and also the notion of antecedance. Our measure on education (Table 5.1) is not as strong as we would like it but we shall be able to strengthen this when we make a correlation between discrepancy in this area and the associated notion of one's being deprived relative to others in the opportunity of achieving those goals simply because he has been identified as an Indian and, therefore, disadvantaged. The basic tests were very significant, two-tailed measure of $< .01$, but the phi coefficients appear to indicate the strongest relationship in the area of education, followed by occupation and then pay.

Intercorrelation of Measures

We sought means to correlate our measures in the goal areas which we have discussed. The most descriptive we could devise was to take our variables two at a time and then to analyze in terms of our findings on individuals where the data showed scores on both occurring, versus one without the other and also scores on neither. In this sense it appears that we could assume a continuum of associated stress with no scores on either at the lowest, a score on only one variable as higher, and a score on both at once as highest. This rests on the added assumption that findings on two or more compound the difficulty for the individual. In this light the phi coefficient becomes a good measure of the strength of the relationship. Accordingly, when we did this with education and occupation (Table 5.18), we found a significance of $< .01$ with a phi of .426. With education and pay (Table 5.19) there was a significance level of $< .001$ with a phi of .459, and with occupation and pay (Table 5.20) there was a significance of $< .001$ with a phi of .441. It will be recalled that, due to the age level of our respondents, our measure on education was slightly different from that on the other two goal areas. Had we been able to meaningfully assess the discrepancy between current aspirations and current achievements in the area, attaining measures with which to work, the results might have been different. Also, because

our interest lay in the mutual association of positive findings in two of the three areas in our respondents, we did not analyze for one without any other, e.g., education without occupation. We tried this but found too few in the cells to make for useful comparisons.

We made an attempt to generalize at a still higher level in this variable by combining all three measures. It was apparent at once that, due to the small numbers in our two groups, we would have to forego the particular content of a given area and simply analyze for findings on no area at all, only in one area, in two areas, and in all three. Even though the procedure involves the loss of data it rests upon the proposition that each of the measures is toward something higher in the class system of the larger society from that which the respondent has achieved, that the three areas together give us something of a composite picture of striving for vertical mobility on the class structure of the larger society, and that, since stress is assumed to be associated with each of the areas of striving according to our measures, the assumption that a conjunction of findings in two or three areas on the same individual as indicative of compounded or even greater stress merits consideration. Since our data showed only two persons in the Non-Membership Group with positive findings in all three goal areas and six in the Membership Group, we lumped these with the category of findings in two areas as

"two or more." Our combined data (Table 5.21) indicates a significance of $< .001$ with a phi of .598. The table is interesting in several perspectives. Considering the percentages in the cells, it will be noted that the two groups vary in inverse relationship with each other, greater disjunction and assumed associated stress being with the Membership Group. Of the Non-Membership Group 56.4 per cent showed no score at all in comparison with 9.4 per cent in the Membership Group. In contrast, 15.4 per cent in the Non-Membership Group showed assumed stress in two or more areas, whereas 71.9 per cent of the Membership Group did-- 90.6 per cent in one or more.

In our correlations we shall be using the data of Table 5.21 as dichotomized, i.e., findings in no areas versus those in one or more. Table 5.21 has not been duplicated, but the findings, when dichotomized ($P < .001$, $\phi = .492$), are presented in detail under the table. All of our tests indicate the acceptance of Hypothesis Ia.

Hypothesis Ib: Relative deprivation and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

As used here, this variable deals with the respondent's perceptions of being deprived of achieving his legitimate aspirations relative to non-Indians. The goal areas in which measurements are taken correspond with those in the previous variable: education, occupation, and pay.

The reference group with which the comparison is made is the generalized category of non-Indians. The measurement and analysis of absolute deprivation, taken against objective data, was impossible, given the passage of time associated with long-time metropolitan residence; forcing us, therefore, to confine our measurements to perceptions. Given aspirations beyond one's achievements, these involve a sense of blockage or of being hindered in reaching those achievements because the individual has been identified as an Indian. We exercised great care in seeking the responses to these items, carefully explaining the information sought, using visual aids, asking the respondent to seriously probe his thoughts, and giving time for a considered answer. We measured valence slightly differently than we did in the case of the previous variable, asking here on an ordinal scale how often the respondent thinks of this. We assumed that the experience of relative deprivation was stressful in the past, and that continued reflection on it is stress-provoking in the present. The theory and operational measures underlying this variable have been explained in Chapter I.

The Goal Areas

It is conceivable that our measure on the perception of relative deprivation and associated stress in the goal area of education should be controlled for migration since the explanations accompanying it apparently relate

to rural and/or small village settings. Had we been dealing with a ghetto, our explanations might have been different. In order to make use of all of our data, given the numbers with which we work, and to make our findings in this area comparable with the others, we have not controlled for place of socialization. Our data (Item 33, Appendix B-1) indicates significance with $P < .01$ and a phi of .351. In addition, one of the respondents in the Non-Membership Group evidenced a minimal perspective of relative deprivation but no valence (Table 5.22).

Interestingly, there were fewer persons in both groups who evidenced a perspective of relative deprivation in the area of occupation (Table 5.23). The difference between the two groups is such that, while P remains at $< .01$, the phi rises to .373, which is suggestive. In this case (Item 56, Appendix B-1) two in the Non-Membership Group and one in the Membership Group showed no valence and, accordingly, are not included in our measure which is indicative of an assumed associated stress.

While the cell frequencies in the area of relative deprivation appeared to hold fairly well for the Membership Group, they declined again as we moved into the area of pay, especially for the Non-Membership Group. Our data resulted in a measure (Table 5.24) indicative of greater stress in this area among the members with a $P < .01$ and

a phi of .330. Here, again, there was an additional respondent among the non-members who is no longer bothered, so he says, by this perception.

Intercorrelation of Measures

The frequencies in our cells on relative deprivation for the Membership Group varied between 9 and 13, 28.1 per cent and 40.6 per cent. Those for the Non-Membership Group varied between 1 and 4, 2.6 per cent and 10.3 per cent. These findings were on individuals who could be assumed to be under stress in the various areas, taken one at a time. Had the numbers in the two groups under comparison been larger we might have been able to have run tests of the association of positive findings on individuals, taken two at a time versus only one or none as we did with the various goal areas of Hypothesis Ia. As it turned out, we were hampered, largely due to the small frequencies in the associated findings on these, two at a time, in the Non-Membership Group. A cursory examination of the data reported indicates that in the Membership Group there is a tendency toward polarization, the larger numbers being in the "absent" category. Our survey of the raw data indicated that there appears more or less randomness in the Membership Group for those scoring positively as to which two might be associated: education and occupation (9), education and pay (7), and occupation and pay (7). While

findings on these, one at a time, was significant, we sought a measure which would allow generalization at a higher level (i.e., Table 5.21 for the previous variable) and finally noted that if we should analyze with respect to findings on individuals indicative of no stress associated with a feeling of relative deprivation versus those who could be assumed to have the same in any one or more of the goal areas (Table 5.25), we attained significance with a $P < .01$ and a phi of .341; and if we did the same for those scoring in only one area or not at all versus those scoring in two or three areas (Table 5.26), we reached a $P < .001$ with a phi of .477. It is interesting to note that 46.9 per cent of the Membership Group feels the impact of stress associated with relative deprivation (Table 5.25) and that 40.6 per cent of the same group feels it in two or more goal areas simultaneously (Table 5.26). Since the geographic setting for this appears to be rural, it antedates membership and is antecedant in time. Antecedance is also attested by our measures on forecasting efficiency.

As between the goal areas of education, occupation, and pay in Hypotheses Ia and Ib, we were only able to test for correlations between relative deprivation and unachieved aspirations in the subarea of education. This was fortunate because we lacked any meaningful measure on valence when we considered the disjunction between former

educational aspirations and current achievements in that variable. When we combined our data to see if both occurred together more often in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group (Table 5.27), we found significance at the $< .01$ level, one-tailed. We then wondered if the effects of relative deprivation on education could, perchance, be different in the Membership Group and in the Non-Membership Group. Accordingly, we controlled for the discrepancy between one's former educational aspirations and current educational achievement and allowed the perspective of relative deprivation and associated stress to vary (Table 5.28) and found no significant differences. It appears, therefore, that our finding in Table 5.27 results because our informants have unachieved goals in the area of education, which is in turn associated with a feeling of relative deprivation fairly often--in 47.6 per cent of the cases with those involved in Pan-Indianism and 25 per cent for the others.

Hypothesis Ic: Discrimination for being Indian will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

The variable of discrimination might well be considered apart from the context of vertical mobility in the class system of the larger society. We have included it here, however, for several reasons: (1) The struggles of the Association with the phenomenon of discrimination have

been in the areas of equality of opportunity in education, employment, and housing, in addition to the right to burial and admission to public buildings with non-Indians. (2) These areas can also be conceived of as relating to the achievement of goals in the area of vertical mobility. In a sense it can be said that when one person, i.e., a non-Indian, discriminates against the other, he assigns that individual, i.e., an Indian, to an inferior social status than his own. We carefully explained the difference between discrimination and prejudice to our informants and asked for cases of expressed discrimination following the response. This was to strengthen our data and to add validity to our measures. (3) Discrimination, as we have measured it, is for being Indian, i.e., because the person has been identified as an Indian. In this sense it is parallel to relative deprivation because it is one's Indianness which is challenged and which is the cause of the activity directed against him. It is assumed here that, like relative deprivation, experienced discrimination constitutes a sense of blockage which in turn is stressful to the individual concerned. We have included it operationally under Hypothesis I simply because that hypothesis relates to the life of the individual in the context of, or in orientation to, the larger non-Indian society. The theory and operational measures underlying our discussion have been presented in Chapter I.

We queried our respondents on discrimination prior to coming to Detroit and also during their residence in Detroit. Those responses relating to the former almost invariably concern discrimination in the rural, small town, or "village" setting. Obviously, the experience of this--or its absence--prior to Detroit immigration is without relevance to those reared in the metropolis, of whom there are only three. The tests most comparable and interesting relate only to the immigrants but, because we are here dealing with metropolitan Pan-Indianism, we have not biased our report by presenting data which is controlled for migration and which excludes the non-migrants. Because, however, of the relevance of this data to other studies on the Indian American, we shall report the data, controlled for migration, under each table--not presenting separate tables for purposes of economy.

When we ask the basic test question for the hypothesis, of whether or not the individual has experienced discrimination against himself for being Indian--either prior to or during his Detroit residence (Table 5.29), we found significance at the $P < .01$ level, one-tailed, with a phi of .289. One of the interesting things emerging from this table is the relatively large ratios of these people in both groups who have been, or are now, the objects of discriminatory practices--62.5 per cent among the members and an even third among the non-members. That

the members feel it more often allows us to accept our hypothesis. During our interviewing we found all of those whom we scored positively on discrimination, and some of the others--we believe all among the members and part of the non-members--are quite sensitive about this matter. The general feeling was that most in the larger, non-Indian society are unaware of the extent to which Indians are subjects of discriminatory practices and that, in an era in which there are attempts to correct such injustices, the Indian is too often overlooked. When we controlled our data for migrants alone, the significance rose to a $P < .01$ with a phi of .350. While these data in Table 5.29 are indicative of the phenomenon of discrimination, they also conceal other perspectives because of the lumping of data in obtaining the measure.

Our measure on pre-migrational discrimination, with and/or without the same in Detroit (Table 5.30), is also significant at the $P < .01$ level, one-tailed, but the phi rises to .313. While this measure considers all persons in both of the groups, pre-migrational discrimination has its greatest relevance for the segment(s) composed of migrants. When we exercised these controls the P reached $< .01$, one-tailed, and the phi climbed to .330.

It might appear from the foregoing measure that the key in understanding discrimination, as related to Pan-Indianism, lies in the prior experience of the individual

before coming to the metropolis. Our knowledge of our informants and our experiences in interviewing, however, caused us to suspect that this, by itself, is not the case. We reasoned that the Membership Group might feel the impact of discrimination more often in the metropolis than the Non-Membership Group. When we tested both groups on metropolitan discrimination, with and/or without the prior experience of such (Table 5.31), the P climbed slightly from that in Table 5.30 to one of $< .01$, two-tailed, and the phi almost imperceptibly to .315. Had prior discrimination been the key to understanding, we would have expected the P and the phi to have dropped. Instead, it appears that continued, or at least the presence of, discrimination in the metropolis is of relevance also. When controlled for migrants, the phi of Table 5.31 jumps to .369.

It would seem consistent with the suggestions made in Chapter II and revitalization theory that those most likely to affiliate would be those who experienced discrimination prior to and also in the metropolis. This would correspond to continued unsatisfactory experiences in the metropolis, following migration, and with this, continued disillusionment or assumed stress. It would also be in keeping with the notion of "increased individual stress" as suggested by Wallace (1956:269) which, following reflection and consideration of the issues, would in turn result

in a deepened sense of cultural distortion against Indians-- a part of our contributions from Chapter II. Because we had only two persons in the Membership Group and three in the Non-Membership Group who had experienced discrimination against themselves for being Indians in the metropolis but not prior to it, we were unable to make that test. In keeping with our thinking above, we predicted that persons who had experienced discrimination prior to, but not subsequent to, Detroit immigration would not tend to affiliate with the organization. Accordingly, when we tested for prior discrimination without the same in the metropolis (Table 5.32), we found no significant differences. In fact, it appears that we are 95 per cent confident, two-tailed, that previous discrimination in and of itself is not a key to an understanding of Pan-Indianism. When controlled for migrants alone, this drops slightly to 90 per cent. When we analyzed our data again, controlling so as to isolate those who have experienced discrimination in Detroit subsequent to their prior experience of the same, the complete data on the two total groups (Table 5.33) indicates a two-tailed significance of $P < .01$ but with the highest phi at .361. If we further control our data and eliminate from analysis those reared in Detroit, the P remains $< .01$, but the phi rises again to .386.

It would thus appear that the experience of discrimination correlates with identification in metropolitan

Pan-Indianism generally. It does not appear that the experience of such discrimination prior to immigration alone or in the metropolis alone is significant if one is considered without the possible effects of each on the other. Since prior discrimination without subsequent discrimination was at approximately the same percentages for both groups and non-significant, but prior discrimination followed by metropolitan discrimination saw the percentages radically differing and the phi climbing to its highest point, indicative of the strongest relationship, it would appear that such unsatisfactory relationships with the non-Indian society, followed by others in the metropolis, is most explanatory. From the standpoint of time one could argue that prior discrimination is antecedent, but such is more difficult in the case of such in the metropolis. In the latter case, and on the combined measures, we find the forecasting efficiency indicative of statistical antecedence.

Hypothesis I: Class mobility and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

The major hypothesis has two primary areas: (1) the disjunction between aspirations and achievements and associated stress and (2) the perception by the individual of his being disadvantaged by the dominant society, or members of it, because he is or has been identified as an Indian.

The first can more economically be stated as "unachieved aspirations and associated stress" and has been handled specifically in Hypothesis Ia. It is not a phenomenon which can be generalized to Indians alone. The second area has two parts: (a) relative deprivation and associated stress, measured and tested in Hypothesis Ib, and (b) discrimination for being Indian. In contrast to unachieved aspirations and associated stress, these both relate to one's being Indian because they are asked and analyzed in this setting. We argued that the presence of these two, when associated with the first, makes for a unique configuration, giving an ethnic quality. Thus, we have predicted that those associating with the organization will more often show scores in all three areas than others. The hypothesis is correlational. We might have argued that there be a significant difference in each of the three in the tests heretofore run. Also, we might have insisted on a correlation between unachieved aspirations and associated stress and either relative deprivation and associated stress or discrimination for being Indian. We made Hypothesis I more rigorous by insisting on correlations between all three and by requiring also significant findings in each of the three prior to the correlation. Since this study is exploratory we might have taken the easier course by not predicting the direction of the significance. Because of the context of revitalization and in an effort

to enhance the value of our contributions we took the chance by making the prediction in the positive direction. Further, because of the small numbers in our two groups, we might have reduced the significance level to $< .10$ or $< .20$, but instead we remained with the customary $P < .05$. The theory and operational measures underlying our discussion here are discussed in Chapter I.

Hypotheses Ia and Ib had three goal areas in each: education, occupation, and pay. Hypothesis Ic had two areas of reference: prior to Detroit immigration, and during residence in the metropolis. We would have liked to have required that only those persons who showed positive findings in each of the subareas of the three areas of Ia and Ib, and also who showed positive findings in both the reference areas of Ic, be used in correlation here. However, a review of Tables 5.21 (Ia), 5.25 (Ib), and 5.29 (Ic) should suffice to show that, had we done so, the Non-Membership Group would perhaps never have scored at all. We, therefore, have used a positive finding in any one or more of the three subareas of Ia and Ib, and either or both of the reference areas of Ic. This affords the Non-Membership Group the maximal opportunity of scoring and utilizes the statistical principle of maximum likelihood (Guilford, 1952:335). Furthermore, had we required individuals to score positively in each of the subareas of the tests on the three hypotheses, the results would have

been slightly biased because part of the populations have never lived outside of metropolitan Detroit to feel discrimination there. There is also a certain relevance in the way we are doing it because we cannot be really sure that there are not ties between education, occupation, and pay--either within or between the variables of unachieved aspirations and associated stress and relative deprivation and associated stress. After we have offered our summary data and considered Hypothesis I, we shall return to the data concealed by these lumping measures and consider associations between our findings on Hypotheses Ia, Ib, and Ic. Each of these is offered from a minimum of two perspectives.

Table 5.34 presents our summary data in the areas of unachieved aspirations in the dominant society and associated stress with relative deprivation and associated stress, and experienced discrimination for being Indian by group. The significance here reaches a $P < .001$, two-tailed with a phi of .563. Consideration of the table indicates that as we move from no score at all to unachieved aspirations and associated stress alone, to unachieved aspirations and its association in the lives and experiences of our respondents with either relative deprivation and associated stress or experienced discrimination for being Indian, to the mutual association of all three, that the percentages in the Membership Group increase. The converse

is true for the Non-Membership Group. The two groups thus appear to stand in inverse relationship to each other. Although the data are interesting, this summary table is not a test of the hypothesis per se. There is good predictive value from the test variables to group membership but there is better statistical predictiveness, considering forecasting efficiency, from the groups to the variables. This is undoubtedly related to our method of grouping, i.e., we have considered no score, and unachieved aspirations and associated stress, unassociated with either of the other two, as separate categories or attributes. Actually, we had not theorized or predicted in this manner. The table is offered for its informative value.

More in keeping with our theory and suggesting the acceptance of Hypothesis I is the data offered in Table 5.35. In this case we have combined our findings on unachieved aspirations and associated stress which are unassociated with findings in either of the other two areas with no score. The data is easily checked by comparison with Table 5.34. It will be recalled that we have asserted that Indians or others can experience stress in association with unrealized aspirations apart from the other two variables. For our purposes Indians who do this can be considered as experiencing stress which does not differ from that of non-Indians, hence our justification for the lumping. Table 5.35 is relevant to our theory and hypothesis, but

not in the manner in which we are testing Hypothesis I. The significance remains at the $P < .001$ level but the phi drops to .535. The phi coefficients are not, however, comparable because the numbers of the cells differ between the two tables. Incidentally, in this case the forecasting efficiency favors our prediction, indicating antecedance of the hypothesized independent variables.

Hypothesis I is tested in Table 5.36. Here we present the association between unachieved aspirations in the dominant society and associated stress, and both relative deprivation and associated stress and experienced discrimination for being Indian. The data, as all those succeeding ones on Hypothesis I, are set in a 2×2 table, making for comparable phi coefficients. The hypothesis is statistically significant, allowing its acceptance, with a $P < .001$ and a phi of .477. For comparison and as supplementary, we reanalyzed these data measuring for the relationship between unachieved aspirations in the dominant society and associated stress, and either or both relative deprivation and associated stress and experienced discrimination for being Indian. It will be recalled that we suggested that we might have measured this way, had we elected a less strenuous method of correlating our findings. When we tried it, the significance was also at $P < .001$, but the phi dropped to .460. It thus appears that our prediction really favored the stronger relationship. These

findings suggest that association with the organization in question may be meaningfully explained as we have suggested. From Table 5.37 we note, interestingly, that 71.9 per cent of the Membership Group score in the area of unachieved aspirations and associated stress and either one or both of the other two areas. This, it seems to us, is indicative of frustration stemming from lack of desired achievement in the realization of one's life's goals and the associated awareness by the individual that he has been and/or is disadvantaged in such achievement simply because he is Indian. Realizing that the two groups are comparable in achievement levels, it thus appears that persons in the Membership Group have adopted higher aspirations than the Non-Membership Group, whether such is "assimilating" or not, but that they also experience generally a sense of unfair blockage in achievement by the non-Indian society, or at least by non-Indian individuals. This, we suggested, would be considered as cultural distortion in the minds of the Membership Group, should we find it. That the percentages in the relevant cell dropped in Table 5.36, is simply the result of our method of analysis.

Our method of lumping, when testing Hypothesis I, concealed the relationships between the three variables, taken two at a time. When we consider the frequency with which unachieved aspirations and associated stress is associated with relative deprivation and associated stress in

the two groups (Table 5.38), we notice that the significance reaches a P of $< .001$ and has the highest phi coefficient, one of .473. Fifty per cent of the members have not achieved their aspirations in one or more of the goal areas of class achievement. When we controlled these data for migration we found the phi climbing to .502. We considered the association of unachieved aspirations and associated stress with experienced discrimination for being Indian (Table 5.39) and found a significance of $P < .001$, and a phi of .429. Controlling for migration, the phi rose to .490. For the Membership Group as a whole, i.e., without the control, 62.5 per cent score in this association in contrast with 20.5 per cent of the non-members.

The association of scores in persons of both groups in the areas of relative deprivation and experienced discrimination for being Indian does not really relate to the predictions which we made, but are offered for their interest. Accordingly, the data (Table 5.40) indicates a $P < .001$ and a phi of .430. In this case, however, the percentage of the members so affected falls to 40.6 per cent and that of the non-members to 5.1 per cent. At this point we make an interesting, but we think relevant, observation about these two variables when combined in our measures testing Hypothesis I (Tables 5.36 and 5.37). Neither appears alone or in combination with the other in the Membership Group without association also with the third

variable--unachieved aspirations of class mobility and associated stress. Among the non-members, however, experienced discrimination appears by itself three times, and relative deprivation and associated stress does so once; and they appear together in association twice. We thus do not think that the usual association of these two variables with that of unachieved aspirations in the larger society is by chance. Indeed, our levels of significance do not indicate that it is. We also feel that the test variables selected for this study, and their conjunction, have been shown to be fruitful.

Hypothesis IIa: Disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with tribesmen and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

As in Hypothesis I so also in Hypothesis II we deal with the social mobility and associated, assumed, stress. Here, instead of considering the issue of vertical class mobility in the larger, non-Indian society, we look to social mobility with respect to the tribe and one's tribesmen. When we speak of tribe and tribesmen here, we have in mind a social unit, e.g., a tribal corporation, and tribesmen who remain in the rural setting, e.g., reservation or rural Indian "community," where he very likely came from and which the individual perceives as his tribal area. Migration removes the individual from this area and from

associating as freely with his tribesmen, e.g., kin, friends, or others, there--to varying degrees. Other factors also enter. It is this loosening, lessening or fracturing, of social relationships with these individuals which we look at in Hypothesis IIa. Here we ask essentially, "Does the individual wish to maintain, or develop, social relationships with his tribesmen in his rural tribal area, and are those involved in metropolitan Pan-Indianism more under stress associated with the inability to do so than others?" Some persons do not wish to have meaningful social relationships with members of their tribe in these areas. Some find themselves in a position to retain whatever relationships they want as effectively as they wish. Others, however, find that various factors have entered to thwart them in these aspirations and for them the experience may be stress-provoking. We assume in our discussion here (1) that the inability to maintain aspired social relationships with these tribesmen is to the individual an unsatisfactory aspect of the sociocultural conditions under which he is living. We also assume that to such a person (2) this is a type of distortion, i.e., it distorts and disrupts his aspired relations with persons of his tribe who are meaningful to him, which distortion is the result of conditions in the individual's current type of life which he cannot, without even greater difficulty, easily rectify. The possible relationships

between this type of marginality and the emergence of a new type of ethnicity, in this study on Pan-Indianism has been discussed in Chapter I.

The measures which we used in gathering and analyzing our data in this variable of tribal social relations (synonymous with "maintenance of social relation with tribesmen"), considered as rural, replicate as closely as possible, for continuity, those used with the variable of unachieved aspirations in social class mobility and associated stress. We have not utilized objective data because (1) the gathering of such in a precise way was all but impossible and its meaningful analysis would have been even more difficult; (2) we were really interested in knowing if the individual is visiting among his tribesmen there as often as he wishes. What we wanted was a measure of D, the discrepancy between aspirations and achievement. We, therefore, asked on an ordinal scale (e.g., Item 141, Appendix B-1) of five steps how often the respondent would really like to visit on his reservation or in his rural area if he could. In order to insure validity we always explained carefully that we wanted him to answer in the light of visiting among members of his tribe only, given the opportunity to do so as often as he really wanted to. We asked for aspirations first because we wanted his first reaction. Later, and on the same scale, we asked how often the respondent actually does visit there (e.g., Item 144,

Appendix B-1). When we did this we always explained that our purpose is to determine if he actually is visiting there as often as he would like to, pointing out his first response and asking our respondent to answer in a manner which would indicate what we were after. Our measure of the valence of failure (e.g., Item 143, Appendix B-1) was identical with that of the other variable mentioned. We found our informants intelligent individuals who were able to respond meaningfully to our interests. When we find a D (difference or disjunction between aspirations and achievements) which is associated with a V (expressed feeling of disappointment on threatened fear of lack of achievement), we assume that we have a measure of the disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with tribesmen and associated stress. It is these in mutual association in the responses of the same individual which we report as "positive," or "present," in our tables. Further discussion of these operational measures is presented in Chapter I.

Our basic data on Hypothesis IIa (Table 5.41) indicates acceptance at $P < .01$, two-tailed, with a phi of .338. We assume in this measure of aspirations to visit that visiting involves the maintenance of such relations. In order to make the data somewhat more meaningful we offer as supplemental data the actual record of responses towards aspirations (Table 5.42). In this latter case the

significance is $P < .01$, two-tailed, and the phi is .373. It should be remembered that the phi of the 5 x 2 table (Table 5.42) is not exactly comparable with that of our basic measure. We have not offered the data on achievement in this matter since there is scarcely any difference between the two groups in this regard. The important point in Table 5.41 is not how often but that the Membership Group is failing to achieve its aspirations in this matter. In other words, there are obstacles stemming from phenomena (e.g., distance, occupation, expense, time, children's schooling, etc.) which thwart the members in this regard and which are to them disappointing or stress-provoking. In the Membership Group 53.1 percent find the current situation in this regard unsatisfactory and by assumption stressful, and 20.5 per cent of the non-members do so.

Somewhat tangential to this hypothesis, but of general interest and certainly related to visiting in the reservation or rural tribal area, are the two more or less related questions of (1) whether or not the individual aspires to live there prior to retirement and (2) if he aspires to live there following retirement. We measured these data as we did in the case of the foregoing, except that our D is necessarily between expectations (e.g., Items 149 and 169, Appendix B-1) and aspirations. Considering the matter of aspired residence and associated stress

(Table 5.43), we found no significant differences between the groups. 28.1 per cent of the members in contrast to 15.4 per cent of the non-members scored in this matter. We were surprised to find so many expressing themselves as not wanting to return there to live. Upon questioning them as to why, they responded in terms of the better economic, educational, and other opportunities of the metropolis--and sometimes of the likelihood of discrimination by whites should they return or of possible jealousies directed against them by other Indians should they return with better things and more money from what many have there. Some harbored the aspiration but seemed to feel the likelihood of success out of the question for a variety of reasons. These responses seem to confirm our suggestion in Chapter IV that one group is about as metropolitan-oriented as the other.

We predicted, although not in hypothetical form, that the members would aspire to retire more often to the rural area and also experience greater associated stress for not expecting to be able to do so than the non-members. Part of our thinking grew out of our knowledge of the orientation of many Indians to their reservations, and part out of our visits to these areas with some of the members and from our discussions previously with them. Our measure (Table 5.44) on the disjunction between aspirations and expectations of retiring in one's rural tribal

area and associated stress showed a one-tailed significance of $P < .05$ and a phi of .224. We were interested in carrying the matter further, thinking that perhaps greater proportions of the members might actually expect to so retire, although our reported test indicated that such might not be the case. Because we felt the data relevant to ours and other studies, we analyzed aspirations for retirement (Table 5.45) to find the same significance, but with a slightly higher phi--of .232. Incidentally, 59.4 per cent of the members and 35.9 per cent of the non-members wish they could so retire. In this case we stressed to those Indians whom we knew had no reservation base for their tribe, e.g., the Michigan Ottawa, that such retirement is considered as among the Indians of their tribe. For some of these Michigan Ottawa, however, and we could not guess how many, we felt that we were receiving responses to live in some quiet little town in Northern Michigan, or perhaps on the shore of some lake in the proper area. Although we made a list of such and then cross-checked with several from the tribe whom we knew well, we were not able to confirm any of our suspicions of bias. Our data on the expectation of retirement in one of these areas (Table 5.46) indicates non-significance. Only two more members than non-members expect to be able to so retire. It should be recalled that our original measure (Table 5.44) deals with a D which has an associated V. The consideration of the

expected chances of success (Table 5.46) in comparison with aspirations of such retirement (Table 5.45), apart from D or V, indicates that of the members who aspire to retire there 68.4 per cent actually expect to do so, whereas among the non-members with comparable aspirations 78.6 per cent expect to. These combined data all seem to infer greater stress among the members than the non-members in this matter.

In summary, our basic test (Table 5.41) indicated the acceptance of Hypothesis IIa. To this we added other insights in the areas of aspiration and achievement, further adding to our understanding. We turned to two other areas, aspired residence and retirement, in an exploratory manner to find our metropolitan Indians non-significant in the area of aspired residence in the rural tribal area, but the Membership Group under significantly greater stress over the prospects of not being able to retire there than the Non-Membership Group. It thus appears that those identifying with the organization in question are quite as at home in the metropolis as are those who are not so motivated. The members have, it appears, more intense interest in maintaining social relationships with their tribesmen in, and retiring to, those areas than non-members--but they express grave concerns and disappointment at the likelihood of not being able to realize these aspirations. This, we have suggested, is

to them an unsatisfactory aspect of their culture--the one they find themselves now enmeshed in. In the context of revitalization theory this culture is here viewed as distorted in the sense that it is unable to fulfill their needs, or at least their visions of what constitutes a good life.

Hypothesis IIb: Loss of tribal status and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

In a very real sense Hypothesis IIb may be more unique to the Detroit setting than to some others in the contemporary United States. Here we deal with the severance of tribal status, or the official removal of one's name from the tribal registry. Due to the rules governing tribal membership in Canada many individuals, especially females married to non-Indians or to U.S. Indians, and/or descentents of enfranchised males, in Detroit have lost or had taken away from them such status. In this variable our measures do not relate to whether or not a person actually has such status but to the removal of such, which removal is considered to be stress-provoking when the individual places valence on such status and accordingly would like it returned. In Canada this amounts to the "untribing" of the individual so that he is no longer considered an "Indian" in the legal sense. In the United States the loss of such status is more difficult to

determine, but it may occur, as where the parents migrated but somehow the name of the individual has never been properly recorded, etc. This phenomenon of loss has a certain relevance to the availability of privileges associated with tribal membership such as the opportunity to reside and/or retire on the reservation should one choose, financial reimbursement should payment on land claims be made, medical and other assistance, including a haven to which one can return should things not go well with him in the larger society. Valence is an important part of this measure, since if the individual is unconcerned whether or not he has such status, or if perchance he is glad that such has been removed (we did not find any asserting this), quite obviously the loss should not be considered stress-provoking. The theory and operational measures underlying this discussion have been discussed in Chapter I.

Our basic test (Table 5.47) on the loss of tribal status (D) during one's lifetime and associated stress is indicative of acceptance of Hypothesis IIb at a $P < .001$ level and with a phi coefficient of .499. The table indicates that 37.5 per cent of the members are so affected but that none of the non-members are. We had expected more in each group but our controls, which removed those who are permanently ill or the females who are married to retired males, removed one person in each group showing also valence. Therefore, the control has not seriously altered our findings.

Another measure which we could have used, and here offer as supplemental to Table 5.47, is the inclusion with the above of persons who lack such status but who show valence. These persons have not in their lifetimes had such status, the reason being that such was lost by their parent(s) or grandparent(s). This measure lacks the measure of discrepancy between the former status and the current one although there is a type of deprivation involved, or it includes these with the D but without V. The measure adds four to the "present" category, and the significance remains at $< .001$, although the phi coefficient drops slightly--to .440. These findings are reported under Table 5.47.

We were interested in measuring the loss of tribal status (D) during one's lifetime and associated stress (Table 5.47) because in our association with the members over time we observed that one of the functions of the Association might be the provision of a social unit, something of a substitute for a tribe, wherein social status--before both one's rural tribesmen and non-Indians--could be maintained in lieu of the removal of articulation with the tribal corporation. We came to believe that many of the leading members were now in a position which rendered them unable to return to live, or retire, on their reservation should they desire to do so. We felt that the situation might be to these stressful because some of these are the

very persons who appear to return to visit most frequently and who have bought, or are buying, land immediately adjacent to the reservation--sometimes on it if such is occasionally sold to non-Indians--or who are attempting by various devices to manipulate their tribesmen in a manner to enable them to return. Some, for instance, plan to retire with a sibling or close relative there, one who has not lost such status. In a couple of cases persons have spoken of the possibility of divorcing their current spouse and remarrying on the reservation in order to gain such privilege. One among the non-members who is retired at an early age due to an incurable illness spoke of his mother's exclusion on marriage to his white father, of her living immediately adjacent to and visiting often on the reservation, and of his intense desire to live there and work for the good of his tribe--but that he has been by legal devices robbed of the privileges. Such a situation we see as unsatisfactory and illustrative of cultural and social distortion in the minds of those so affected.

The data of Table 5.47 have been grouped in a manner which suggests that some explanation of that which has gone into it is of use to our readers. Accordingly, we present our findings on the former tribal status, i.e., while children or prior to marriage (Table 5.48), indicative of no significant differences between the two groups. The data on the achieved, or current, tribal status

(Table 5.49), however, is indicative of a significant difference, with the persons in the Membership Group being those who have lost said status, $P < .001$ and $\phi = .602$. The discrepancies between some of the data in the cells of these tables and that in Table 5.47 lies in the facts that (1) some have no valence for such status, (2) one person in the Membership Group gained status when she married, not having received such from her parents, and (3) some who once had it or who were "terminal" have lost the same. We had expected that perhaps the valence of tribal status (Item 170, Appendix B-1) might be higher in the Membership Group than among the non-members and, consequently, we asked the item of all whom we interviewed (Table 5.50) which indicates no significant differences between the groups. When we reviewed the data in the table it appeared to us that, had the data been analyzed differently, a difference might have appeared. Accordingly, we dichotomized this information (Table 5.51) to find the Membership Group expressing itself as more intensely concerned over the matter of tribal status. The P reached a two-tailed significance of $< .05$ in the light of our one-tailed predictions, but the ϕ was only .196. Recognizing that this is a subjective measure, and we have not utilized this ordinal ranking to indicate degree of stress in this study, it appears that further measures in this area may be relevant. The point of the combined measures in this

paragraph seems to be that valence has remained, despite the loss of tribal status, which--according to our measures--renders the loss as stressful, an assumption.

Summarizing, we have found our basic measure indicative of the acceptance of Hypothesis IIb, and we have found this strengthened by a consideration of several types of other and relevant data. The measure was made in the light of our observations on Indians living in the Detroit area and, consequently, we think it may not have as much relevance by way of generalization to Pan-Indianism in areas not bordering Canada as it does in the areas of our study. In the light of revitalization theory, however, this type of dissatisfaction along with its assumed associated stress is relevant to the general situation in the area of our study.

Hypothesis II: Tribal marginality and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

The acceptance of Hypothesis II, like Hypothesis I, calls for significant findings on each of its sub-hypotheses, such being found in mutual association in the responses of individual respondents. By design our basic test calls for the data of Tables 5.41 and 5.47 but in association. In it (Table 5.52) we attain a significance of $P < .001$, two-tailed table, and a phi of .407. It will be noted that the phi is midway between that of the other two scores, the

reason being that some individuals are measurable on stress assumed to be associated with the loss of tribal status during their own lifetime (Table 5.47, Hypothesis IIb with a phi of .499), whereas more in both groups are with respect to the inability to maintain their desired social relationships with their rural tribesmen (Table 5.41, Hypothesis IIa with a phi of .338). Evidently some live close enough to their rural tribal area to permit them to realize their aspirations for visiting as frequently as they choose--even without said status. Usually, however, those with the loss of status--in all cases save two--also are measurable in terms of inability to visit as often as they choose. We assume in this test (Table 5.52) that those measuring in both areas are under a compounded stress--both dimensions, behavior and status, being involved. Our data indicate that 31.3 per cent of the Membership Group are so affected, whereas none of the Non-Membership Group are.

A supplementary measure to the one above might be to measure the coexistence of measures assuming stress on Hypothesis IIa (inability to visit as frequently as one aspires) in association with the lack of tribal status but with associated valence. In this case we would add to the number of those who have lost such status in their lifetimes those who did not have it for one reason or another, i.e., perhaps their parents lost it, when they began life.

The addition of these amounts to four persons in each group. We did the test, unreported in the Appendix, and found that only one of these eight was measurable also on Hypothesis IIa, said person being in the Non-Membership Group. The significance remained at $P < .001$ but the phi dropped to .391.

Although not in our research design, there are other ways of looking at the data pertinent to Hypothesis II and arriving at a decision. One of these is to include in the concept of those under "tribal marginality and associated stress" persons who are measurable on stress associated with the maintenance of meaningful social relationships with their rural tribesmen (IIa) and/or because of the severance of official status with their tribe during their own lifetime (IIb), instead of and--both simultaneously. While perhaps not quite so relevant to the Detroit situation as our basic test (Table 5.52), it is quite likely more so for Indians in general. This utilizes the principle of maximal likelihood, permitting the use of greater numbers from both groups. Emphasis remains on the assumption of stress associated with discrepancy and valence. In this measure, however, we cannot assume associated scores in both areas (it is not a requirement) and hence not the compounding of stress. The measure, nonetheless, remains one of "tribal marginality and associated stress" but in slightly different perspective. We shall refer to this as

Tribal Marginality and Associated Stress (Relaxed). When we analyzed our data in this light (Table 5.53), the significance remained at $P < .001$ and the phi was .396. Here, 59.4 per cent of the members and 20.5 per cent of the non-members can be assumed as under stress in either or both areas.

It is also proper to ask the question of how many in the two groups are measurable for assumed stress in any of the areas we have looked at. These are four. Under Hypothesis IIa we considered (1) the maintenance of meaningful social relationships with tribesmen in the rural tribal area (Table 5.41). We also considered there, as supplemental: (2) residence in the area prior to retirement (Table 5.43), (3) retirement there among one's tribesmen (Table 5.44), and, (4) under Hypothesis IIb (which we considered as our primary test data) the loss of tribal status during one's lifetime (Table 5.47). If we ask the comparative ratios of persons in the two groups appearing to be under stress in any one or more of these four areas, disregarding association (i.e., correlation), we still have a measure of "tribal marginality and associated stress" but be allow even more to be counted. We shall refer to this as Tribal Marginality and Associated Stress (Maximum Relaxation). In this case our data (Table 5.54) indicates a significance level of $P < .001$ and a phi of .405.

In summary, our several tests, tried from differing perspectives, all indicate Hypothesis II as highly significant--hence its acceptance. Generally, as we relax the criteria the phi changes but not the level of significance and we gain in the availability of greater numbers for other correlations. When we ask whether or not these measures may be considered as antecedant, we find a forecasting efficiency indicative that they have the desired directional predictability, i.e., they are antecedant, desired.

A Consideration of Some Relationships

Between Hypothesis I and

Hypothesis II

In Chapter I we indicated that the various hypotheses and sub-hypotheses which we have tested concern some of the areas of contemporary Indian American life which, given significant findings in the direction predicted, may be interpreted as to them unsatisfactory. We also indicated that the conjunction, i.e., correlation or mutual association of significant findings in the several variables in the responses of the same individuals, would be taken as representative of a configuration of stress factors attesting perceived cultural distortion. The purpose of this portion of the current chapter is to test for this association in order to determine the acceptability of the thesis, overall argument, under analysis in Part II of this study.

In Hypothesis I we considered social mobility in the larger, non-Indian society--the one in which our respondents are enmeshed. Our purpose was to learn if life in this society could be considered as less satisfying, i.e., more unsatisfactory, and more stressful to those Indians in the metropolis who become actively identified with Pan-Indianism than to other Indians there. Hypothesis Ia dealt with vertical mobility in the class system of the larger society as seen in the three goal areas of education, occupation, and pay. Even though a proper level of significance might indicate the acceptability of the hypothesis, the finding could not be conceptualized as unique to Indians unless it could be associated in some manner with other variables which were uniquely Indian and which could be considered stress-provoking in that they constituted a sense of blockage by the larger society in the achievement of their goals and/or a sense of rejection by that society into which they are entering. Therefore, Hypothesis Ib dealt with the perception of relative deprivation and associated stress, measurable in the same three goal areas of Ia. Also, Hypothesis Ic concerned the sense of rejection, assumed stressful in itself, and was on the variable of experienced discrimination for being an Indian. It was measurable in the two sub-areas of discrimination prior to Detroit immigration and during residence there.

By design we planned to accept Hypothesis I as a whole only if the significant findings on each of the sub-hypotheses (Ia, Ib, and Ic) could be brought together in a manner which would also show significance. In order to insure that each respondent could be related properly to each of the sub-hypotheses we controlled for those who were permanently ill and females found during the interview to be married to men who are retired--e.g., they could not be conceived as aspiring in the same manner toward the goals of education, occupation, and pay. This reduced the size of our two groups somewhat--the Membership Group becoming 32 and the Non-Membership Group 39. Also, because of our desire to utilize as fully as possible our findings, given the relative few in each of the groups, we elected the utilization of the principle of maximum likelihood (Guilford, 1956:335) and required that the respondent be measurable in a manner allowing the assumption of stress in any one or more of the sub-areas of Ia, Ib, and Ic. Our most stringent measure, required by the design for the acceptance of Hypothesis I, insisted that the respondent be scorable in this manner on each, Ia, Ib, and Ic--in other words, that associated with the findings on Ia (not uniquely Indian) would be also the sense of blockage and rejection by the larger society because he is an Indian. Using these criteria, our basic test (Table 5.36) showed Hypothesis I acceptable at $P < .001$. An alternate measure,

theoretically quite acceptable but not in the original design of this study, is to relax the criteria for the acceptance of Hypothesis I by requiring that the respondent be scored in a measure which allows the assumption of stress in Hypothesis Ia and also Ib and/or Ic. So measured, we refer to this as Class Mobility and Associated Stress (Relaxed). When executed, the test (Table 5.37) also showed significance at the $P < .001$ level, but with a slight drop in the phi coefficient. The rationale for the relaxation is in keeping with the principle of maximal likelihood and was developed in order to make better comparisons in our final summary.

In Hypothesis II we considered another aspect of social mobility, relationships between these migrant Indians and their tribe and tribesmen remaining in the rural tribal area, usually the reservation. Here too our purpose was to learn if the current life of persons actively identifying with metropolitan Pan-Indianism could be assumed to be more stressful because the contemporary culture was not or would not likely meet their needs. As in the case of Hypothesis I, we used a measure of disjunction, i.e., discrepancy, associated with valence. To be meaningful we felt some measures, which would allow for varying degrees of orientation toward one's tribe and rural tribesmen, was necessary for comparability. Our purpose in Hypothesis II was to learn if persons in the Membership

Group were under greater stress because of disrupted, fractured, or severed relationships with these tribesmen and their tribe than those not identifying with Pan-Indianism in the metropolis.

Hypothesis II had two sub-hypotheses. Hypothesis IIa dealt with the maintenance of meaningful social relationships with one's rural tribesmen (Table 5.41), the indicator being the frequency of visiting among them. Supplemental, and because of general interest in the subject, we made parallel measures in the goal areas of aspired residence prior to retirement, and retirement in the rural area of and among one's tribesmen. Sub-hypothesis IIb dealt with the severance of status as a member of the tribal corporation during one's lifetime (Table 5.47). When we accepted Hypothesis II (Table 5.52), we commented that IIb is perhaps more pertinent to those in Detroit and areas adjacent to Canada than to Indians generally. One might guess that, given possible termination of the various tribes, it might become more relevant in the United States in the future. Following the acceptance of Hypothesis II, we sought to bring our findings on tribal marginality and associated stress to a higher level of generality and to one more applicable to the overall setting of U.S. society. To do this we relaxed our criteria for the acceptance of Hypothesis II allowing persons to be counted who could be measured on sub-hypotheses IIa and/or IIb. This change,

introducing Tribal Marginality and Associated Stress (Relaxed) as we called it, reduced (cf. Table 5.53) the phi coefficient only slightly. We carried the matter of relaxation still further by allowing persons to be counted who could be measured in a manner allowing the assumption of stress associated with visiting, current residence, retirement in the rural area of and among one's tribesmen, or because of the loss of tribal status during one's lifetime. In this measure an individual must score on any of the areas, singly or in combination. We elected to call this measure Tribal Marginality and Associated Stress (Maximal Relaxation). The test (Table 5.54) raised the phi coefficient again to almost the exact figure of the first (Table 5.52) and is probably the most relevant one that we really have in the context of the total U.S. situation. Incidentally, in this measure all those who had been formerly measured on the loss of tribal status have come to be measured on one of the other areas as well and, consequently, we have eliminated bias on a higher level of conceptualization which might have resulted from conditions more or less unique to Detroit.

Using our most stringent measures, i.e., without any relaxation of the criteria of which we have been talking and in accordance with the original design of this study, our basic test (Table 5.55) indicates the acceptance of our overall thesis in Part II with a $P < .01$, one-tailed,

and with a phi coefficient of .272. A consideration of the data suggests that 18.8 per cent of the members and none of the non-members meet the requirements, i.e., are so affected.

The high levels of significance in our study have come as something of a surprise to us. They have resulted from the fact that few have been found among the non-members who could be measured in a manner allowing the assumption of stress in any and all of the sub-hypotheses we have considered--in comparison to the members. We were relatively confident in our predictions in advance and thought to strengthen our work, therefore, by predicting in a one-tailed manner. We did not, however, expect the findings to contrast so strikingly. This resulted in a problem when we aspired to make final correlations in analysis, further complicated by the relatively few numbers in the Membership Group and the control group--the Non-Membership Group. The requirement that findings on associated stress be correlated, or associated, means also that they must fall into a pattern, i.e., not be random or by themselves. Whenever we add a criterion which a respondent must meet to be included in one of the cells, we place greater restrictions on the possible numbers of persons who will be able to meet the criteria. Given limited numbers in the groups under comparison in the first place, we eventually arrive at the point where we suspect

diminishing results (cf. Table 5.55 where we had to correct for smallness of size to attain a satisfactory measure). In a situation like this the principle of maximal likelihood, allowing the relaxation of our criteria but in a theoretically relevant manner, is of use and adds insights which might otherwise be lost. By applying our measures as originally conceived but as relaxed, described and defined heretofore, we are able to perform a series of experiments with our data by controlling in various manners.

If we test our overall thesis in Part II by holding the criteria of tribal marginality and associated stress constant (Hypothesis II) but relax that of class mobility and associated stress (Hypothesis I), the level of significance climbs to $P < .001$ and the phi to .407. We have not offered a table on this since the enumeration is identical to that of Table 5.52.

If we test the thesis of Part II by holding the criteria of class mobility and associated stress (Hypothesis I) constant and use the relaxed measure of tribal marginality (as an alternate for Hypothesis I), our data (Table 5.56) indicates acceptance with a $P < .01$ and a phi of .374. Should we do the same but use the measure adopted for the maximal relaxation of tribal marginality (as another alternate for Hypothesis II), the measure (Table 5.57) indicates acceptance with a $P < .001$ and a phi of .519.

A test of the thesis of this part of the study which uses the relaxed measure of class mobility and associated stress (alternate to Hypothesis I) and also the relaxed measure of tribal marginality and associated stress (alternate to Hypothesis II) indicates (Table 5.58) acceptance with $P < .001$ and ϕ at .503. If we do the same but use the measure for maximal relaxation of tribal marginality and associated stress (the other alternate for Hypothesis II) the data (Table 5.59) indicates acceptance again at $P < .001$ but the ϕ rises to .610, the highest.

It appears, therefore, that by using the principle of maximal likelihood and relaxing our measures in appropriate and theoretically relevant manners, that the strength of our relationships rise. The findings on the Non-Membership Group on the various sub-hypotheses do not appear to be mutually associated in the experiences of the respondents in the manner which we predicted for those identifying with metropolitan Pan-Indianism. In contrast, as we progressively relax the criteria, these very findings appear to have progressively greater association--in keeping with our original theory and in a manner compatible with the original design. However we measured our data, Hypotheses I and II were acceptable--and however we sought to bring them together by correlation, or association, at the highest level of generality, the basic thesis of Part II of this study was also acceptable. At this highest

level of generalizing our measures of forecasting efficiency have remained at a high level always allowing, via the measures on forecasting efficiency, us to predict group membership from the variables we have tested. It thus appears safe to suggest that not only may metropolitan Pan-Indianism, under the conditions of this study, be viewed as a correlate of the variables--singly and in association, but that these may be viewed as antecedant in the manner hypothesized.

Chapter Summary and Conclusions

In accordance with the plan of this chapter we have tested (1) each of our sub-hypotheses separately, (2) their mutual association in the required manner for the acceptance of the major hypotheses, and finally (3) the major hypotheses together in the light of the thesis of Part II of this study. All of our results were significant, and those on the major hypotheses--but especially on the thesis--were highly so, $P < .001$, finally reaching in Table 5.59 a phi coefficient of .610. In considering the question of antecedance we were able to infer time for some of the variables, i.e., relative deprivation and experienced discrimination for being an Indian prior to Detroit immigration. For all, we used the measure of forecasting efficiency. Occasionally, in the case of our supplementary data or relaxed measures, we found some predictability in both directions--rarely stronger in those

other than we had hypothesized, but the overwhelming weight of the evidence suggests that Pan-Indian identification and activity is better interpreted as the effect than the cause. Rather than joining the data as we finally did, there are other ways in which it might have been considered. We shall look briefly at some of these here for added insights, although it seems fair to suggest that such should be considered as additive and somewhat aside from that which has preceded. In order to eliminate some redundancy we suggest that in the discussion which follows the reader understand that all of the measures discussed are those which involve the assumption of stress associated with the variable concerned in accordance with the research design and concern relationships with the dependent variable.

Considering our original sub-hypotheses, we find them related to metropolitan Pan-Indianism in the following rank order: (1) loss of tribal status during one's lifetime (IIb, Table 5.47, $\phi = .499$), (2) unachieved aspirations in the class system of the larger society (Ia, Table 5.21, $\phi = .492$), (3) relative deprivation (Ib, Table 5.25, $\phi = .341$), (4) unachieved aspirations in the maintenance of meaningful social relationships with one's rural tribesmen (IIa, Table 5.41, $\phi = .338$), and (5) experienced discrimination for being an Indian (Ic, Table 5.29, $\phi = .289$). When we considered the first of the above, we suggested

that the measure is quite likely more or less unique to Detroit and possibly other areas bordering Canada and that the measure would be more applicable generally if included as a sub-area under tribal marginality (Hypothesis II) in the manner in which we had considered the goal areas of education, occupation, and pay sub-areas under unachieved aspirations (Hypothesis Ia) and relative deprivation (Hypothesis Ib). This had added relevance because we found to our surprise that no one in the Non-Membership Group had been measurable in terms of the loss of tribal status during his lifetime. The most effective measure we found, allowing the greatest numbers to be scored in the variable, while at the same time maintaining the phi when we made our comparisons, was the maximal relaxation of tribal marginality (Table 5.54). This left us with four areas of concern, each allowing the respondent to be scored in one or more of the sub-areas to be included, and effectively negated the loss of tribal status because each of those concerned was also included on one of the other dimensions: unachieved aspirations in maintaining social relationships with his rural tribesmen, unachieved aspirations for living among these prior to retirement, or anticipated failure to realize his aspirations of retiring there. When placed in rank order these four arrange themselves only slightly differently than the five had previously, being: (1) unachieved aspirations in the class system of

the larger society ($\phi = .492$), (2) tribal marginality, maximal relaxation ($\phi = .405$), (3) relative deprivation ($\phi = .341$), and (4) experienced discrimination for being an Indian ($\phi = .289$).

In the above measures we would have predicted that unachieved aspirations in the larger society would be shown the strongest, except that the phenomenon is not one which is peculiar to Indians. It had good predictive capacity (FE = 30.8) toward Pan-Indianism and it had some in the opposite direction (FE = 10.9), leaving a margin of 19.9 per cent. Tribal marginality, maximal relaxation, had greater predictability that, given Pan-Indianism this would result (FE = 38.9), than as the independent variable (FE = 28.2), leaving us with a loss of 19.7 per cent. Nonetheless, we elected its continued use for reasons stated above. These two, taken individually, in our opinion should not be viewed as antecedant to Pan-Indianism. Relative deprivation had a forecasting efficiency of 23.1 per cent--and only as the independent variable. Discrimination, to our surprise, had--like tribal marginality--greater predictive potential as the dependent variable (FE = 21.1) than as the independent--or predictor--of Pan-Indianism (FE = 17.9). Because of this we analyzed for the experience in the Detroit area (Table 5.31, $\phi = .315$, FE = 20.5) and found predictability from the knowledge of response to group membership. The measure on discrimination

prior to Detroit immigration was nearly as strong (Table 5.30, $\phi = .313$). It had the same potential as a predictor of Pan-Indianism (FE = 20.5) but it had also predictive capacity in the opposite direction (FE = 9.3), leaving us with a margin of 11.2 per cent. When we measured for those who had experienced discrimination for being an Indian prior to migration and also after taking up residence in the metropolis (Table 5.33, $\phi = .361$, FE = 23.1) we again found it useful only as a predictor of Pan-Indianism. Considering these data, we would suggest that, while all show statistical significance, the following rank order be considered in terms of antecedance: (1) experienced discrimination for being an Indian prior to and subsequent to Detroit immigration ($\phi = .361$, FE = 23.1), (2) relative deprevation ($\phi = .341$, FE = 23.1), (3) experienced discrimination for being an Indian during Detroit residence ($\phi = .315$, FE = 20.5), and (4) the same but prior to Detroit residence ($\phi = .313$, gain in FE = 11.2).

A major portion of the theory underlying class mobility and associated stress (Hypothesis I) concerned the striving of individuals toward goals which were unachievable or unachieved and associated types of blockage or handicap in the attainment of these goals. Much of this was derived from Merton (1957:131-194) and from Parker and Kleiner (1966). We were interested in areas of perceived disadvantage which were unique to Indians and therefore

elected the use of relative deprivation and discrimination for being an Indian. We can, in contrast to our previous review, view these in relationship to metropolitan Pan-Indianism if they are found to be associated with unachieved aspirations in the class system of the larger society. If our thinking is correct we would expect that the strength of the relationships, i.e., the obtained phi coefficients, would be greater than for either relative deprivation or experienced discrimination taken singly. This is indeed the case. Whereas in the analyses of these other two areas the levels of significance are always at $P < .01$ or $P < .02$, two-tailed, with all of these tests we are always at a P of less than .001 and always with higher phi coefficients.

When we considered class mobility and associated stress (Hypothesis I) which required the three sub-hypotheses to appear in mutual association with each other (Table 5.36, $\phi = .477$, $FE = 30.8$) we found our predictions confirmed. Because of the high level of significance obtained, few in the Non-Membership Group scored, and because of the relatively few in the two groups under comparison, we devised a relaxed measure of class mobility and associated stress. This permitted a person to be included in the category of those assumed to be under stress if he was scoreable as such in the area of unachieved aspirations and also one or both of the areas which might be perceived as disadvantageous to Indians: relative deprivation and/or

experienced discrimination for being an Indian. This relaxed measure (Table 5.37, $\phi = .460$, FE = 33.3) lowered the strength of the relationship and did violence to its utility as a measure by itself as a predictor of Pan-Indianism, the new measure having an FE of 36.8 in the opposite direction, or a loss of 3.8 per cent. We elected its continued use because of its potential for future comparisons.

The predictive potential of the relaxed measure of social class mobility toward Pan-Indianism in the metropolis was somewhat restored when we considered its two sub-areas separately. The strongest relationship exists when unachieved aspirations is found associated with relative deprivation (Table 5.38, $\phi = .473$, FE = 33.3) and there is no predictive potential in the other direction. When we consider unachieved aspirations as associated with experienced discrimination for being an Indian (Table 5.39, $\phi = .429$, FE = 30.8) we also find predictive potential in the other direction (FE = 18.6) but we have, nonetheless, a gain in favor of antecedance of 12.2 per cent. Both findings are highly significant but we would suggest consideration of the rank order in which they have been stated for an understanding of Pan-Indianism in the metropolis, exclusive of the variable of tribal marginality.

Our overarching design required the bringing together of class mobility and associated stress (Hypothesis

I) with tribal marginality and associated stress (Hypothesis II). Given, the relatively few in our two groups and the high levels of significance already found, which resulted in so few sometimes measurable for assumed stress in some of the earlier tests, we found our analysis at the point where we think we were getting diminishing returns from our data in the final analyses. The test we had designed (Table 5.55) showed significance at the $P < .02$ level ($\phi = .272$, $FE = 15.4$) but the data were so small in some of the cells that we were forced to correct for continuity. The requirement that individuals be measurable for assumed stress in five areas (sub-hypotheses Ia, Ib, Ic, IIa, and IIb) had shown itself, we think, too stringent. We were looking for patterned relationships in these various areas which would be indicative of a configuration of stress factors, indicative of an unsatisfactory and distorted culture in the perceptions and experiences of those involved in the Pan-Indianism under study. Our election of the use of the relaxed measure of social class mobility and associated stress was still in keeping with our theory, i.e., brought about the patterning desired, and released numbers to work with. It is with these measures that we shall henceforth be concerned. We could not expect the P to be any more significant, $< .001$, than it already was without the addition of tribal marginality. We could, however, expect that the ϕ would rise if our thesis here is fruitful.

Our basic test (Table 5.59, $\phi = .610$, FE = 46.5) confirmed our predictions. Indeed, 65.6 per cent of the members were found to be measurable in a manner which allowed the assumption of stress in the area of class mobility because they have not achieved their aspirations and because they also perceive themselves as experiencing blockage because of relative deprivation and/or experienced discrimination. The experience in the larger society is made for these more complicated because they also experience stress associated with their marginality toward their rural tribesmen and/or tribe. In contrast, only 7.7 per cent of the non-members are in this plight. There is some predictability in the other direction (FE = 21.3) but we are still left with a gain of 25.2 per cent.

Because of our use of the relaxed measure on social class mobility, we were interested in learning of the relative strengths of relative deprivation and experienced discrimination for being an Indian when these were associated with unachieved aspirations in the final measure. Accordingly, we tested for relative deprivation (Table 5.60, $\phi = .484$, FE = 38.5). The measure of forecasting efficiency allowed predictability toward group membership and none in reverse. The measure on discrimination (Table 5.61, $\phi = .589$, FE = 43.6) was, to our surprise, the stronger. There was, however, in this case predictive potential in the other direction (FE = 12.0) which left us with a margin

F 31.6 per cent, not as great as with relative deprivation. Our interest in this led us to explore again the sub-areas of discrimination. Measuring for this prior to Detroit immigration (Table 5.62, $\phi = .570$, FE = 41.0) we found again reversal potential in predictability (FE = 7.8), leaving us with a margin of 33.2 per cent. When we did this for experienced discrimination during Detroit residence, the strength of the relationship fell but there was improved forecasting potential with no reversal capacity (Table 5.63, $\phi = .529$, FE = 35.9), but still not up to relative deprivation. Finally, we tested in the same manner for experienced discrimination prior to and also during Detroit residence (Table 5.64, $\phi = .446$, FE = 28.2 with no reversal potential). This measure on discrimination, taken singly or with unachieved aspirations alone, was the strongest of those taken on the variable. We think that the reduction here may be the result of the added criterion that the individual show discrimination in both areas simultaneously which type of limitation we had to overcome partially by relaxing our criteria in the other tests. Until these last tests, relative deprivation had higher phi coefficients than discrimination. We are unable to account for the reversal here. Despite the drop in phi in the last test, relative deprivation has retained the higher predictive potential.

We wonder what would have happened had we carried out the analyses using only unachieved aspirations in the larger society and tribal marginality, excluding the areas of relative deprivation and discrimination which were conceptualized as types of blockage for being Indian. In this case the assumed stress associated would not have been measured differently than could have been done on non-Indians. It could, conceptually, have been given an Indian quality by associating it with tribal marginality. In this case (Table 5.65) there would also have been highly significant findings ($P < .001$, $\phi = .514$, $FE = 38.5$). We might expect, if our theory and design for associating variables is fruitful, that the final results would not be as meaningful as those we obtained. Indeed, (1) besides the lacking measures on relative deprivation and (2) discrimination, (3) the strength of the relationship is not as high as the phi of .610 (Table 5.59) which we finally obtained. Furthermore, (4) we would have all but lost antecedance. The measure on forecasting efficiency (Table 5.65) went in both directions, showing a 35.0 per cent gain in the opposite direction with, therefore, a margin of only 3.5 per cent toward identification with Pan-Indianism above that expectable by chance. We would, therefore, have been scarcely better able to predict metropolitan Pan-Indianism from those variables than conversely. Our interest was in

antecedance, suggested as contributory, which we believe has been shown as highly significant.

It is fair to ask if other factors cannot be contributing to identification in the Pan-Indianism under study. We make no claim of offering over a partial explanation. We can, however, suggest a few things from our data and in the light of our analyses. Since it is unwise to base conclusions on chance factors, we would suggest that those areas observed in Chapter II wherein the groups show no significant differences should be held in abeyance until further analyses are made, and they ought not be considered as affecting seriously the results of this study. These areas of comparability between the two groups included differences in age, sex, tribe, degree of Indian "blood" when analyzed at the 1/4th level, adeptness at speaking one's tribal language (which might be conceptualized as saying something about adeptness in the tribal culture), religion, the type of place in which the respondent was socialized (in terms of reservation, rural, metropolitan, small city, etc.), year of immigration into Metropolitan Detroit, age of final immigration, years of continued residence in Metropolitan Detroit, and demographic factors such as household size or the number of children. These areas of comparability also include factors centering around phenomena relating to social class such as residential area, the degree of racial integration characteristic

the residential area, house type, educational and occupational and pay status or achievement, and our final combined measure on social class (achievement).

In Chapter IV we did find some areas on which the groups showed significant differences. These are listed in rank order in Table 4.41. Although not considered heretofore in this chapter, we return to these at this point. Since the strength of the phi coefficient was high in the final test which brought together Hypotheses I and II (Table 5.59), and because we have the greatest possible numbers in both groups there--measurable in terms of the summary measure of associated stress on our overall survey--we used these data when attempting correlations of the significant findings of Chapter IV.

A cursory glance at Table 5.59 indicates only three items in the Non-Membership Group measurable in terms of associated stress whereas 21, or 65.5 per cent of the Membership Group does so. Considering also the significance of the findings to be correlated from Chapter IV (Table 4.41) we would expect significance again if such a correlation is made between groups. We made tests, however, for the insights which they might offer into the rank order between the "present" category of Table 5.59 and the variables stated in Table 4.41. We found:

- $\phi = .580$ Degree of integration into the non-Indian society of the families of orientation. The criterion used here was the relative ratios of the "best friends" of the respondent's parents where these were estimated by the respondent as being Indians in equal or greater ratios than white people ($\chi^2 = 23.934$, $P < .001$).
- $\phi = .579$ Relative ratios of Indian kinsmen remaining in the rural tribal area. The criterion used for correlation was where these were appraised by the respondent as being one half or more ($\chi^2 = 23.837$, $P < .001$).
- $\phi = .550$ Degree of Indian "blood." The criterion used in correlation was three-fourths or more ($\chi^2 = 21.510$, $P < .001$).
- $\phi = .529$ Relative ratios of the "best friends" (Indian) of the respondent still living in the rural tribal area. The criterion used in correlation was that half or more of this friends must be Indian and living there ($\chi^2 = 19.832$, $P < .001$).
- $\phi = .478$ The Indian reservation as a place of socialization ($\chi^2 = 16.136$, $P < .001$).
- $\phi = .446$ Canadian citizenship ($\chi^2 = 14.140$, $P < .001$).
- $\phi = .316$ Non-Indian marriages ($\chi^2 = 5.708$, $P < .001$).

One should compare this rank order with that presented in Table 4.41 without the above correlation, differences are small. Canadian citizenship drops from the second place to sixth (there are only seven), and the degree of "blood" rises from the sixth position to the third. From these, the changes are slight. It appears to follow that Canadian citizenship follows, given the reservation as a place of socialization in the above criteria. Quite different from marrying a white may also be related to the reservation as a place of socialization. We have not included the tables on the above data since almost all of

e variation occurs within the Membership Group. Of the
 ree persons in the Non-Membership Group showing the
 ociated stress scores in Table 5.59, there is only one
 appears in each of the above tables with the correla-
 ns, except for the first (family of orientation) where,
 erestingly, all three appear.

Perhaps more interesting is a consideration of a
 relation between those demographic findings found sig-
 cant in Chapter IV and the final associated stress
 ure of Table 5.59 within the Membership Group. If
 e demographic data are significantly correlated with
 stress measure, we should expect significance to occur
 his type of analysis as well as before. However,
 rdless of their former significance, the following are
 elated in this case significantly to our final mea-
 (1) the degree of integration into the non-Indian
 ty of the family of orientation of the respondent
 e 5.66), (2) the national citizenship, Canada as
 ed to the United States (Table 5.67), (3) the relative
 of Indian kinsmen, half or more versus less than
 remaining in the rural tribal area (Table 5.68),
 reservation versus non-reservation place of socializa-
 Table 5.69), (5) degree of Indian "blood" when con-
 d at our most effective measure, the three-fourths
 (Table 5.71), and (6) marriage to non-Indians (Table
 Of those findings which were formerly significant

only the subjective estimate of one's "best friends" (they must be Indian) remaining in the rural tribal area (Table 5.70) remained, and with a phi of .501.

It is difficult to present reasons why we found significance between the groups on the variables of Table 4.41 and not also within the Membership Group when correlated with the final associated stress measure of Table 5.70. First, demographic factors such as those we studied in Chapter IV ought not be neglected in future studies. Second, individuals evidently are attracted to Pan-Indianism for a variety of reasons. When comparisons are made between Pan-Indian groups and control groups similar to those in Table 4.41, demographic differences are quite likely easily obtained (i.e., visible or apparent) but study should stop there. Third, we would suggest that when concentration is given to a Pan-Indian group by itself, a pattern emerges. It would appear from what we found that researchers should exercise caution in leaping to the conclusion that because a constellation of significant findings are made corresponding to those of Table 4.41, respondents affected will also be under stress because of life in the larger society or away from their reservation, tribe, or rural tribal area. One type of stress may or may not be associated with the other. Fourth, we would suggest that those findings of Table 4.41 do not significantly correlate with data other than those of Table 5.70.

There is an interesting observation to be made from the one finding which was significant in the last set of tests, that on the correlation of assumed stress from Table 5.59 with the respondent's subjective estimate of the relative ratio of his "best friends" (Indian) living in the rural tribal area (Table 5.70). The results were highly significant and there was a forecasting efficiency score of 14.3 per cent indicating ability to predict associated stress (Table 5.59), given a knowledge of the relative ratio of the "best friends" of the respondent who remain in the rural tribal area. There is, however, greater predictability in the opposite direction--a forecasting efficiency score of 41.2 per cent indicating ability to predict that those involved in metropolitan Pan-Indianism and who are under the associated stress measured in Table 5.59 will more often have higher ratios of their "best friends" (Indian) still remaining in the rural tribal area than will others. It would appear, therefore, that, being disappointed in the larger society in which they have not realized their aspirations and where they have been disadvantaged for being Indian and where they also find themselves unable to maintain the social ties they have with their rural tribesmen, they come under compounded stress with the result that they are especially interested in actively maintaining their Indian friends in the rural area. Our measures are taken in a manner which

suggests that in these aspirations they fail. It is these who seek a new way of life, one which is more satisfying--an alternative--and the cultural innovation of Pan-Indianism becomes the answer.

These are the people who, being aspirant toward both the goals of the larger society and the tribe, find that in Pan-Indianism they can espouse both. These are the people who, being under stress and disappointed (1) because they have tried but have not achieved their goals in the larger society, being aware that they have been disadvantaged in their efforts by that society simply because they are Indians, and also because (2) they find themselves unable to achieve their aspirations toward their tribe and rural tribesmen, come to feel themselves somewhat apart from--marginal to--both. It is a mixed feeling, belonging and not belonging at the same time, in both but also apart from both, and the Pan-Indian blending or syncretism affords the answer. It is here that they find the new culture, one which allows them to be Indian Americans. Here they find a culture uniquely their own with its own traits, and in the pow wow they have put wheels under their feelings and longings to mingle with others like themselves. Wherever they go they look at the countryside to be reminded of the land that once was theirs and the history of cultural contact. Aspiring to a new way of life they are able to condemn that which they feel as disadvantageous to the

cause, whether in the non-Indian society or the tribe,
and in their efforts they enjoin their fellow Indians to
follow in the quest for something better.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The purpose of this study has been to extend our knowledge on Pan-Indianism, demonstrate what we believe is a fruitful theoretical and operational approach to this and kindred phenomena, make our findings comparable and relevant to a wide variety of other studies which extend beyond the one attempted here, and to generate some provocative questions and make suggestions both with regard to the larger issues of Pan-Indianism and anthropological theory. The conceptual context was revitalization theory, one among many in the study of socio-cultural change, a revitalization movement being defined as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying way of life." In keeping with this, we raised two primary questions: (1) "To what extent can some Pan-Indian organizations be viewed as a type of revitalization movement?" and (2) "What are some of the antecedant factors making the appearance of such probable?"

The approach utilized was twofold. In Part I (Chapter II of the study) we considered the emergence of

metropolitan Pan-Indianism as illustrated by the North American Indian Association of Detroit, Michigan. Here the focus was primarily on the group, and attention was given essentially to phenomena which were social and cultural in nature. Some consideration, however, was given to the role of individuals because of the relevance of such to the theory within which we were operating.

In Part II (Chapters III, IV, and V of the study) we turned our attention from the group to the individual in an effort to learn from their experiences, perceptions, and affective responses the appeal of such organizations to some but not other Indians. In Part I we took a diachronic perspective and used qualitative data. It was an effort to add documentary data to the relatively little information on Pan-Indianism which we currently have in the literature and in a manner which would be pertinent to our overall theory and objectives. In Part II we utilized a synchronic perspective and data which were quantitative, gathered through the administration of an interview schedule. Under the assumptions (1) that revitalization movements emerge among people who are under stress because they perceive the sociocultural conditions under which they are living as peculiarly distorted against themselves from which their unsatisfactory lifeways are derived, and (2) that those actively participating in such movements should display in their responses evidence of at least the

assumption of said stress and dissatisfaction; we adopted statistical measures and tested in selected and limited areas hypotheses for the same. In the context of revitalization theory we reasoned that if in Part I we should find the Association studied a response, in part at least, to sociocultural conditions which are perceived as unsatisfactory and distorted against Indians, in Part II we should find in its members corresponding evidence for stress associated with similar lack of satisfaction.

A Consideration of the Findings
in Part I

We suggested that there might occur--in the past, present, or future--other types of pan-Indianism than that under analysis. Therefore, we operationally defined the Pan-Indianism under study as having, in addition to the more general criteria for pan-Indianism of an ideology of the unity of Indians of all tribes around features and interests common to themselves, a set of identifying traits in keeping with those found by Howard (1955) and Newcomb (1952 and 1955) on the Southern Plains. These include: large-scale intertribal gatherings, usually associated with the contemporary intertribal pow wow; generalized "feather" costumes ; the election of an Indian princess; the sale of Indian crafts; and essentially secular goals and means.

We were careful to point out that Pan-Indianism and revitalization or revitalization movements are different phenomena. Accordingly, we indicated that a group or an organization of individuals which might be characterized as Pan-Indian might or might not be further characterized as a revitalization movement. The caution was taken because of theoretical relevance when dealing with two different attributes, either of which may or may not be present; and because of our lack of understanding on kindred Pan-Indian organizations, which made us somewhat hesitant to extend our findings generally without good reason. This was not meant to infer that other such groups are not as revitalistic as the one under study--they may be more so.

In Part I we sought to develop in diachronic perspective the two concepts of emergent Pan-Indianism in Metropolitan Detroit and data pertinent to revitalization. In addition, we sought to bring the two together interpretatively, should such seem warranted. For ease of presentation and because the data appeared to suggest it, we divided the time span covered into three eras or periods: 1940-1947, 1948-1958, and 1959-1968.

Our data seemed to suggest that the organization had become pan-Indian by at least 1947, before becoming Pan-Indian. Although other factors were also quite likely at work in contributing to this, we suggested the following:

1. A general cultural "forgetting" among the personnel of much of their former cultures, especially in those areas relating to tribal ceremonies and dancing. This was due largely to the inroads by the non-Indian white culture, especially via the activities of Christian missions.
2. The immigration of Indians from diverse tribal and cultural backgrounds across the United States and Canada into the metropolis where they sometimes joined the Association. In this close grouping considerable intertribal exchange and sharing occurred. This was accompanied by an intense interest in individuals to learn again of their own tribal cultures, through speakers and anthropological source materials, and to share their knowledge with the others. For many this was a period of learning to be Indian which, because of the intertribal and intercultural mixing, we have labeled "ethno-syncretic." Something very close to this was noted by both Howard and Newcomb for the Southern Plains.
3. The role of the mass media of communication of the larger society and the accompanying attitudes of its members which assigned to the Indians in question the designation of being "Indian" rather than a member of given tribes. This has also been noted by other observers as contributive to the appearance of Pan-Indianism.
4. The role of the sponsoring institution, the Y.W.C.A., both as sponsor and, primarily, in its use of its own influence to thrust the organization before the non-Indian public in the metropolis as the official representative group of all Indians.
5. The role of professional and semi-professional Indian entertainers who had migrated into the metropolis, joined the group, and been active since the inception. In their local performances these often appeared as representatives of the organization and of Indians in general, through which they both drew public attention to the group and provided its members social status as Indians.

6. The effect of receiving and accepting invitations from civic organizations to appear as guests, representatives of Indians, also appears contributive. This is slightly different from 3 (above) inasmuch as this is at the organizational and group level. This public image of them as "Indians," being understood, most likely tended to enhance their self-image in the same direction.
7. The effect of World War II. It appears from the data that those men returning from it had been enlarged in perspective since the focus of most of the discussions from that time appears to be on Indians in general rather than on select groups.
8. The role of Pan-Indian organizations at the national and international levels. Even though Newcomb (1952 and 1955) did not see the effects of these as significant in contributing to the appearance of Pan-Indianism on the Southern Plains, there has been a long association between the Association and such, both from the United States and Canada, since 1946. Speakers from these have urged affiliation in a common cause, a perspective which views Indians as a whole, and there has been response in kind within the organization.
9. Awareness of the political intentions of legislators in Congress regarding issues pertinent to termination and the withdrawal of federal support to tribes and those on the reservations. This tended to focus attention away from themselves to other Indians far removed geographically and to "Indian issues" generally.
10. The winter blizzards of 1947, especially as these related to the Navaho. These elicited intense and immediate emotional response and undoubtedly enhanced a feeling of identification with these, because of both being Indian.

In our consideration of the possible revitalistic features associated with emergent Pan-Indianism, as illustrated by the Association, we elected consideration of the processual structure suggested by Wallace (1956)

because it easily lends itself to the diachronic approach we were employing. However, (1) we noted his observation that these stages are "somewhat overlapping" (Wallace, 1956:268) and (2) suggested that their treatment should be carefully related to data pertinent to revitalization movements in general and to developing Pan-Indianism.

Generalizing on the emergence of Pan-Indianism, we noted that it is set in the context of social and cultural change, one characterized by dominant-subordinant social relationships in which the various tribal units have been placed in the subordinant position.

When we observed data pertinent to revitalization at the time the Association came into being, we found that:

1. The devastating effect of white dominance in Indian life was already old to Indians generally and very real to those who had migrated to Detroit, usually because they desired to escape from the unsatisfactory sociocultural conditions in which they had found themselves in their rural tribal areas. Their awareness of this suggested to us that the differences between the two systems--that of their "tribe" versus that of the dominant society--is self-evident.
2. Immigration and adjustment to the metropolis was for those who had migrated to Detroit a second setting of sociocultural change, one which might be characterized as an "era of increased individual stress." Most had come in hope, seeking escape from poverty, discrimination and prejudice, lack of opportunity, and humiliation, but had finally settled in the skid row area of the metropolis.
3. The Association began as the result of the vision and efforts of one man, himself an Indian, of elevating the environment of these

migrant Indians and providing for them a better way of life, i.e., of countering factionalism, alcoholism, the loss of Indian identity in the metropolis, and their unsatisfactory adjustment to the same. Since his own visits into the area were intermittent, of brief duration, and expected to continue but for a short time, he entrusted the infant group to a larger organization which--because of its proximity to those concerned, the facilities which it offered, its prestige in the larger community, and its experience--he felt, given the conditions at the time, could best assist the group achieve the goals which he had envisioned.

We did not suggest that the infant group was a revitalistic movement at its inception, although it may have been, for caution because (1) we lacked much of the data we would have liked relevant to the personality and type of leadership exercised by the founder--it is our personal opinion that the required criteria for revitalistic leadership would have been met; (2) part of the objectives are clearly ascertained, being incorporated into the first preamble of the earliest constitution which was immediately drawn up, but those which are the more extensive and far-reaching are more or less implicit; (3) the means established were essentially recreational, at least overtly so, although implicitly tied to the more far-reaching goals; and (4) we lacked evidence on phenomena relating to other criteria of revitalization movements such as the code, missionary enthusiasm, etc.

We suggested that during the years 1940-1947, in keeping with the emergent pan-Indian perspective wherein

the members came to view Indian society and culture as something of a totality or unity, there was a growing awareness of cultural distortion toward Indians in general in which they came to see that culture as both unsatisfactory to those living under it and as distorted because of its interrelationships with that of the larger, primarily non-Indian, one. In our opinion emergent pan-Indianism is related to the revitalistic characteristics of the Association. It was the development of pan-Indianism and later of Pan-Indianism which gave the members a sense of perspective and identity linking them to all Indians generally (1) in time (past, present, and future), and (2) spacially (beyond the immediate environs in which they found themselves and the tribes from which they had come). Some of the factors from our data which we saw as contributive to this sense of sociocultural distortion were:

1. Continued residence in the metropolis, accompanied by observations on non-Indians, focused attention on features of the overall sociocultural system which were inconsistent with the welfare of Indians in general, the relevant unit. We have indicated previously that they were already aware of this generally when they had migrated but suggest at this point that, because of the many difficulties which they were facing in the adjustment and their observations on the inability of some of their numbers to cope satisfactorily, their own inadequate preparedness and consequent understanding of the sub-standard conditions from which they had come was drawn into sharper focus.

2. Continued residence in the metropolis brought increasing exposure to the "American Dream" (cf. Merton, 1957:131-160; Parker and Kleiner, 1966:55-66; Graves, 1967:319) with its goals of individual achievement and promise of equal opportunity for all. We suggested that they knew from personal experience that this promise, which might apply to Americans as a whole, did not apply to Indians generally. However, greater exposure to the "American Dream" most likely deepened their perception of distortion.
3. World War II altered their perspectives. Many found in the experience a new type of orientation to non-Indians, i.e., some have stated that they fled into the Armed Services in order to escape the unsatisfactory conditions under which they were living (economic, social, etc.), where they found themselves treated on a par with others. The experience also served to refocus attention on the plight of Indians on reservations and in the rural areas, but in keeping with the pan-Indian motif. Some of those returning appeared also to be enamoured with the concept that, given united political effort, something could be done to improve the lot of all those Indians in such areas who were less fortunate than themselves.
4. The role of Pan-Indian organizations at the national and international level was important as a factor in the development of the perception of cultural distortion in pan-Indian perspective. Speakers and communications from the same continually emphasized the violation of Indian rights, broken treaties, and the plight of those on distant reservations, e.g., discrimination, poverty, unsympathetic Indian agents, inadequate housing, sanitation, medical facilities, educational and economic opportunities, etc. The emergent pan-Indian identity made these issues (whether or not the members were actually involved personally) theirs, and they felt a sense of involvement.
5. Their awareness of events in Congress which were pertinent to Indians, especially those relating to termination and the withdrawal of services to those on the reservations, were viewed as contradictory to the best interests

of those Indians concerned, in violation of Indian treaties and Indian rights, and directed toward the ultimate dissolution of Indian identity itself.

6. The plight of the Navaho because of the winter blizzards of 1947, at the very time Congress was considering matters relating to termination or the withdrawal of federal services to those on the reservations, further charged their distress over cultural distortion with emotional intensity.

Consideration of the foregoing suggests that many of the very phenomena which contributed to the development of pan-Indianism between 1940 and 1947 also contributed to the perspective of the unsatisfactory sociocultural conditions under which Indians in general were living and the related feeling that the larger U.S. society and culture is distorted against Indians, being biased or set against their best interests. For the years which follow the relationships between emergent Pan-Indianism in the area and revitalism are so close that they are perhaps best considered together.

Between 1948 and 1968 a number of factors, in addition to those previously mentioned, further contributed to the notion of cultural distortion. These also are in part related to the efforts of the group to effect change. Some of those suggested by the data are (Enumeration continues from that which precedes since we are continuing the notion of perceived cultural distortion):

7. Adverse publicity in the news media which contributed to negative stereotypes among non-Indians toward Indians. Included also are various items and cartoons making Indians an object of buffoonery.
8. Encounters between the members and non-Indians in which the members experienced what they interpreted as evidence of negative stereotypes toward themselves. These were both humiliating and evidence that they were assigned, by reason of their Indianness, to an inferior social position.
9. Many of the members suffered continued experiences of being discriminated against as Indians in the metropolis and also when they travelled from it into rural areas. In the metropolis these experiences were in the areas of housing, occupation, pay, and (at least in their interpretation) before the law.
10. Continued appeals for economic, i.e., welfare, and social assistance from Indians at the local, State, and national levels. Those appeals which we here term "social" vary somewhat according to level. Excluding those areas pertaining to legislative and/or political matters, these appeals at the local level are for assistance to non-members as well as members in matters relating to domestic problems, discrimination and prejudice directed toward individuals, and legal assistance in criminal cases; and at the State level they involve essentially the struggles of other Indians in the areas of experienced discrimination and prejudice. At the national level these appeals for "social" assistance usually involve the standing with other Indians on legislative and/or political matters where treaty rights are interpreted as being violated. All of these appeals continued to reinforce the notion of sociocultural distortion against Indians in general from which their unsatisfactory lifeways are derived.
11. The struggle over termination which became a major issue of concern in the group between 1956 and 1958 when it appeared as though it would be applied to the remaining reservations in Michigan, especially at Isabella. Considerable effort was expended to forestall this

and discussions revolved around not only termination but the general unsatisfactory cultures of Indians, especially those on the reservations. Their growing perception and final conclusion that the fight against the federal government on this was hopeless, served to strengthen the notion of distortion.

12. Their failure to, even with the cooperation of other groups of Indians, have the American Indian Point IV Program ratified by Congress. This proposal was designed to provide the type of aid to Indians such as the nation was offering to various foreign countries. Failure demonstrated to them rather convincingly that, in addition to the failure of their government to honor their tribal treaties and adequately provide for the plight of those on the reservations, they were not valued as worthy of help in comparison to these others nor was their government about to listen to their appeals regardless of their united efforts. To them this was evidence of sociocultural bias and distortion.
13. The continuing struggle over the Jay Treaty. The Treaty relates primarily to those Indians crossing between the U.S. and Canada in which they are accorded the right without visa, accompanied by privileges of living and working in the United States as they please. Locally, the Association has been the defending agent of those Indians having difficulty in the matter--e.g., forced removal from the United States by immigration officials, dismissal from jobs by employers because the individual was known to be from Canada without a visa. Such incidents involve in their thinking not only a breach of treaty rights but what amounts to a denial of Indian status.
14. The efforts of the Association to have the Michigan Legislature declare discrimination against Indians illegal. This is separated from items 9 and 10 (above) because it involves the use of legal and political means by the Association, in cooperation with all of the tribal groups within the State. The issue developed in Metropolitan Detroit in 1960 when a local cemetery denied burial to an Indian war veteran and was widened by the

Association to include discrimination against Indians in the added areas of education, occupation, pay, housing, and admittance to public buildings. Using every available means at the time, these Indians worked for two years on the matter to be defeated both years when it came before the State Legislature--the last occasion being in 1962. A reading of the records and reflection on its effect within the group leads us to view the experience as an important contributive factor both to stress at the individual level and consensus within the group regarding the perception of Indians living in a society and culture which is biased and distorted against their welfare. Although it is now corrected (because of more recent legislation relating to civil rights in general), the matter is still viable--the Association being nearly drawn into similar battles within more recent years on behalf of Michigan's rural Indians and its own members who are temporarily residing in those areas.

Wallace (1956) has given considerable and meaningful attention to what he terms "The Period of Revitalization," wherein he presents the major tasks which a religious type of revitalization movement (and by extension, others as well) is expected to fulfill, and the criteria by which they are to be judged. He allows some variation around these when considering data on specific cases--e.g., those emerging in societies with differing cultures and at differing levels of sociocultural development, and, especially, those which are not religious but secular. In like manner, Linton (1943) and others have suggested that variation will occur, dependent upon these factors and the segment of the society within which the phenomenon occurs. We have offered the simple suggestions that

ular as well as religious types of revitalization movements ought be considered; that the specific features of all types of such movements ought be congruent with the sociocultural situation and experiences of those concerned; and that the determining criteria be relaxed somewhat from those types which are purely religious to allow the admission of those types which are secular, i.e., specific enough to maintain broad comparability. Accordingly, we made, among others, the following observations from our data:

1. The Association has emerged in the contemporary United States which is, generally, undergoing progressive secularization. The emphasis of that society and culture--in this case that of our respondents--is not ordinarily the accomplishment of goals through means which are religious and/or magical in nature but rather via those which are rational and secular. In keeping with this, rational and secular means are espoused by the organization in question.
2. The Association has also emerged in a society which is democratic in polity, the federal government through the Indian Reorganization Act expected democratic polity to prevail in the tribal corporations resulting from acceptance of the Act, the members have come to believe that the idealized former Indian culture was democratic in polity, the members are thoroughly acquainted with the democratic process and have for a long time been active participants in it, and the sponsoring institution has both advocated and trained the members in it. Today the members are very adept at parliamentary procedure as laid down in Robert's Rules of Order and, since the inception of the group, have strictly adhered to their By Laws and Constitution, modifying the same quickly should their objectives or requirements by organizational development

require it. Accordingly, their leaders--not necessarily those most influential--are chosen by parliamentary procedure and changed frequently.

3. There have appeared, despite the comments in 2 (above), a series of leaders within the group who, in our opinion and given our preliminary suggestions, fulfill the requirements of a revitalization movement rather well. These appear in each of the eras but especially at times of transition: the formation of the group in 1940, in 1948 and 1949, and the years subsequent to 1959 but especially in 1960 and following. Although we do not have in our data information relevant to their psychological characteristics or the occasion(s) on which they became possessed of a "vision" for a better way of life for Indians, we do have some data pertinent to the message and the manner in which it was proclaimed--and, on the leader at the time of our field work, considerable other data. These are all well-educated individuals with access to power, i.e., manifested ability in dealing both with Indians and the larger society. They all express lament over the unsatisfactory and distotred culture in which Indians are living. The message they espouse, while varying some because of the immediate issue(s) at hand, is for a better way of life for all Indians, and is proclaimed in a homily-like manner. In speaking of the leader whom we observed we have documented something of the dynamic leadership he offers, the magnetism of his personality as evidenced by the response elicited, his deliberate assumption of leadership both among Indians and, on behalf of them, before the non-Indian segment of society, the manner in which he assumes a protective custody over those who follow his leadership, the code which he espouses, the "homilies" he has delivered, his "evangelistic" fervor, and his appeal to his followers to "go out and do missionary work among your own people."
4. Because in 1948 and 1949 the leaders were challenging the members to reorganization with goals of accomplishing a better way of life for all Indians, advocating the use of means which were--among others--legal and political,

and because these changes were effected, we referred to this as the "period of revitalization," meaning that--although it may have occurred earlier--such a shift could be seen as evident at and following from this time.

5. Soon after the change, 4 (above), the group became Pan-Indian in all features except the incorporation of the pow wow. There had not been much learning of Indian dancing, generally, between 1940 and 1947. Given expanded goals which had been proclaimed by their leaders in 1948 and 1949, the group became intensely interested in the presentation of pageants for the purpose of raising money to accomplish those goals. Inspired by the success of the pageants at Harbor Springs, they aspired to similar activities in Detroit but the occasion waited until Detroit's Birthday Celebration in 1951. The stage had also been prepared for the advent of Pan-Indian dancing from the Southern Plains by the removal or retirement of the former professionals and by the presence of very adept drummers and dancers in the Pan-Indian type who could serve as teachers. The spectacular success of the Birthday Parade, witnessed by a million people and covered by the press, radio, and television, brought recognition and encouragement. Immediately the group began its Pan-Indian dancing with enthusiasm.
6. In each of the eras, but especially beginning with 1948, emissaries have gone from the group into other Indian communities starting dance groups, recalling Indians back to the "Indian way," starting groups like the one under consideration, or starting pow wows--if after 1959. We have been able to document many of these endeavors, the missionary spirit of the emissaries, and much of the content of their message. In like manner, the group has responded at the organizational level in the formation of new and similar ones. So extensive are these efforts that a consideration of the emergence of Pan-Indianism in Metropolitan Detroit becomes almost a consideration of the emergence of the same throughout the area. [At the last annual banquet of the

Association (May, 1970) one of the former presidents, now resident on the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin, spoke, and not only called upon the members to develop "political muscle" for the procurement of a better way of life for Indians, but reported that only recently he had been in Honolulu of the Hawaiian Islands where he had organized a North American Indian Club, named directly after the one under study, and constitutionally organized after it as well.]

7. We referred to the years 1948-1958 also as the "first period of adaptation." It was at this time that the presentation of Indian pageants and dance programs, with Pan-Indian costumes and dancing, prevailed. It was also in this period that the group came to cope, although with issues somewhat removed from themselves geographically, with their goals for a more satisfying culture for all Indians by attempting (it is here where at least their most visible efforts are manifest) to halt termination and to secure the passage of the American Indian Point IV Program. When these efforts failed they turned to the goal of education, but not releasing others, as the one thing--given their special talents--they could do and which was least likely to fail to help Indians most now and as a whole in the future.
8. We called the years 1959-1968 "the second period of adaptation." Almost immediately following the election of the goal of educational scholarships for Indians the leadership passed to one from the Southwest and in the fall that followed the pow wows were initiated, manifestly to achieve the goals of raising money for the scholarships. Thus began fully developed Pan-Indianism. It was during this era that the group came to cope with issues immediately at hand--geographically proximate--to eventually become not only the primary Indian organization in the area and the one through which they do for themselves but the official voice for and champion of all Indians in the metropolis. The issue which thrust them into the limelight was that of discrimination against Indians, of which we have spoken, and it was during the latter part of the era that we made our own observations as a participant.

9. We have suggested, from the appeals of the leaders and those of the emissaries and also from the homilies of the leader during our period of observation, a "code." This has also been analyzed with respect to its moral content, the promised benefit to those accepting it, and the behavioral patterns expected of the members.
10. We have also suggested that, while the Pan-Indianism under study is essentially secular, there are religious elements. These have been documented in the case of some of the Pan-Indian myths which we have collected, the appeals of the emissaries in the spread of the phenomenon, and the suggested symbolism behind parts of the pow wow.

As we see it, the Association is about to undergo
 ge once more. It aspires on the one hand to a building
 ts own and to developing an Indian center of its own,
 lar to that in Chicago, and it appears as though it
 lo the same. On the other hand, it has entered its
 d year in holding the outdoor pow wow and a number
 e families are purchasing trailers of differing
 , using them even locally. Long-distance travel to
 events is not new, but should their traditional pow
 ass, i.e., no longer be held in some of the larger
 oriums of the metropolis, in favor of the outdoor type
 changes may occur. Furthermore, much of the appeal
 aracter of the group is dependent upon the leadership.
 not know how to predict this.

Although we have exercised as much care as possible
 gathering of our data, we recognize that when pro-
 ns have been made to other groups in the area our

are subject to bias since they relate to, and come from individuals within, a single group. Accordingly, we would suggest the relevance of similar studies on emergent Pan-Indianism in the area to strengthen or refute our findings and to complete the picture which we have partially been able to present.

We would also suggest the relevance of studies on emergent Pan-Indianism in other areas of the United States from the perspective of revitalization. We believe much of what we have said of emissaries and the changes they present is generally true elsewhere. A study of this along with the other related phenomena would contribute considerably to our understanding of Pan-Indianism and be stimulating to revitalization theory as well.

We have indicated some of the similarities, by way of contrast, between Pan-Indianism and the Ghost Dance of the 1890s, especially during its closing years on the Southern Plains. It appears to us that, beginning with the work of Hallowell (1933) and others, interesting and important studies could be made on the emergence of Pan-Indianism. Hallowell (1952) and Newcomb (1952 and 1955) found it already well developed at the time of their field studies. Although we implied it was emergent, we would guess that it may be older, although less developed. Such a study would contribute not only to an understanding of its origin and evolution but would bear upon Voget's suggestion (1956)

at such movements, once religious in configuration,
become secularized in time--or do they cease being
movement at all except under certain conditions?

We have been unable to gather and assess data on
personality characteristics of the leaders in this
organization, and on occasion of--"moment of insight"
(Malace, 1956)--or reasons underlying, to themselves,
goals they espouse. Studies in this area will be
valuable both in an understanding of Pan-Indianism and
revitalization theory.

We would also suggest that studies in the area of
ethnology and religion, especially on those who are the
promoters and emissaries of Pan-Indianism, along with the
accompanying motives impelling them to devote so much of
themselves to the task, would be of interest. A study of
religious and/or semi-religious beliefs and attitudes
accompanying Pan-Indianism will, we think, be
of interest in themselves and in a further consideration
of the relationships between Pan-Indianism and revitaliza-
tion theory. Such might also show comparability to
other types of attitudes and beliefs in parallel ethnic
groups struggling for a better way of life. It
seems to us that, among others, themes such as those
pertaining to a "halo" (Kroeber, 1948:437) culture of the
prophesied disaster in the present, predicted
prosperity or achievement in the future, Indian dignity and

ues, and Indians as "God's chosen people," all of which have found, add both something of a subjective understanding of the phenomenon to those reading about it and also be highly comparable with similar movements elsewhere.

A Consideration of the Findings

in Part II

In Part II we turned to the individual in an effort to determine if those most actively involved in metropolitan Pan-Indianism (as exemplified by membership and attendance at the regular monthly meetings of the American Indian Association) can be measured in a manner which (1) allows the assumption of stress associated with unsatisfactory, dissatisfying, and/or distasteful experiences because of the sociocultural situation in which they find themselves; and (2) when final correlations were made would suggest a configuration attesting their perception of the sociocultural conditions under which they have in the past been) living as both unsatisfied and distorted against their interests because they are Indians. The purpose was to add another dimension of understanding to the data offered in Part I and to offer additional data by demonstrating that the postulated and perception of cultural distortion at the group level which we have interpreted as present, is matched by statistically measurable evidence of the same at the

individual level. That such stress is present in the lives of persons actively involved in revitalization movements is the assumption of most who have considered the phenomenon (e.g., Wallace, 1956; Linton, 1943; Kroeber, 1948:437-440; Howells, 1948:278; Hagan, 1966:411; Chesneaux, 1965:100; Smith, 1959; Clemhout, 1964; Voget, 1956:249; Aberle, 1966:322,333). We reasoned that these measures would provide important supporting evidence for our possible findings in Part I and be a contribution in their own right as well.

We recognized that individuals might affiliate with a revitalization movement sometimes for reasons of their own which differ from those factors to which the group is responding (cf. also Wallace, 1956:273) and therefore we did not expect perfect correlations or everyone to respond equally on all items. We did expect, however, the active participants to exhibit the "stress" patterns sought more than others and, therefore, we used as a control group a simple random sample from all Indians we could find in the same area who have never identified themselves with the group--therefore being the persistent outsiders.

We elected the use of measures allowing the assumption of stress but in areas believed relevant to Pan-Indianism, revitalism, the respondents themselves, and other areas of theory. Our hypotheses are set in the

eral context of social mobility, Hypothesis I relating mobility within the larger and essentially non-Indian society, and Hypothesis II relating to mobility with respect to the tribe and rural tribesmen. We concentrated on the disjunction between aspirations and achievement, the expression by the individual of distress or disappointment on failure. The measures used were derived essentially from the recent work of Parker and Kleiner (1965) who have demonstrated their utility through correlation with and the prediction of mental illness in a parallel group. The relevance of the measures in a context of revitalism appeared warranted in lieu of the sociological concept that such movements offer a source of hope and an alternative to those who, under stress generated by what they know is sociocultural dissonance against their best interests, might otherwise exhibit symptoms of anomie, regressive behavior, or become candidates for mental illness (e.g., Wallace, 1956).

Here we restate our hypotheses and sub-hypotheses for convenience.

I. Class mobility and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Ia. Disjunction between aspirations and achievement and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

- Ib. Relative deprivation and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.
- Ic. Discrimination for being Indian will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.
- II. Tribal marginality and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.
 - IIa. Disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with tribesmen and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.
 - IIb. Loss of tribal status and associated stress will be significantly greater in the Membership Group than in the Non-Membership Group.

Our decision to consider the (D) disjunction, synonymous with "discrepancy" or "failure to achieve," between aspirations and achievements is not new in the thinking of cultural anthropologists or others in the social sciences who attempt to understand ways in which cultural distortion may generate stress in individuals. It is not new in the thinking or research efforts of anthropologists who have considered underlying factors in the emergence of revitalization movements. In like manner, the other concepts offered in the hypotheses are consistent with anthropological theory on these issues. They are offered partly in an effort to replicate the work of

ners and partly to make the results of this study useful comparative analyses of differing sorts. The manner in which we have interrelated them in the overall design of study and the method of analysis may, however, represent something of an innovation both in studies on Pan-ianism and revitalization movements.

Some have suggested that revitalization movements arise under conditions of deprivation, e.g., disadvantage: economic, social, cultural, and/or other. We observed that groups have continued under these conditions for long periods without revitalization movements apparently occurring. We have felt that a fruitful alternative would be consideration of the (D) disjunction between that which people have, achievements, and that which they wish they could have, aspirations. This is implicit in the work of thinking of Aberle (1966) on "measuring points" and frees us from a consideration of what amounts essentially to social status, e.g., the deprived or those at lower levels. Linton (1943) suggested, also, that religious movements might appear in differing levels of the overall system. Firth has recently commented (1965:) that contemporary anthropologists should give more attention to the relationships between aspirations and movements when considering such movements. We reasoned that when people aspire to something better than that which they currently have or expect to have, whether such

iration derives from a situation of culture contact or
 e other factor, that it is because they have come to
 ceive their current and/or future sociocultural state
 unsatisfactory and that such an analysis would also
 w us to analyze data from our respondents, who might
 py differing levels of achievement, with single
 ary measures. As a precedent, we noted that Nash
 5:439,441,442) suggested that acceptance of the Ghost
 e doctrine of 1870 was not determined by acceptance
 ejection of white culture, but rather dissatisfaction
 ated by (D) unachieved aspirations. The recent
 es of Parker and Kleiner (1966) gave us our (V)
 ce of failure, hence our measure of associated stress.
 such measures require both grounding in the social
 ture itself (Parker and Kleiner, 1966:302,303) and
 re to the dependent variable, each is taken against
 ive criteria on social class in the goal areas of
 ion, occupation, and pay--hence the term "associated."
 verse reasons heretofore explained, we have been
 to utilize supporting psychological measures--hence
 ononym, "assumed."

It appeared to us that the above concept would be
 ter relevance and more suggestive if another was
 the perception by a group of people that it is
 ately blocked or disadvantaged in the attainment
 goals. We reasoned that the perception of being

liberately disadvantaged would focus the attention of
 those affected on the factors in themselves (e.g., ethnic)
 which were the cause of the blockage, and/or those respon-
 sible for the blockage. We also reasoned that the per-
 ception of themselves as so disadvantaged would cause
 individuals to feel themselves both rejected and devaluated,
 therefore an unjustified sociocultural distortion against
 their best interests. Thus, if those who are active
 participants in metropolitan Pan-Indianism perceive them-
 selves disadvantaged in the manner suggested, such
 perception could be taken as indicative of the perception
 of cultural distortion and, given correlation with stress
 associated with unachieved aspirations, as compounding
 the stress. This latter concept is congruent with the
 notion of Merton (1957:131-160) that the disjunction
 between socially valued goals and the socially provided
 means of achievement (our perceived disadvantage for being
 disadvantaged) is fruitful in explaining various forms of anomic
 deviant behavior. It also is implicit in Spiro's
 notion (1955:1244,1245) that some form of nativism
 emerges when an ethnic group is "denied" the achieve-
 ment of its aspirations. We elected the use of relative
 deprivation (Hypothesis Ib) and experienced discrimination
 (Hypothesis Ic) as areas of measurement because of their
 theoretical interest, theoretical value, and applicability to
 socialization theory.

Given the above correlations, people might elect alternatives other than revitalization movements: (1) they attempt to hide their ethnicity and flee into the disadvantaged segment of society, this we could test; (2) metropolitan Indians might escape back to the rural area (see Spindler, 1957:154,155). Because of the other possibility, we added the variable of tribal marginality and associated stress (Hypothesis II) asking, "if they cannot do this?" Some might wish to return permanently, now or later, and find themselves unable to do so--hence they would be trapped in a situation from which there is no escape. Still others might wish to return more often than conditions will allow them--and they will be trapped. Both situations can be conceptualized as less than satisfactory.

We made 16 different tests on Hypothesis Ia, the relation between aspirations and achievement and associated stress, in the goal areas of education, occupation, and family, finding the results very significant or highly significant. Following the primary test in each of the areas we made several supplementary ones, analyzing the data from different perspectives and with differing controls. Following that we made some supplementary tests, using different data which we had gathered. We found that some individuals were unable to use (V) valence of failure or the relation between the individual's current achievements

his current aspirations for himself in education
 use of the mean ages of the groups, and were forced
 use as an alternate the disjunction between his previous
 educational aspirations for himself (while still in school)
 his eventual achievements. To strengthen the notion
 the disjunction which we used could be assumed to
 an indicator of stress we correlated this with his
 objective of relative deprivation and associated stress,
 ing the results again very significant. We also were
 to test the level of the former aspirations, and the
 discrepancy between that and the educational achievement
 the head of the family of socialization (assuming that
 er discrepancy would indicate something about desire,
 s, to achieve above the educational level in which
 s reared--i.e., escape to something better). Finally,
 considered against stress associated with educational
 tions for a hypothetical son, it appeared that the
 ship Group should be viewed not only as being under
 because of unachieved aspirations in the past, but
 these have been perpetuated into the present and
 rojected onto the hypothetical son--a measure
 ing the goal-striving in this area which the respon-
 mself is actually experiencing (Parker and Kleiner,
). The achievement level used in this test was
 the respondent himself. Such failure to lower
 ions or the actual raising of them, despite the

actual conditions--i.e., the inability to limit them realistically accompanied by continued striving despite the difficulties was found by Parker and Kleiner (1966: 340) to characterize those under greatest stress in the Community Population--the upwardly mobile.

An interesting correlary to the foregoing was our observation from the qualitative data, gathered while in the field, on the education of actual children. Excluding the mere statement of goals for an aspired university or college education for a hypothetical son, we found that 10 per cent of the members (2.6 per cent of the non-members) have from one to several children who have finished their university education, more often than not an M.A. degree or higher. In addition, 31.3 per cent of the group (5.1 per cent of the non-members) now have children in college or university, and another 12.5 per cent (none among the non-members) have money laid aside for such training for children not yet of that age.

In the goal areas of occupation and pay we found significance when controls were made for full-time work for the head of the household. With occupation, as with education, we found the disjunction between former positions and current achievements, and current achievements and aspirations for the hypothetical son all highly significant. When final correlations between all three variables, all highly significant, that between education

pay was highest, between occupation and pay was second, between education and occupation was last.

Our measures on relative deprivation and associated stress (Hypothesis Ib) were very significant. Interestingly, to our surprise, the phi coefficients obtained were nearly as strong as those on the previous variable, and relative deprivation in the area of occupation ranked first, education was second, and pay was last. None of the members failed to show a measure of (V) valence, whereas a very few did among the non-members. We were unable to relate the measures between the goal areas by group in this variable because of the few among the non-members selected.

When we analyzed our data on experienced discrimination for being an Indian (Hypothesis Ic) the findings were very significant on the overall measure. We then conducted a series of interesting experiments finding the relationship between experienced discrimination and metropolitan Pan-Indianism not only slightly stronger but of greater predictive value when it occurs within the metropolis than prior to life in it. When we measured for experienced discrimination prior to immigration into the metropolis we found, as we expected, no significant differences between the groups. We had suspected during our field work that some had come to the metropolis to escape their experiences which they had in the rural areas and,

e in Detroit, they were careful not to experience them in. When we reanalyzed our data on experienced discrimination for being an Indian prior to and also during residence in the metropolis we found, again as we expected, highest phi coefficient of all. It thus appears that this is far from absent in the metropolis and that those who come under this in rural areas and then under it again when they have settled in the city are especially likely to seek out others and participate in Pan-Indianism there.

When we correlated associated stress measures in the area of blockage, relative deprivation with discrimination, we had the highest correlation of all--stronger than for any single measure alone.

Our basic test on Hypothesis I, social class mobility and associated stress, required measures of associated stress on each of the sub-hypotheses. The results were highly significant with a phi of .477. We constructed an alternate measure, termed "relaxed," wherein we required the respondent to show stress associated with the disjunction between aspirations and achievements and either relative deprivation and associated stress or experienced discrimination for being an Indian or both. In other words, having stress associated with his unachieved aspirations he must also experience stress associated with blockage in one or both of the areas. In this case the phi dropped slightly to .460 but we made

the interesting observation that 71.9 per cent of the members were so affected (25.7 per cent of the non-members). Doing the same but with relative deprivation alone we found the highest phi at .473 in comparison to the overall measure on discrimination at .429. The percentages were higher, however, in the case of discrimination with 62.5 per cent of the members feeling this sort of stress in contrast to 20.5 per cent of the non-members.

Our hypothesis (IIa) on the disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with tribesmen and associated stress required, by design, measures on the frequency of visiting among those in the rural tribal area. When the test was made we found the results very significant. Perhaps a better approach would have been to have considered not only aspirations and actuality in the area of visiting but also in regard to aspired residence prior to retiring, and toward retirement there. We executed these to find stress associated with aspired residence non-significant at the .05 level, one-tailed, although it would have attained significance at the .10 level. This measure concerned expectations and aspiration, being considered the more relevant to the actual situation. In like manner the one on aspired retirement considered expectations as measuring base, but here we attained significance.

Our hypothesis on the loss of tribal status and associated stress (IIb) reached the highest significance of any of the sub-variables under tribal marginality and associated stress (II), a phi of .499. We felt, however, that the measure is perhaps more or less peculiar to those on the Canadian-U.S. border, as in the area under analysis. We have suggested that, given possible termination of tribes in the future, it might be more broadly applicable and relevant then.

The requirement, by design, for the acceptance of Hypothesis II, tribal marginality and associated stress, is that in correlation individuals must be measurable stress associated with both the disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with (rural) tribesmen (IIa) and the loss of tribal status (IIb). The findings were highly significant with a phi of .407. We felt, however, that the "maximal relaxation" on stress associated with tribal marginality was the more appropriate. This developed out of our consideration of the issues and also because of the increase in members with which to work in completing our correla-

By "maximal relaxation" we required that individuals be measured in a manner permitting the assumption of no stress associated with any or all of the following: the disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of social relations with (rural) tribesmen, the

disjunction between aspirations and expectations for retiring in the rural tribal area among one's tribesmen, and the loss of tribal status. When the test was made attained a phi of .405, only .002 less than on our strictest measure. It had the advantage that it was no longer unique to Detroit and possibly a few more selected areas in the United States because we found that all who were measurable in terms of loss of tribal status also were measurable on one or more of the other phenomena. It still retained disjunction and valence, and it still measured tribal marginality and associated stress.

When we made our basic test of combining the data and found the results very significant, $\phi = .272$. This required measures of associated stress on all of the sub-hypotheses (Ia, Ib, Ic, IIa, and IIb). The compounding of all of these criteria in correlation, however, so reduced the numbers of persons showing stress in all of the areas simultaneously that we were forced to use statistical means for correcting for continuity. This, however, led us to execute a series of experiments (using different measures on Hypotheses I and II in different ways) coming to what we believe is our most meaningful test.

Despite the criteria used in the above test, we still have had greater numbers to have finally arrived at what we believe is our most meaningful test. If we had not the measures been on assumed stress--

which requirement required that we have both a measure (D) disjunction and (V) valence of failure, the consequence of which was that all persons used in correlation met not 5 but 15 criteria. Furthermore, we had not expected that our sub-hypotheses would be acceptable so often with $P < .01$ and our correlations with $P < .001$. Of course, it was this very randomness in the Non-Membership Group and the lack of the same in the Membership Group which was inherent in our theory and design of analysis. Even so, eventually the Membership Group itself was finally affected.

Our final and most effective measure of our overall thesis in Part II was made when we correlated findings between Hypothesis I (relaxed, i.e., the respondent must show associated stress on Ia and either Ib or Ic or both) and Hypothesis II (maximal relaxation, i.e., he must show associated stress on the disjunction between aspirations and achievements in the maintenance of social relationships with his (rural) tribesmen or between aspirations and expectations for living in the rural tribal area among his tribesmen prior to retirement or upon retirement or any of these in any combination. Loss of tribal status was irrelevant because all concerned were measurable also on the one or the other of the foregoing). The theoretical relevance of these have been discussed. In the case of Hypothesis I (relaxed) we had 10 in the Non-Membership

group with which to work and 23 in the Membership Group. In the case of Hypothesis II (maximal relaxation) we had 22 in the Non-Membership Group with which to work and 23 in the Membership Group. When the final test was made we obtained significance at $P < .001$ and the phi coefficient equaled to .610. Interestingly, 21 of the 23 in the Membership Group showed correlation, i.e., 65.6 per cent; only three of the non-members, 7.7 per cent, did.

Having completed the testing required in the design of this study and finding the hypotheses and overall theory acceptable in the light of our data and methods of analysis, we turned our attention to a few exploratory tests in an effort to further elucidate the results of the study and to meaningful suggestions for further research and those which we have mentioned heretofore. Some experimental tests had been made during the testing of the hypotheses in an effort to offer supplemental insights. Those that were conducted after the basic work was finished which we shall discuss from this point.

1. Our first major effort has been already mentioned. This was the experimentation which we did in testing Hypotheses I and II. Our awareness that such values might be fruitful began to emerge as soon as we began to correlate our data on Hypotheses Ia, Ib, and in testing Hypothesis I. Essentially, we asked "What happens if we analyze the data in another way?"

found that we eventually lost nothing but rather gained. Accordingly, we recommend reanalysis within the theoretical framework of a given study.

2. Because of the relaxation of Hypothesis I in the final test, we were interested in learning which type of blockage, stress associated with relative deprivation (I) or experienced discrimination for being an Indian (Ic) was the stronger when associated with Hypothesis Ia against Hypothesis II. When we did this both were highly significant but Ib had a phi of .484 whereas Ic had one of .589. We had not expected this rank order because when we considered the same type of measures on class mobility associated stress (I), but without tribal marginality associated stress (II), as above, we found Ib to have a phi of .473 and Ic had one of .429. In other words, when we did not consider tribal marginality (II) it was relative deprivation (Ib) which was the stronger, and when we considered it, it was discrimination (Ic) which was stronger. The phi of both was less than .001, but we cannot explain the reason for the shift in strength and suggest the same for further consideration.

3. We entertained the thought that, since the influence of being discriminated against for being an Indian while living in Detroit when only class mobility associated stress (I) was analyzed, perhaps a sense of shame stemming from experienced discrimination while

living in the metropolis had the effect of shifting the emphasis of individuals back to the tribe. However, when added tribal marginality (maximal relaxation) and associated stress, as in the final test, we found to our surprise that the order was again reversed and that the experience prior to Detroit residence had a phi of .570 that during Detroit residence had one of .529. We were unable to account for this, except perhaps that the experience of discrimination (25 years being the mean of Detroit residence for both groups) was further behind the responses in years. The reversal suggests the relevance of further studies on the matter.

Our strongest finding on discrimination in confirming Hypothesis I by itself was when we considered relations on persons who had been discriminated against being an Indian both prior to and during Detroit residence. When we added tribal marginality and associated stress we found to our surprise that this dual discrimination, although still with a P of less than .001, was the best of the measures ($\phi = .446$). The only suggestion we can offer for this is that the added criterion (that once, i.e., simultaneously) might have brought even our limited numbers, to the point of diminishing returns. This, however, may not be the case and the study is recommended as an interesting one for further work.

4. We returned to our basic theory on blockage and asked "What would have been the final results had we used it?" We had suggested that it was the perception of unjustified blockage for being an Indian which would give the direction to the stress associated with unachieved aspirations (Ia). In the study of Nash (1955), which was on the Klamath reservation, this was implicit--i.e., among Indians they had not achieved. In our study this variable was explicit and we were able to execute our study apart from blockage. When we considered Ia by itself (no sense of blockage), our most comparable measure to those of Parker and Kleiner (1966), we attained a phi of .92 and a P of less than .001, and a forecasting efficiency score of 10.9 in the reverse direction and one of 1.8 in the direction of Pan-Indian identification. When we executed the experiment by using Ia (instead of the related measures on I), and Hypothesis II, in the final analysis the phi rose to .514 but the forecasting efficiency in the reverse direction was 35.0 and in the direction of Pan-Indian identification it was 38.5. Interestingly, while we achieved high significance we lost predictability. We could predict the stress from Pan-Indianism nearly as well as the other way.

This appears to give added support to our theory on the relevance of blockage. We would suggest other studies in the same area on this interesting subject,

e., it is not just that the Membership Group is under stress associated with unachieved aspirations but that, in addition, they perceive themselves thwarted and unjustly disadvantaged--they do not have as good a chance, they do not have as good access to the means of achievement--because they are Indian. It was the addition of the perception of blockage which raised the phi even further and resulted in the greatest predictive ability toward Pan-Indianism.

5. In Chapter IV we carefully considered many demographic data, including those on age, sex, age at Detroit immigration, length of residence within the metropolitan area, tribe; factors relating to social class such as educational and occupational and pay status or achievement, residential area type, the degree of racial integration characteristic of the neighborhood; and our summary measure on social class. All findings on these factors were non-significant. Accordingly, we suggested that this comparability suggests that these factors should not alter our final tests greatly. Some of these variables are of long-standing interest in anthropological research. The findings suggest themselves as being relevant, i.e., length of residence within the metropolis. This suggests the importance of other studies.

6. There were a few demographic variables in Chapter IV which were found to achieve significance or even

high significance when measured against membership or the lack of it. We were interested in learning how these would correlate with our final stress measure and whether or not their rank order would be altered. We were limited at the outset due to the smallness of our groups under comparison. In the Non-Membership Group the highest possible in correlation was three (there were three only on the stress measure). We feel that in this case greater numbers in the groups under comparison would, had they been available, have been of utility. We would suggest interviewing as many persons as possible when conducting field studies.

7. We found ourselves better able to correlate the significant findings in Chapter IV with the final stress measure at the intra-membership level than any other way. When we did this, within the Pan-Indian category itself, we were surprised to find none of the following remaining significant: the degree of integration of the family of orientation into the non-Indian society; national citizenship, Canada as opposed to the United States; the relative ratio of Indian kinsmen remaining in the rural tribal area; reservation versus non-reservation place of socialization; degree of Indian "blood" when controlled at our most effective measure, the 3/4th level; and marriage to whites. Evidently these variables are associated with membership in the Association, but not with

the variables which we have used in our hypotheses. This interesting finding seems to suggest that the groups were even more comparable than we had previously suspected with regard to our final stress measure. We would, however, suggest the relevance of further studies in this area.

In the above type of analysis only the respondent's subjective estimate of the ratio of his "best friends" (half or more) remaining in the rural tribal attained significance, and highly so, with a phi of .501. The score on forecasting efficiency, however, indicated that, given the measure on stress we could predict that the individual will have more friends in that area (FE = 41.2) than conversely (FE = 14.3). This is what we expected.

The lack of general correlation between those significant demographic factors obtained in Chapter IV and the final stress measures seems to suggest to us that great caution should be exercised lest one leap to the conclusion that because such a constellation is found to correlate with Pan-Indianism that it will also correlate with factors such as we analyzed in our hypotheses. While both correlate with Pan-Indianism, they may or may not (here they don't) correlate with other factors associated with Pan-Indianism. The demographic variables all have considerably lower phi coefficients and less predictability than the final stress measure. Furthermore, using them, the predictability of the ratio of kinsmen remaining on

the reservation and the degree of Indian "blood" are more effectively predicted from a knowledge of Pan-Indianism than the other way around. Thus, it seems that even though those demographic data are more easily visible and measurable than our more elusive stress measures, they are less fruitful. We do not suggest that studies on them be abandoned but rather that they be continued and be used in a range of tests on a variety of other data associated with the phenomenon. The nature of their contribution to Pan-Indianism rather than the mere fact of correlation appears to need research. We would suggest studies pointed to the question of why they correlate, and with what other phenomena that is also pertinent do they correlate. In our opinion statistical measures on matters such as this will be most fruitful.

8. We also offer some observations and suggestions growing out of the design and measures, not specific findings in the tables, which we have used. The first relates to the question of aspirations. The greater numbers of the Membership Group measurable in terms of stress associated with unachieved aspirations (Hypothesis Ia) resulted in part because that group had aspirations higher than the Non-Membership Group, not because the achievements of the Membership Group were lower. The Membership Group, therefore, appears to be the one which is upwardly mobile whereas the Non-Membership Group appears to be, according

to their own statements on their aspirations for themselves, appears to be comfortably settled into life in the larger society and more often satisfied with that which they have (achieved). This applies to all of the goal areas: education, occupation, and pay. It also applies to all of our measures when differing controls were used for data such as full-time work, aspirations for the head of the household, etc. Furthermore, it applies in the temporal perspective: previous aspirations versus present achievements, and future aspirations, i.e., on the hypothetical son (conceived this way rather than as a form of psychological projection), versus present achievements. Here, then, are two comparable groups of people and yet in the area of aspirations or social mobility one seeks more. We would like to know why? What is it that impels one group to seek more? We might think that these elevated aspirations in the Membership Group result from membership, i.e., they have elevated their aspirations following affiliation and acceptance of the "message" or "vision of a more satisfying way of life" were it not for the fact that these elevated aspirations predate migration and affiliation. They are long-standing and still current in the experiences of the members. They are the basis on which we measured aspirations for a better way of life, dissatisfaction with the present achievements, and stress [save for the added measure of (V) valence of failure].

Our data suggested correlations between these higher aspiration levels and both relative deprivation and associated stress ($\phi = .473$) and experienced discrimination ($\phi = .430$). This might suggest that higher aspirations are defensive reactions against the perception of being disadvantaged for being Indian. Since a knowledge of time appears important in assessing this, and we lacked any satisfactory measure of the same which would allow the assumption of conjunction, we were unable to make such measures. Factors other than those of relative deprivation and experienced discrimination may also be operative, i.e., the type of socialization received from elders and/or parents. That Pan-Indianism is often characterized by high achievement ideals is congruent with the concept of the "new Indian" (Steiner, 1968). In their researches Parker and Kleiner (1966:339,340) found both the mentally ill and the upwardly mobile under high levels of goal-striving stress, our stress associated with unachieved aspirations. Those hospitalized rigidly maintained their aspirations (part of the goal-striving stress measure) in the context of an objectively limited opportunity structure (similar to our perception of being disadvantaged for being an Indian), and the upwardly mobile in the Community Population were unable to limit their aspirations realistically and continued to strive regardless of their actual achievements. We are interested in why the

Membership Group had the higher aspirations in the first place and/or why they are upwardly mobile. Revitalization theory might suggest that the aspirations for a better way of life derive from the perception of sociocultural distortion. All of these raise problems for analysis, a type of which would, in our opinion, be a worthy research project.

9. Because of the limited numbers under observation, we were unable to control for social class and assumed comparability because of our findings in Chapter IV. Ours are groups and our interviewing took us across the whole of it. We suggest that other studies relating status or class achievement of Pan-Indianism in a similar U.S. metropolis would be worthwhile. Comparability between other studies and ours would depend to a large extent perhaps on whether or not there is a relocation office present which brings considerable numbers of Indians into the city from reservation areas, length of time the respondents have lived in and therefore adjusted to the metropolis, and other variables. Here again, one of the values of using large numbers of respondents is that we are able, through the use of proper controls, to abstract certain data or at least make adjustments allowing comparability.

10. Primarily because of our limited numbers, we were unable to use the measures for intensity on associated stress as we had planned. In our tables we measured

for the presence or absence of a stress measure assuming that those with the "present" measure were under the greater stress. In our techniques of correlation we required the association of "present" measures within the same individual. This association suggests interaction and a compounding of stress, hence with continued correlation there is the implicit suggestion of increasing stress. We commend the basic technique of Parker and Kleiner (1966) and suggest its further use but with numbers larger than those with which we operated. Should smaller numbers be utilized, we would recommend our own slight adjustments. A manipulation of their formula and a comparison of the results with our measure will indicate that whenever they had a measure of stress so did we, and whenever they lacked it so did we--but we lost intensity. Ours is, in our opinion, the easier to use--and as effective in its way--in the gathering and analysis of data.

11. Few studies have been made using operational measures on relative deprivation and we would suggest studies on the same. We did not measure absolute deprivation but essentially the perception of relative deprivation. This is in concordance with the suggestion of Merton (1957). We did attempt to gain validity by requiring each respondent to state his reasons for the perception--his experience--it being impossible for us to actually check the occasion or setting. We also used a

measure of (V) valence, intensity. Although perception is congruent with revitalization theory, we think that the added criterion of valence makes it more so. We were quite satisfied with our measure and suggest replication and refinement.

12. We did not, except in a few cases, actually observe the experienced discrimination. It would have been impossible to have followed the lives of our respondents in a study such as ours closely enough to have recorded all manners and occasions in which respondents have been discriminated against in a way which would have admitted useful statistical manipulation. Here again we sought validity by requiring our respondents to tell us of the experience(s). Since we could not easily evaluate intensity our measure was one on the stated experience(s) of discrimination. The high levels of significance which we found in the phenomenon, in contrast to the suggestions that it "is not," "is slightly," and "is greatly" conducive to Pan-Indian identification, suggest that other studies on Pan-Indianism should also attempt measures on discrimination to add data and further our thinking on it. We hope that we have at least raised enough questions in this regard to challenge contemporary thinking and suggest replication.

13. We aspired, and nearly tried, measures for lineality by subdividing the Membership Group into

leaders" and "followers" on the basis of frequency of attendance, and the Non-Membership Group into "possible members" and the "disinterested" using the criterion of attendance at any pow wow and/or type of social function of the Association--or the lack of the same. We experimented with resultant percentages all the way up through the acceptance of Hypothesis I but eventually gave the idea up. Our numbers were so small that we came to doubt the advisability of using such measures. It is our opinion, however, that measures of lineality would suggest something of a continuum among the four resultant groups, with the leaders far in the forefront, the followers next, the interested with a few scores, and the disinterested usually absent in measures using correlation techniques. Such measures, given adequate numbers, would be of interest in themselves and also to revitalization theory when attempts are made to relate findings to the communication and structure of the movement, i.e., are the leaders actually under the greatest stress associated with a perception of cultural distortion, etc? The utilization of measures suggesting lineality, or non-lineality, in studies on revitalization movements would, we think, add both data and interesting insights.

14. Our thinking on the perception of sociocultural distortion and associated stress contains some provocative questions should we direct our thoughts toward the future

f Pan-Indianism or the Association which we have considered here. In analysis we directed our attention to two areas: relative deprivation and experienced discrimination for being an Indian. There are others deserving consideration as well. We suggested that it was the perception of being disadvantaged for being an Indian that focused Indian ethnicity and gave direction to this emergent phenomenon of Pan-Indianism. It is this that puts, in part, a difference between those involved in the activities of the Association and others in the larger society.

We would suggest that those involved in Pan-Indianism have come to the place where they perceive that the things they have in common, i.e., in the foregoing context, unjustified disadvantage at the hands of the non-Indian society because they are Indians in the achievement of their goals, are of greater significance than those factors wherein they differ. It is upon this conception, in part, that they have come to see themselves somewhat unlike non-Indians and tribesmen whose interests do not extend beyond the tribe; and this perspective contributes to the emergence of the new ethnic identity--Pan-Indian. Others appear to be in theoretical agreement with this suggestion (e.g., Shibutani and Kwan, 1965):

People who are treated alike are more likely to realize that they have common interests, and this is the first step toward developing a sense of unity. . . . Consciousness of kind on the part of a people who

share a subordinate position does not arise through reasoning or deliberate design. Mutual identification emerges from repeated experiences of denial and humiliation. Recognition of the fact that individual differences do not matter results in their joining forces. Differential treatment does not automatically produce new groups, however. Only when people become aware of being treated alike on the basis of some arbitrary criterion do they begin to establish identity on that basis. . . . The typical defensive stance so often found in the minority groups is a response to their treatment by members of the dominant group (p. 210). . . . Ethnically heterogeneous people . . . were transformed into an ethnic group (p. 211). . . . The incipient stages of nationalistic movements are often revivalistic. An effort is made to develop pride within the minority group (p. 446). . . . Unity often rests upon the sharing of a common past (p. 447). . . . As people who had once been considered inferior human beings re-evaluate themselves, pride develops over the very identification symbols that had once been marks of shame . . . consciousness of kind . . . new classifications of human beings, formed in the struggle against a common foe (pp. 448,449).

The above would seem to suggest that should these factors, i.e., perceived disadvantage for being an Indian, cease to exist in the future and, therefore, the differences between Indians and non-Indians be perceived as no longer significant, Pan-Indianism will also cease. Of this, however, we are not really sure. Possibly it could be transformed into another type of pan-Indianism. We would not want to suggest how long the force of cultural momentum would continue to perpetuate the phenomenon or, given other stimuli from the non-Indian society, what types of alterations might occur. Much the same holds for cultural drift. Nonetheless, the suggestiveness of these comments appears a basis on which meaningful studies on Pan-Indianism might be made sometime in the future.

Final Considerations

We summarized our data and tests, and offered suggestions for further research on both Part I and Part II of this study, when we considered them separately. We take this opportunity to consider their overall relationships and to make a few general observations.

Our observations on Part I plus the supporting evidence from Part II suggest to us that the North American Indian Association of Detroit should be viewed as a type of revitalization movement. It appears to meet the criteria for such a type of phenomenon rather well. Whether others will accept it as such or not depends upon a variety of factors, among which is their interpretation of what a revitalization movement is. We did not argue that Pan-Indianism itself or all Pan-Indian groups should be viewed as revitalistic or revitalization movements. Instead, we suggested that these are different phenomena which may or may not occur together; and that future studies on other Pan-Indian organizations will quite likely demonstrate similarities with the one which we have considered.

In Part I we inferred a "period of increased individual stress" subsequent to immigration in and prior to 1940 (comparable as we see it to out-migration from the rural tribal area). It was during this period that the Association came into being. Documentation of a

growing perception of cultural distortion against Indians was found in almost all of the data that we looked at, and it usually appeared in a context which seemed to imply associated stress. In Part II we considered the individual, watching to see if he could be measured in a way that would allow us to assume that he is under stress associated with his perception of the sociocultural conditions under which he is living and has lived as both unsatisfactory and distorted against his best interests. This was executed within a contextual framework of social mobility, but in two major areas: (1) vertical class mobility in respect to the larger society of which he is a part, and (2) horizontal or ethnic mobility with respect to his tribe. Generally, dissatisfaction was measured by the disjunction between aspirations and achievement, and distortion was added by measures on the perception of disadvantage or blockage by the larger society in the attainment of his goals, unjustly so and because he is an Indian. By design, significant findings on the correlation of the variables was established as indicative of stress associated with overall sociocultural dissatisfaction and distortion, the type from which revitalization movements spring. When tested, all of the hypotheses, singly and in correlation, were found significant, indicating the acceptability of our predictions.

Additional criteria on revitalization movements were also met in Part I. These included findings on phenomena such as the type of leadership, the message, code, organization--including the followers, the evangelistic spirit and homily-like appeals of the leaders, the missionary-like activities of some of the members who have acted as emissaries in the spread or diffusion of the phenomenon, the presence of a program or means for the accomplishment of the goals for a more satisfying way of life, a rather intense type of deliberate dedicated group effort expended on the accomplishment of the program. We viewed Pan-Indianism as innovative, being a type of ethno-syncretism; and noted that while it is essentially secular that interesting religious elements are not lacking. The measures in Part II were taken in a manner suggesting valuation (aspiration) toward both the larger society and the tribe, but they also were indicative of marginality (disjunction) toward both. We interpreted this type of orientation as a fitting one in which the cultural innovation of Pan-Indianism would be an appropriate alternative to those desiring interaction with others like themselves.

These are areas of theory pertinent to this study on which we gathered data but which have not been used. We would suggest their consideration in future studies. These include studies on the ethclass; ethnic identity;

social distance and social closeness with respect to Indians in general, the tribe, white Americans, and Negro Americans; and consensus and dissensus. The latter appears especially interesting to us since, if executed in an appropriate manner, a study might not only subdivide the total Indian community into categories on the criterion of significant conceptual similarities and differences to the respondents themselves but afford suggestive insights into the attractiveness or appeal of groups like this, and it would allow the anthropologist to observe something of how closely his final thinking compares to that of those studied.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTERS

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY • CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

Jan. 1968

To Whom it May Concern:

The bearer of this letter, Mr. Gordon Northrop, is undertaking a study of the American Indian, under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of Michigan State University. We consider this study to be potentially important insofar as it will widen our understanding of American Indians living in urban areas and also contribute to the development of the Social Sciences.

All of your responses to this interview schedule will be completely confidential and the results will be reported anonymously. Your cooperation with Mr. Northrop in this important endeavor will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Seymour Parker, Ph.D.

Professor, Dept. of Anthropology

DEARBORN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HENRY FORD COMMUNITY COLLEGE

5101 EVERGREEN

DEARBORN, MICHIGAN 48128

PHONE: (313) 271-2750

SOCIAL SCIENCE DIVISION

Extension 246

JAMES D. MCCANN, PRESIDENT

21006 Laurelwood Drive
Farmington, Michigan
Telephone 474-2983

Dear

I stopped by your home today at _____ and regret missing the opportunity of seeing you. In the near future I shall telephone or call on you again since I sincerely desire your help in the research project which I am doing and because I believe that your opinions if missed will result in serious loss.

The study concerns civil rights, one of the most important issues facing us today, but it also goes beyond it. It seeks specifically to argue the case for persons of American Indian descent and it centers around their hopes and aspirations and their efforts to make their dreams a reality. Some are asking, "What can and what should be done for American Indians?" This is encouraging. Too often, however, those who talk are not of Indian descent themselves while the voices of those who are of Indian descent are not heard.

Because I believe that those who are full or part Indian can best represent American Indians I have very carefully selected a small but representative group from the many whom I might possibly interview to talk to. You are one. I am sure that there are a wide range of opinions and because of this every person selected is important. Your views are as important as those of any other person with whom I shall speak.

For your convenience, should you desire to contact me, I have listed at the top of this letter both my place of employment and my home address along with the telephones of each.

Looking forward toward meeting with you, I am,

Very truly yours,



Gordon D. Northrop
(Te-ho-ne-kon-rah-ta)

DEARBORN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HENRY FORD COMMUNITY COLLEGE

5101 EVERGREEN

DEARBORN, MICHIGAN 48128

PHONE: (313) 271-2750

SOCIAL SCIENCE DIVISION

Extension 246

JAMES O. MCCANN, PRESIDENT

21006 Laurelwood Drive
Farmington, Michigan 48024
Telephone 474-2983

Dear

Thank you for your courtesy in completing with me the interview schedule which is an important part of my Ph. D. dissertation for Michigan State University.

The thesis which I am preparing seeks to argue the case for persons who are of American Indian descent living today in metropolitan Detroit. It is an attempt to present a picture which is both positive and constructive and for this reason centers around their hopes and aspirations and their efforts to make their dreams a reality. In order to see things correctly I have sought your opinions and these shall guide me in my thinking. By giving of your time and cooperation I feel you have made a genuine contribution.

As you reflect upon the interview which took place you may wish to add from your experience or more extended thought other contributions. If this should be the case I will welcome your calling me. To make this more convenient for you I have placed both my home and business addresses and phone numbers at the top of this page.

Very truly yours,



Gordon D. Northrop
(Te-ho-ne-kon-rah-ta)

APPENDIX B

DATA-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX B-1

Gordon D. Northrop

Interview Schedule
 Ph. D. Dissertation
 Dept. of Anthropology
 Michigan State University
 East Lansing, Michigan

"THE BEGINNING"

A Study of the Hopes and Aspirations
 of
 American Indians
 in
 Metropolitan Detroit

I.N.	_____	Date Interviewed	_____
R.O.N.	_____	A.M.	P.M.
C.N.	_____	Time Interview Began	_____
		A.M.	P.M.
		Time Interview Ended	_____

SUGGESTED INTRODUCTION: I am _____ and am participating in a research project being conducted under the Department of Anthropology of Michigan State University (SHOW RESPONDENT CREDENTIALS). We are talking to persons who are of American Indian descent in an effort to learn from them what are some of their hopes and aspirations. Only a limited cross-section of households have been selected and this is one.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What degree of Indian blood do you have?

(SKIP TO NEXT ITEM)	4/4ths	5
	3/4ths - 15/16ths	4
	2/4ths - 11/16ths	3
	1/4th - 7/16ths	2
(RECORD AND CHECK PROPER AMOUNT)	not sure but think _____	
(DISCONTINUE INTERVIEW)	less than 1/4th or "none"	1

Of what race is the balance?

White _____
 Negro _____
 Other. Specify _____

2. Please tell me your tribe.

Tribe (if one only): _____
 Tribes (if mixed): _____
 I am not sure but I think I am: _____
 I have heard I am part Indian but I am not
 sure about it: _____

3. There are many different ways of classifying people. Here are some cards, each of which represents one of these ways. (HAND RESPONDENT CARDS.) Please think now of all those persons, whether they live here in the Detroit area or anywhere else, whom you consider your best friends and whom you enjoy being with most and how they will fall into the categories represented by the cards. Here also is a card showing some percentages: "all", "most", "quite a few", "only a few", and "none". (HAND RESPONDENT CARD.) Please place the cards representing the categories into which these best friends will fall on the card into their proper ratios. _____

Indians of my own tribe _____
 Indians of other tribes _____
 White people _____
 Negroes _____

4. Of those friends you have just mentioned what percentage would you say are living here in Metropolitan Detroit? OMIT
- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------|---|
| (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 6) | All of them | 5 |
| | Most of them | 4 |
| | Quite a few | 3 |
| | Only a few | 2 |
| (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 6) | None | 1 |
| | No data | 0 |
5. Think now of all those persons whom you consider your best friends and with whom you enjoy being with most, but only of those who are living in Metropolitan Detroit. How will they fall into the categories represented by the cards? Place the cards indicating the category of person on the proper ratio. OMIT
-
- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| Indians of my own tribe | — | |
| Indians of other tribes | — | |
| White people | — | |
| Negroes | — | |
6. Are you a member of the Amvets Post 50 this year?
- | | |
|---|---|
| Yes, I am an officer in it. | 5 |
| Yes, I am an active member. | 4 |
| Yes, but I only attend its meetings occasionally. | 3 |
| Yes, but I never attend its meetings. | 2 |
| No. | 1 |
| No data | 0 |
7. Are you a member of the North American Indian Association this year?
- | | |
|---|---|
| Yes, I am an officer in it. | 5 |
| Yes, I am an active member. | 4 |
| Yes, but I only attend its meetings occasionally. | 3 |
| Yes, but I never attend its meetings. | 2 |
| No. | 1 |
| No data | 0 |
8. Do you have any blood relatives, 1st cousin or closer, who are now active members in the North American Indian Association?
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Yes. How many? _____ | 2 |
| No. | 1 |
| No data | 0 |

9. Are any of those persons whom you referred to as your best friends here in Metropolitan Detroit active members of the NAIA?

Yes, all of them.	5
Yes, most of them.	4
Yes, quite a few of them.	3
Yes, but only a few of them.	2
No.	1
No data	0

10. Are you a member of the Northern Ottawa Association here in Detroit this year?

Yes, I am an officer.	4
Yes, I am an active member.	3
Yes, but I only attend its meetings occasionally.	2
Yes, but I never attend its meetings.	1
No.	0

11. Here are some other cards which represent some of the ways in which people may identify themselves and others (HAND RESPONDENT IDENTITY CARDS). Which of these most accurately describes how you think of yourself most of the time?

OMIT

Not as an American Indian, but as an average American.	0
More as an average American, less as an American Indian.	1
More as an American Indian, less as an average American.	2
As an American Indian.	3
As a _____ (member of my tribe)	4

12. Think now of the non-Indians you most frequently associate with and how most of them usually think of you. How do you think most of them usually think of you? Pick the card. (RECORD CODE AS IN ITEM 11.)

OMIT

13. Here is a card containing a diagram which represents different types of members of the NAIA. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD.) Think carefully about these different types of members, especially those who are in your opinion the active members. Pick now the card which represents how you think the active members usually think about themselves. If you do not know please do your best to estimate what you think their response would be. (RECORD CODE NO. AS IN 111.)

OMIT

OMIT

14. Now that you have told me how you think most of the active members think about themselves please tell me how you think they think about you. Pick the card. If you do not know please do your very best to appraise what their response would be. (RECORD CODE AS IN ITEM 111.)

15. Do you do Indian dancing?

Yes. I have won prizes in solo dancing. 6

What? _____

Where? _____

Yes. I am a good solo dancer. 5

Yes. I am a good group dancer. 4

Yes. I am a fair group dancer. 3

Yes. I am just learning. 2

No. 1

No data 0

No. I dislike it. (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 18.) 7

16. Are you a member of an Indian dance group now?

No data 0

No. 1

Yes. Specify: _____ 2

17. Where and when did you learn to do Indian dancing?

Where? _____

When? _____

Who taught you? _____

18. Do your children know how to do Indian dancing?

Yes, have won prizes in solo dancing. 6

What? _____

Where? _____

Yes, are good solo dancer(s). 5

Yes, are good group dancers. 4

Yes, are fair group dancers. 3

Yes, but are just learning. 2

No. 1

They dislike it. 7

No data 0

19. Do you do Indian drumming?
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| No data | 0 |
| No. | 1 |
| Yes. Where did you learn how? _____ | 2 |
| When did you learn? _____ | |
| Who taught you? _____ | |
20. Do you do Indian crafts now?
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| No data | 0 |
| No. | 1 |
| No, but I used to. Explain: _____ | 2 |
| Yes. Specify: _____ | 3 |
21. Do you...
- a. do public speaking about Indians?
- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| No data | 0 |
| No. | 1 |
| Yes. Explain: _____ | 2 |
- b. represent Indians in civic affairs?
- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| No data | 0 |
| No. | 1 |
| Yes. Explain: _____ | 2 |
22. Do you earn money doing Indian...
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| speaking | 2 |
| drumming | 3 |
| solo dancing | 4 |
| group dancing | 5 |
| crafts. What ones? _____ | 6 |
| Other. Specify: _____ | 7 |
| No. | 1 |
| No data | 0 |
23. Do you attend Pow Wows?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Yes, always if at all possible. | 5 |
| Yes, quite often. | 4 |
| Yes, fairly often. | 3 |
| Yes, occasionally. | 2 |
| No. (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 25.) | 1 |
| No data | 0 |

24. Where do you attend Pow Wows? After telling me please tell me where you attend these most often (1), next most often (2), and third most often (3), etc. (CODE ACCORDINGLY.)

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

25. Do you take Indians into your home as guests while Pow Wows are in progress here in Detroit?

Yes, always if possible. (= "very often")	5
Yes, quite often.	4
Yes, fairly often.	3
Yes, occasionally.	2
No.	1
No data	0

26. Tell me what are the most important things that Pow Wows mean to you. If you dislike them tell me what you dislike most about them. When you have, please tell me also their order of importance to you: most (1), second (2), and third (3).

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

27. Do you parade with Indians in the Detroit area?

Yes, always if possible. ("very often")	5
Yes, quite often.	4
Yes, fairly often.	3
Yes, occasionally.	2
No.	1
No data	0

28. Tell me now what are the most important things that parading with Indians mean to you. If you dislike this activity tell me why. When you have, please tell me also their order of importance to you. (CODE AS IN ITEM NO. 27.)

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

29. Which of the following functions of the NAIA do you attend?

Thanksgiving banquets.	2
Christmas parties.	3
New Year's dances.	4
Princess dances.	5
Annual Banquets.	6
Labor Day picnics.	7
None of the above.	1
No data	0

30. Tell me about your education...

- a. What was the highest grade that you completed in school?

None	0								
Grade School	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
High School	1	2	3	4	5				

(COMPUTE 13th GRADE IN CANADA AS 1 YR. OF COLLEGE.)

College or university	1	2	3	4	5	or more.
Graduate-professional	1					

- b. Since you finished this amount of education have you had any further training, i.e., vocational?

OMIT

Yes. Specify: What? _____
Where? _____

No. _____

- c. Was this completed?

OMIT

Yes. _____

No. _____

31. Do you plan to continue your education in the future?

No. _____ 0

Yes. Specify type: _____ 1
when: _____

32. During your last 2 or 3 years of schooling what was the highest education or training that you actually planned to get?

OMIT

Did not want to complete elementary school
 Complete elementary school education
 Complete high school education
 Complete college or university education
 Graduate-professional

Vocational training (in addition to formal education listed above). Specify what: _____
 where: _____

Cannot ascertain _____

33. Think of yourself for a moment and also of those who are not of Indian descent at all. When you compare yourself with them do you think that you were deprived more than they in achieving your goal in education? Understand me please, I am not speaking of your ability but rather of the opportunities you had or did not have due to the circumstances in your life at the time.

Yes, very much. 5
 Yes, quite a lot. 4
 Yes, fairly much. 3
 Yes, slightly. 2
 No. (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 35.) 1
 Explain: _____

34. Do you think about this (ITEM NO. 33.)

Yes, very often. 5
 Yes, quite often. 4
 Yes, fairly often. 3
 Yes, occasionally. 2
 No. 1

35. When I speak to the "active members" of the NAIA about this (ITEM 33) how do you think that most of them will answer it about themselves? (RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODE IN ITEM NO. 33.)

OMIT

36. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM NO. 33)? (RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODE IN ITEM NO. 33.)

OMIT

37. At the present time are you...

married	1
single	2
widowed	3
divorced	4
permanently separated	5

38. I shall be asking you some questions about the head of this household. Who will this be referring to?

Me.
The head of this household is my _____

a. (kinsman) _____
b. (not a kinsman) _____ Sex of _____

39. Please tell me how much education _____ completed.
(Head of Household or spouse)

Did not complete elementary school _____
Complete elementary school education _____
Complete high school education _____
Complete college or university ed _____
Graduate-professional _____

Vocational training (in addition to formal education listed above). _____
Specify what: _____
where: _____

Cannot ascertain. _____

40. If you had a son with at least normal intelligence how much education would you urge him to get?

a. Would not urge him to complete elementary school _____
Complete elementary school education _____
Complete high school education _____
Vocational training in addition to the formal education listed _____
Specify: _____

(IF ANY OF THE ABOVE RESPONSES HAVE BEEN GIVEN, SKIP TO ITEM 42, OTHERWISE CONTINUE.)

Complete college or university
education _____

Graduate-professional education _____

What would you want him to
train for? _____

Where, if you know? _____

Cannot ascertain (SKIP TO ITEM 42.) _____

b. Why would you want him to get this much
education? _____

41. Would you do your best to help provide him with
funds to get this type of education that we have
been talking about?

Yes. I would plan to provide enough funds to give it to him.	5
Yes. I would plan to provide enough funds for most of it but I would expect him to provide part for himself.	4
Yes. I would plan to provide enough funds for about half but I would expect him to provide the other half himself.	3
Yes. I would plan to provide some funds for it but I would expect him to pro- vide most of it for himself.	2
No. I would expect him to get it all on his own.	1
No data	0

What suggestions might you offer him
regarding where he could get help in
securing this education? _____

42. Now that you have told me the kind of education
that you would urge your son to get, answer me
this, "How do you think that this compares to the
kind of education that most American Indians
living in the Detroit area are urging their child-
ren to get?" You would say that you would urge
your son to get...

OMIT

much more than most	5
more than most	4
about the same	3
less than most	2
much less than most	1

43. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this same question (ITEM 42) about themselves? (RECORD RESPONSE FOLLOWING THE CODING OF ITEM 42.) **OMIT**

44. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would think you answered this question (ITEM NO. 42)? (USE CODING OF ITEM 42.) **OMIT**

45. How much education did your father complete?

Did not complete elementary school _____
 Complete elementary school education _____
 Complete high school education _____
 Complete college or university education _____
 Graduate-professional _____

Vocational training in addition to the formal education listed above.
 Specify what: _____
 where: _____

Cannot ascertain _____

46. What kind of work have you done most of your life? **OMIT**

Kind of work: _____

47. What is your present occupation?

a. Kind of work: _____
 b. Is this full-time _____ or part-time _____?

48. (ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS NOT NOW EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OUTSIDE OF THE HOME.) Why are you not now employed?

Housewife 1
 Retired or permanently disabled 2
 Sick or unemployed 3
 Armed services (PUT "ARMED SERVICES" IN ITEM 47 AND SKIP TO 55.) 4

49. Do you really want to have a paying job sometime in the future?

No. (SKIP TO ITEM 55.) 0
 Yes, a full-time job. 1
 Yes, a part-time job. (SKIP TO ITEM 55.) 2
 Undecided. (SKIP TO ITEM 55.) 3

50. What kind of a job are you aiming for?

- a. Kind of job: _____
 b. What are you doing in hopes of getting this job? _____

(IF RESPONSE IS SAME AS CURRENT JOB,
 SKIP TO ITEM 54.)

51. I am going to show you a ladder, each rung of which represents a better chance of reaching the goal. (SHOW RESPONDENT CARD.) The top step stands for an excellent chance of 100%, the middle one for a chance of 50%, and the bottom of the ladder stands for no chance at all. The higher the step, the better the chance; the lower the step, the poorer the chance. Pick out the step on the ladder which best describes your chances of obtaining this job you are aiming for. (RECORD THE STEP NUMBER CHOSEN.)

52. How would you feel if you found out that you could never have this job?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all	1

53. (NON-WORKING HOUSEWIVES SKIP TO ITEM 55.) At any time in the future do you expect to have a better job than the one that you now have? If so, what type of job would this be? (PROBE IF NECESSARY: What kind of a job would this be?)

No data	0
No.	1
Yes. Kind of job: _____	3
Undecided	2

54. At any time in the past did you really want to get a better job than the one that you now have?

No.	1
Yes. Kind of job: _____	3

55. Think of yourself and of those who are not of any Indian descent at all. When you compare yourself with them do you feel that you have been deprived more than they of equal opportunities in getting the kind of job(s) that you have really wanted to get?

Yes, very much so.	5
Yes, quite a lot.	4
Yes, fairly much.	3
Yes, slightly.	2
No. (SKIP TO ITEM 57.)	1

(Everyone) Explain: _____

56. Now that you have told me how you feel about your opportunities in regard to getting the kind of job(s) you have wanted in comparison to others who are not of Indian descent at all, will you please tell me also how often you think about this?

Very often	5
Quite often	4
Fairly often	3
Seldom	2
Not at all	1

57. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 55) regarding themselves? (RECORD RESPONSE FOLLOWING THE CODING OF ITEM 55.) **OMIT**
- _____

58. Now tell me please how you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 55)? (RECORD RESPONSE FOLLOWING THE CODING OF ITEM 55.) **OMIT**
- _____

(ITEMS 59-69 TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS ABOUT HIS (HER) SPOUSE: OR, LACKING A SPOUSE, ABOUT THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD.)

59. What kind of work has _____ **OMIT**
(Spouse, Head of Household)
done most of his (her) life?

Kind of work: _____

60. What is his (her) present occupation?

a. Kind of work: _____

b. Is this full-time _____ or part-time _____?

(ASK ITEMS 61 AND 62 ONLY IF SPOUSE, OR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, IS CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED FULL-TIME.)

61. Why is he (she) not currently employed?

Housewife	1
Retired or permanently disabled	2
Sick or unemployed	3
Armed Services (PUT "ARMED SERVICES" IN ITEM 60 and SKIP TO ITEM 67.)	4

62. Do you really want him (her) to have a paying job sometime in the future?

No. (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 67.)	0
Yes, a full-time job.	1
Yes, a part-time job. (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 67.)	2
Undecided (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 67.)	3

63. What kind of a job do you really want him (her) to aim for?

Kind of job: _____

(IF RESPONSE IS THE SAME AS THE CURRENT JOB,
SKIP TO ITEM NO. 67.)

64. Pick out the step on the ladder which best describes his (her) chances of getting this job. (RECORD NUMBER OF STEP CHOSEN.)

OMIT

65. How would you feel if you found out that he (she) could never have this job that you want him (her) to have?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all	1

66. Tell me now, what is the best kind of job that you really expect him (her) to get? (PROBE IF NECESSARY: What kind of a job would this be?)

OMIT

Kind of job: _____

67. (ASK EVERYONE.) What was your father's main occupation?

Kind of work: _____

68. If you had a son of at least normal intelligence and ability, what kind of job would you really want him to try to get?

Kind of job: _____

69. How do you think that the kind of jobs that you really want to get for yourself and/or your spouse compare to the kind of jobs that most American Indians living in Metropolitan Detroit are aiming for? You would say that the kind of job(s) you are aiming for are... **OMIT**

much higher than most are aiming for.	5
higher than most are aiming for.	4
about average.	3
lower than most are aiming for.	2
much lower than most are aiming for.	1

70. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this same question (ITEM 69) about themselves? (RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODING OF ITEM NO. 69.) **OMIT**

71. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you have answered this question (ITEM 69)? (RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODING OF ITEM NO. 69.) **OMIT**

(ASK ITEMS 72-75 OF ALL RESPONDENTS WHO ARE EITHER EMPLOYED OR ARE LOOKING FOR WORK, FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME. OTHERWISE SKIP TO ITEM NO. 76.)

72. What is your average weekly take-home pay? Please pick the proper bracket on this card and tell me the number of it, include also government checks, etc. (HAND RESPONDENT THE SALARY SCHEDULE AND RECORD THE STEP NO.)

73. What is the average weekly take-home pay you are aiming for? (RECORD STEP NO.) (IF RESPONSE IS SAME AS CURRENT PAY, SKIP TO ITEM NO. 76.)

- a. Full-time; Step no. _____
b. Part-time extra; Step no. _____

74. Pick out the step on the ladder which best describes **OMIT** your chances of earning this total amount of money. (RECORD STEP NO.)

75. How would you feel if you found out that you could never earn this much income?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all	1

76. What is the average weekly take-home pay of _____ ? (INSERT STEP NO. _____)
(Spouse, Head of Household)
FROM SALARY SCHEDULE.)

(ITEMS 77-79 TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS ABOUT HIS (HER) SPOUSE, OR THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, PROVIDING THAT ALTER IS EITHER WORKING OR THE RESPONDENT HAS INDICATED DESIRE THAT ALTER WILL WORK, PART-TIME OR FULL-TIME.)

77. What is the average weekly take-home pay that you really want him (her) to aim for? (RECORD STEP NO.) (IF RESPONSE IS SAME AS CURRENT PAY, SKIP TO ITEM NO. 80.)

a. Full-time; Step no. _____
b. Part-time extra; Step no. _____

78. Pick out the step on the ladder which best describes his (her) chances of earning this total amount of money. (RECORD STEP.)

OMIT

79. How would you feel if you found out that he (she) could never earn this much income?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all	1

80. (ASK EVERYONE.) Think of yourself and of those who are not of any Indian descent at all. When you compare yourself with them do you feel that you have been deprived more than they of equal opportunities of earning the amount of money that you have really wanted to earn?

Yes, very much so.	5
Yes, quite a lot.	4
Yes, fairly much so.	3
Yes, slightly.	2
No. (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 82.)	1

(Everyone) Explain: _____

81. Now that you have told me how you feel about your opportunities to earn the amount of money that you really wanted to earn, compare with those who are not of any Indian descent at all have had; tell me also, how often do you think about this?

Very often	5
Quite often	4
Fairly often	3
Seldom	2
Not at all	1

82. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA will answer this question (ITEM 80)? OMIT
(USE CODING OF ITEM NO. 80.) _____

83. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA will think that you have answered this question (ITEM 80)? OMIT
(USE CODE SYSTEM FOR ITEM 80.) _____

84. How do you think that the amount of money you and your spouse are aiming to make compares with that which most American Indians living in Metropolitan Detroit are aiming for? You would say that you are aiming to make... OMIT

much more than most.	5
more than most.	4
about the same as most.	3
less than most.	2
much less than most.	1

85. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 84) about themselves? OMIT
(RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODING SYSTEM OF ITEM 84.) _____

86. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you have answered this question (ITEM 84)? (RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODING SYSTEM FOR ITEM 84.) **OMIT**

87. Here are three pairs of jobs. For each of these pairs pick the job which you think is the better one.

a. Bricklayer	@ \$200.00 per week	1
or Teacher	@ \$150.00 per week	2
b. Machine Operator	@ \$175.00 per week	1
or Gov't Clerk	@ \$150.00 per week	2
c. Factory Worker	@ \$150.00 per week	1
or Sales Person	@ \$125.00 per week	2

88. When you think of the social calss that a person belongs to, what things do you think of? Choose three from the following list. After doing this please tell me their order of importance which in your opinion determines the social class of a person.

	3	2	1
Education	—	—	—
Neighborhood in which a person lives	—	—	—
Family background	—	—	—
Income	—	—	—
Kind of work the person does	—	—	—
Color of his skin	—	—	—
Race a person belongs to	—	—	—
Organizations he is a member of	—	—	—
Influence in the community	—	—	—
Other; specify: _____	—	—	—

89. Taking into account these things you have just told me about what determines the social class to which a person belongs, tell me how you rate yourself with respect to social class? **OMIT**

Much above the average	5
Above the average	4
About average	3
Below the average	2
Much below the average	1

90. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would rate themselves with regard to social class? (USE CODING OF ITEM 89.) **OMIT**

91. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would rate you with regard to social class? (USE CODING OF ITEM 89.) **OMIT**

92. This question is slightly different than the one I have just asked you. How do you rate yourself with regard to most American Indians living in Metropolitan Detroit with regard to social class? **OMIT**

Much above the average	5
Above the average	4
About average	3
Below the average	2
Much below the average	1

93. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA will rate themselves in comparison to most American Indians living in Metropolitan Detroit with regard to social class? (RECORD RESPONSE USING THE CODE OF ITEM 92.) **OMIT**

94. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would rate you in comparison to most American Indians living in Metropolitan Detroit with regard to social class? (USE CODING OF ITEM 92.) **OMIT**

95. Please tell me what non-Indian organizations in Metropolitan Detroit you are a member of, how often you attend the regular meetings, and whether or not you hold an office at the present time. Include church and church activities.

Organization I am	I am	I attend	I am
a member of at the	now an	regularly	inactive
present time	officer		

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

96. It has been said that if a man works hard, saves his money, and is ambitious he will get ahead. How often do you think this is really the case? **OMIT**

Very often	1
Quite often	2
Fairly often	3
Seldom	4
Never	5

97. Here are five cards each with a statement on it of feelings that people may have toward entering into personal relationships with Indians. Look these over carefully and select the two that most closely correspond to your own personal feelings. We are talking here of most Indians as you conceive them. None of these statements may exactly fit your feelings but be sure to select the two that come closest to how you actually feel. When you have made your selection, please indicate to me which is your first preference, and then which is your second preference.

	Item 97	Item 98	Item 99
First preference	_____	_____	_____
Second preference	_____	_____	_____

98. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 97)? (RECORD RESPONSE IN PROPER COLUMN UNDER ITEM 97.) **OMIT**
99. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 97)? (RECORD RESPONSE IN PROPER COLUMN UNDER ITEM 97.) **OMIT**
100. I am going to show you five statements that people sometimes make. Please tell me honestly and to the best of your ability how you feel about each of these. **OMIT**
- 1) "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse."
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Strongly agree | 6 |
| Agree | 5 |
| Not sure but probably agree | 4 |
| Not sure but probably disagree | 3 |
| Disagree | 2 |
| Strongly disagree | 1 |
101. 2) "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world the way things look for the future." (USE CODE OF ITEM NO. 100.) **OMIT**
102. 3) "These days a person doesn't know whom he can count on." (USE CODE OF ITEM NO. 100.) **OMIT**

103. 4) "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself." (USE CODE OF ITEM NO. 100.) **OMIT**
—
104. 5) "There's little use in writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man." (RECORD RESPONSE USING CODE OF ITEM NO. 100.) **OMIT**
—
105. If you saw a newspaper containing the following headline, **OMIT**

AMERICAN INDIAN RECEIVES MAJOR AWARD

and did not have a chance to read the article, which of the following would best describe your first reaction?
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Very proud | 5 |
| Quite proud | 4 |
| Fairly proud | 3 |
| Slightly proud | 2 |
| Would not feel one way or the other | 1 |
106. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 105)? **OMIT**
(RECORD RESPONSE USING CODE OF 105.)
—
107. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you have answered this question (ITEM 105)? **OMIT**
(USE CODE OF 105.)
—
108. Let's assume that you have an Indian friend who is keeping company with two men, equally nice as far as men go: one, an Indian; and the other, a white man. The white man has the advantage of having more in the way of money and education, but his friends are exclusively whites. Should she come to you and tell you that she has dropped the Indian and is going to marry the white man for the advantages it will give to her, which of the following do you think would best describe how you would feel? **OMIT**
- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Very happy for her | 1 |
| Pleased with her | 2 |
| Mixed feelings toward her | 3 |
| Disappointed in her | 4 |
| Angry with her | 5 |

109. How do you think that most of the "active members" of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 108)? **OMIT**
(USE CODE OF 108.)

110. How do you think that most of the "active members" of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 108)? **OMIT**
(USE CODE OF 108).

111. I have here five cards, each with a statement on it, regarding Indians cooperating with Negroes through the NAACP in an effort to gain certain civil liberties. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as you may know, allows persons other than Negroes both to join and to cooperate in its activities. Look these cards over carefully and then select the two that are closest to your own feelings. None may exactly match with your true feelings but be sure to select those two that come closest to your own personal feelings. When you have made your selection please tell me which is your first preference, and then your second preference. **OMIT**

	ITEM	ITEM	ITEM
	111	112	113

First preference

Second preference

Why did you select these as you did? _____

112. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 111)? **OMIT**
(RECORD RESPONSE UNDER ITEM 111.) In what order do you think that they would select their preferences?

113. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 111)? **OMIT**
How do you think that they think that you made your choices? (USE CODE OF ITEM 111.)

114. If you saw a newspaper containing the following headline, **OMIT**

AMERICAN INDIAN SEIZED BY POLICE IN LANSING

and did not have a chance to read the article, which of the following would best describe your first reaction?

Very uncomfortable	5
Quite uncomfortable	4
Fairly uncomfortable	3
Slightly uncomfortable	2
Would not feel one way or another	1

115. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 114)? **OMIT**
(USE CODE OF ITEM 114.)

116. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 114)? **OMIT**
(USE CODE OF 114.)

117. What elections do you usually vote in?

National	1
State	2
City	3
Don't vote	4

If "don't vote," Why? _____

118. What...

a. is the sex of the respondent? Male _____
Female _____

b. is your age? Age in years? _____

119. Where were you born?

Place: _____

120. Was this...

a village or a small town	6
a reservation	5
on rural tribally owned lands	4
on rural privately owned lands	3
in a small city	2
in a metropolis	1

121. Have you ever previously been married to a...

a. white person? Yes. Age at this marriage: _____ 1
b. Negro? Yes. Age at this marriage: _____ 2

No. Neither. 0

122. Some people have spent their early childhood so close to Indians that they have always known that they were Indian, but others tell interesting stories about how they found out later on in life that they are of Indian descent. Tell me about your experience.

(SKIP TO 122d.) I always knew I was Indian. 1
I found out later. 2

- a. When and how did you find this out? _____
- b. How far have you been able to trace your Indian ancestry with certainty? _____
- c. What do your Indian friends and other Indians think about this when you tell them? _____
- d. Where is your tribal headquarters? _____
- e. Are you on the tribal rolls?
- No. 0
Yes. 1
Uncertain 2
- f. In what tribe are you enrolled? _____
- g. (ASK IF RESPONDENT IS A CANADIAN INDIAN FEMALE.) **OMIT**
Are you a "Red Letter" Indian?
- No. 0
Yes. 1
Uncertain 2
- h. (ASK IF RESPONDENT IS A MICHIGAN INDIAN.)
Are you on the Durrant Roll?
- No. 0
Yes. 1
Uncertain 2
Does not know what this is 3
- i. Tell me about your father...
- 1) His tribe? _____
- 2) Was he from... _____
- the United States 1
Canada 2
Neither. Where? _____
- j. Tell me about your mother...
- 1) Her tribe? _____
- 2) Was she from... _____
- the United States 1
Canada 2
Neither. Where? _____

Appraisal of the tribal status of the respondent.
(DO NOT COMPLETE DURING THE INTERVIEW.)

(ITEMS 123-130 TO BE ASKED ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY MARRIED.)

123. What elections does your spouse usually vote in?

National	1
State	2
City	3
Doesn't vote	4

If "Doesn't vote," why? _____

124. What...

a. is the sex of the spouse? Male _____
 Female _____

b. is the age of your spouse? Age in years: _____

125. What degree of Indian blood does he (she) have?

(SKIP TO NEX ITEM.)	4/4ths	5
	3/4ths - 15/16ths	4
	2/4ths - 11/16ths	3
	1/4th - 7/16ths	2
(RECORD AND CHECK PROPER AMOUNT)	not sure but think _____	
	1/4th or "none"	1

Of what race is the balance?

White _____
 Negro _____
 Other. Specify: _____

(IF ABOVE RESPONSE WAS "LESS THAN 1/4th or none"
 SKIT OT ITEM NO. 131.)

126. Please tell me his (her) tribe.

Tribe (if one only): _____
 Tribes (if mixed): _____
 I am not sure but think it is: _____

127. Where was he (she) born?

Place: _____

128. Was this...

a village or small town	6
a reservation	5
on rural tribally owned lands	4
on rural privately owned lands	3
in a small city	2
in a metropolis	1
Doesn't know	7

129. Has he (she) ever previously been married to a...

a. White person? Yes. Age at this marriage: _____	1
b. Negro? Yes. Age at this marriage: _____	2
No, neither.	0
Uncertain	3

130. When did your spouse come to learn about his (her) Indian blood?

He (she) always knew. (SKIP TO ITEM 130d.)	1
He (she) found out later in life.	2

- a. When and how did he (she) find this out? _____
- b. How far has he (she) been able to trace his (her) Indian ancestry back with certainty? _____
- c. What does his (her) Indian friends and other Indians think about this when they are told? _____
- d. What is his (her) tribal headquarters? _____
- e. Is he (she) on the tribal rolls?

No. (SKIP TO ITEM 131.)	0
Yes.	1
Uncertain	2

f. In what tribe is he (she) enrolled? _____

g. (ASK IF SPOUSE IS A CANADIAN INDIAN FEMALE.) **OMIT**
Is she a "Red Letter Indian"?

No.	0
Yes.	1
Uncertain	2

h. (ASK IF SPOUSE IS A MICHIGAN INDIAN.)
Is he (she) on the Durrant Roll?

No.	0
Yes.	1
Uncertain	2
Does not know what this is	3

i. Tell me about his (her) father...

- 1) His tribe? _____
 2) Was he from... _____
 the United States 1
 Canada 2
 Neither. Where? _____ 3
 Don't know 4

j. Tell me about your spouse's mother...

- 1) Her tribe? _____
 2) Was she from... _____
 the United States 1
 Canada 2
 Neither. Where? _____ 3
 Don't know 4

Appraisal of the tribal status of the respondent's spouse. (DO NOT COMPLETE DURING THE INTERVIEW.) _____

131. (ASK EVERYONE.) How many people live in this household?

- a. Number in my own family: _____
 b. Number of others: _____

(RECORD KINSHIP CONNECTIONS VIA KINSHIP DIAGRAM.)

c. Ages and sex of the children:

	Ages of Males	Ages of Females
1) Your children who are living here:	_____ _____ _____	_____ _____ _____
2) Other children. Give kinship connections if any exist.	_____ _____ _____	_____ _____ _____

132. Where did you live during the first 17 years of your life?

	No. of Years
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Total - 17 yrs.	_____

133. Where have you lived after the first 17 years of your life? Indicate if you have returned at times to your reservation or tribal area.

	No. of Years
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

134. When did you move to Detroit:

- a. When moved here? _____
- b. How long have you lived here continuously this time? _____

135. Here are five cards each with a statement on it of feelings that persons of Indian descent may have toward entering into personal relationships with white people. Look these over carefully and select the two that most closely correspond to your own personal feelings. None may exactly fit your feelings but be sure to select the two that come closest to how you actually feel. When you have made your selection, please indicate to me which is your first preference and then, your second preference.

OMIT

	Item 135	Item 136	Item 137
First preference	_____	_____	_____
Second preference	_____	_____	_____

136. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 135)?
(RECORD IN COLUMN UNDER ITEM 135.)

OMIT

137. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 135)? (RECORD UNDER COLUMN IN ITEM 135.)

OMIT

138. Please try now to go back in your mind and think about the kinds of best friends that your parents had. Look again at the cards which represent the different ways of classifying people and tell me how these best friends of your parents would be distributed proportionately. (USE CODE OF ITEM 139.)

Indians of my own tribe _____
 Indians of other tribes _____
 White people _____
 Negroes _____

139. How many of your blood relatives, 1st cousin or closer, are now living on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area?

All of them	5
Most of them	4
Quite a few of them	3
Only a few of them	2
None	1

140. How many really good friends do you now have who are living on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area?

Very many	5
Many	4
Quite a few	3
Only a few	2
None	1

141. How often would you really like to visit on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area, if you could?

Very often	5
Quite often	4
Fairly often	3
Occasionally	2
Not at all (SKIP TO ITEM 146.)	1

142. Pick out the step on the ladder which best describes your chances of visiting on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area, just as often as you would really like to if you could. (RECORD THE STEP NO.)

OMIT

143. How would you feel if you found out that you never could visit on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area, this often?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all	1

144. How often do you visit on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area now? **OMIT**

Very often	5
Quite often	4
Fairly often	3
Occasionally	2
Not at all	1

145. Considering things as they are in your life now; how often do you expect to be able to visit on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area. in the foreseeable future? (CODE AS IN ITEM 144.) _____

If you do not expect to be able to visit on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area, as often as you really want to, why is this? _____

146. If you had a satisfactory income and every opportunity to do so, would you really want to live on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area? You would say that you would be...

much in favor of it	5
quite a lot in favor of it	4
fairly much in favor of it	3
slightly in favor of it	2
not in favor of it (SKIP TO ITEM NO. 150.)	1

147. Pick out the step on the ladder which best describes your chances of actually living on your reservation before your retirement. (RECORD STEP NO.) **OMIT**

148. How would you feel if you found out that you never could live on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area, prior to your retirement?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all (SKIP TO ITEM 150.)	1

149. Considering things as they now are in your life, what are your actual expectations of living there prior to your retirement? You would say that your chances are...

Excellent. You definitely expect to. (SKIP 4
TO SECOND PART OF THIS ITEM.)
Quite good (SKIP TO SECOND PART OF THIS ITEM.) 3
Fair 2
Poor 1
Nil. You have no chance at all. 0

Why is this the case? What are the things
hindering you? _____

150. If you had children and were able to select the kinds of friends which they would make and keep for the rest of their lives, how would you select them from the categories of people which we have been talking about and in what proportions? **OMIT** _____

	Item 150	Item 151	Item 152
Indians of my own tribe	_____	_____	_____
Indians of other tribes	_____	_____	_____
White people	_____	_____	_____
Negroes	_____	_____	_____

151. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 150)? **OMIT**
(RECORD RESPONSE IN COLUMN UNDER 150.) _____

152. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 150)? **OMIT**
(RECORD UNDER 150.) _____

153. Pick the step on the ladder which represents the chances that your children actually will select their friends from the same categories and in the same ratios for themselves that you would have selected for them had you been able to do so. **OMIT**
(RECORD STEP NO. CHOSEN.) _____

154. How would you feel if you found out that your children could not or would not make friends and keep them from the same categories and in the same ratios that you would have selected for them? **OMIT**
(REMIND RESPONDENT OF THE WAY HE (SHE) HAD
SELECTED THESE.)

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all	1

155. How do you actually expect these children would select their friends and in what ratios? **OMIT**

	Item 155	Item 156
Indians of my own tribe	_____	_____
Indians of other tribes	_____	_____
White people	_____	_____
Negroes	_____	_____

156. When you were a young person still living at home and were thinking about going out on your own, what kind of friends and in what ratios did you really want to make? (RECORD RESPONSE IN COLUMN UNDER ITEM 155.) **OMIT**

157. I have here five cards, each with a statement on it, of feelings that American Indians may have toward entering into personal relationships with Negroes. Look these over carefully and select the two that most closely correspond to your own personal feelings. Be honest with yourself. None may exactly fit your feelings but be sure to select the two that come closest to how you actually feel. When you have made your selection please indicate to me which is your first preference and then, your second preference. **OMIT**

	Item 157	Item 158	Item 159
First preference	_____	_____	_____
Second preference	_____	_____	_____

158. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 157)? (RECORD RESPONSE IN COLUMN UNDER ITEM 157.) **OMIT**

159. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 157)? (RECORD RESPONSE UNDER ITEM 157.) **OMIT**

160. Do you feel that Indians have been discriminated against more than Negroes, considering Indians in general and Negroes in general and all the issues? **OMIT**

	Item 160	Item 161	Item 162
Yes, much more.	_____	_____	_____
Yes, more.	_____	_____	_____
About the same.	_____	_____	_____
No, less.	_____	_____	_____
No, much less.	_____	_____	_____

161. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 160)?
(RECORD RESPONSE IN COLUMN UNDER ITEM 160.) **OMIT**
—
162. How do you think most of the active members of the NAIA would think you answered this question (ITEM 160)? (RECORD RESPONSE UNDER 160.) **OMIT**
—
163. You said that you think that American Indians have been discriminated against
_____ than Negroes. **OMIT**
(RESPONSE GIVEN IN ITEM 160)
Tell me please
- What are your reasons for feeling as you do? _____
164. Do you feel that you have been personally discriminated against as an Indian before coming to Metropolitan Detroit?
- No. 1
Yes. Explain: _____ 2
165. Do you feel that you have been personally discriminated against as an Indian after coming to Metropolitan Detroit?
- No. 1
Yes. Explain: _____ 2
166. I want you to think about the place of your retirement. If you had the opportunity to do so, would you really want to retire on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area? You would say, for yourself, that you...
- want to very much. 5
want to quite a lot. 4
want to fairly much. 3
only slightly want to. 2
do not want to. (SKIP TO ITEM 170.) 1
do not know. You have not thought about it. 0
(SKIP TO ITEM 170.)
167. Pick the step on the ladder which best describes your chances of actually retiring on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area. (RECORD NO. OF STEP CHOSEN.) **OMIT**
—

168. How would you feel if you found out that you could not retire on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area?

Very disappointed	5
Quite disappointed	4
Fairly disappointed	3
Slightly disappointed	2
Not disappointed at all (SKIP TO ITEM 170.)	1

169. Considering things as they now are in your life, what are your actual expectations of retiring on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area?

Excellent. You definitely expect to. (SKIP TO SECOND PART OF THIS ITEM.)	4
Quite good. (SKIP TO SECOND PART OF THIS ITEM.)	3
Fair	2
Poor	1
Nil. You have no chance at all of doing so.	0

If you really want to retire on your reservation, or in your rural tribal area, and you have no chance, only a poor chance, or only a fair chance of doing so, why is this the case? _____

170. How would you feel if you were removed from the tribal rolls and you lost your legal status as an Indian both with your tribe and with the government?

Very disappointed (SKIP TO ITEM 171.)	5
Quite disappointed " " " "	4
Fairly disappointed " " " "	3
Slightly disappointed " " " "	2
Not disappointed at all " " " "	1
Do not have such status. I once did but I lost it.	6
Do not have such status. My parents did but they lost it.	7
Do not have such status. My parents did not either.	8

How would you feel if you received word from your tribe, officially acted upon both by it and your government, that your name has been placed on the roll as a member with full status?

Very pleased	5
Quite pleased	4
Fairly pleased	3
Slightly pleased	2
Would not matter one way or the other	1
Rather irritated	9

171. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 170)? **OMIT**
(USE CODING OF ITEM 170.)

172. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 170)? **OMIT**
(CODE AS FOR 170.)

173. Sometimes people want to be considered and treated as Indians and they claim to be of 1/4th or more degree Indian blood, and while their claim appears to be valid it is questionable and cannot be proved because their ancestors have either lost their legal status as Indians or have allowed their social relations with their tribesmen to lapse to such a degree that no one knows about them. How do you feel about accepting such persons as true Indians and entering into social relationships with them personally as Indians? You would say that you are...

	Item 173	Item 174	Item 175	Item 176
much opposed to accepting them	5	5	5	5
opposed to accepting them	4	4	4	4
neutral, do not care one way or the other	3	3	3	3
in favor of accepting them	2	2	2	2
much in favor of accepting them	1	1	1	1

174. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 173)? **OMIT**
(RECORD RESPONSE UNDER ITEM 173.)

175. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 173)? **OMIT**
(RECORD UNDER ITEM 173.)

176. When you were a young person still living at home and were thinking about going out on your own, how would you have answered this question (ITEM 173)? **OMIT**
(RECORD RESPONSE IN PROPER COLUMN UNDER ITEM 173.)

177. I am going to show you a picture representing the possible things that can happen to American Indians. The top step represents the "best possible thing that can happen to American Indians." Try to picture these steps in your mind. (SHOW RESPONDENT CARD.) Think now what is the very best and also what is the very worst thing that can happen to American Indians. Will you please tell me now what in your mind is the very best thing that can happen to them. What will I place at the very top, at step no. 10? **OMIT**

 Why have you given this as your answer? _____

178. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would answer this question (ITEM 177)? **OMIT**

179. How do you think that most of the active members of the NAIA would think that you answered this question (ITEM 177)? **OMIT**

180. Will you please tell me now what you had in mind as the "very worst possible thing that can happen to American Indians"? What shall I place at the very bottom of the stairs? **OMIT**

 Why have you chosen this as the "very worst possible thing that can happen to American Indians"? What is the reason for your choice? _____

181. Keeping in mind that step no. 10 represents the "very best possible thing that can happen to American Indians" and that the bottom of the stairs represents "the very worst possible thing that can happen to American Indians" that you have told me about, will you please now look at the stairs again and tell me the step which represents where you think that Indians are in general now? Where are they between these very best and very worst things? (RECORD STEP NO.) **OMIT**

182. Which step represents where they were, in your opinion, about 20 years or one generation ago? (RECORD STEP NO.)

OMIT

183. Think carefully now. What step in your opinion on the ladder represents the chances that American Indians in general will actually have this "best possible thing" you have mentioned happen to them? (RECORD STEP.)

OMIT

184. How would you feel if you found out that this "best possible thing" (REMIND RESPONDENT OF HIS SELECTION) that you have mentioned could never be for American Indians?

OMIT

Very disappointed
Quite disappointed
Fairly disappointed
Slightly disappointed
Not disappointed at all

5
4
3
2
1

185. Will you please tell me what in your opinion is the best way to be sure that this "best possible thing" we have been talking about for American Indians can be made to come about? What is the best way to go about getting this "best possible thing" for American Indians?

CMIT

Why is this the best possible way as you see it? _____

186. Now please tell me what in your opinion would be the thing that would most likely be at fault, or to blame, if this "best possible thing" we have been talking about for American Indians never did come about? What is the biggest threat to Indians in getting this "best possible thing"?

CMIT

Why? _____

187. Please pick out now the step number on these stairs which best describes where you actually expect American Indians in general to be in another 20 years, or one generation, from now. (RECORD STEP NO.)

CMIT

Why do you make this prediction? _____

CMIT

188. When you were a young person still living at home and were thinking about going out on your own, what would you have said then was the "very best possible thing that could happen to American Indians"?
-
-

189. (ASK NON-MEMBERS ONLY.) Why are you not now a member of the NAIA?
-

Do you think that you will, sometime in the foreseeable future, join it and become an active member of it?

No.	1
Yes.	2
Undecided	3

What is the reason for your response? _____

(CODE FOR STRATA. COMPLETE FOLLOWING INTERVIEW.)

Respondent never has been a member.	0
Respondent formerly was a member.	3

190. (ASK MEMBERS ONLY.) Why did you join the NAIA? _____

Why are you active in it? _____

Why are you not more active in it? _____

191. Do you speak your tribal language?

Yes, very well.	5
Yes, quite well.	4
Yes, poorly, but I understand it pretty well.	3
Only a few words. I understand only a little of it.	2
No. I cannot understand it either.	1

192. What is your religion?

Catholic	1
Protestant	2
North American Church	3
Longhouse	4
Christian Science	5
Free Thinker	6
Jehovah's Witnesses	7
None	8

193. Do you know the "Legend of the Serpents"?

OMIT

No.

1

Yes.

2

If "yes," where did you learn it and when? _____

Comment (if any): _____

194. Is there anything else you would like to add to any of these things we have been talking about? (RECORD OPEN-ENDED.)

OMIT

No.

1

Yes.

2

If "yes," comment: _____

195. Are there other Indians whom you think I should interview on these things? If so please tell me why? (RECORD IN OPEN-ENDED MANNER.)

OMIT

No.

1

Yes.

2

APPENDIX B-2

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA TO THAT OBTAINED
FROM THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- A. TO BE COMPLETED FOR ALL PERSONS DRAWN FOR INTERVIEWING
1. R.O.N. (Random order of selection) _____
 2. C.N. (Card no.) _____
 3. I.N. (Interview no.) _____
 4. Length of interview _____
 5. No. of house calls completed _____
 6. No. of telephone calls made _____
 7. Geographical location: _____
 - a. Detroit mailing zone: _____
 - b. Detroit suburb: _____
 8. House type (Warner's criteria on social class) _____
 9. Residential area (Warner's criteria on social class) _____
 10. Characteristics on the integration of the immediate neighborhood:

All neighbors are Negroes	5
Almost all neighbors are Negroes	4
Quite a few neighbors are Negroes	3
Only a few neighbors are Negroes	2
No Negroes live in neighborhood	1

- B. TO BE COMPLETED ONLY FOR PERSONS WHO WERE NOT INTERVIEWED AND WHO WERE DRAWN IN THE RANDOM SAMPLE. (Data is computed from personal observation or, if coded with an "I," from another Indian informant. The items are numbered here to correspond with the Interview Schedule used for the respondents actually interviewed.) (LEAVE CODE BLANK IF DATA IS UNKNOWN.)

196. Reasons informant was not interviewed:

Informant is non-Indian (or less than 1/4th Indian)	8
Informant is deceased	7
Informant is beyond age limit set	6
Informant refused interview	5
Duplicate card on informant	4
Informant not home to make interview appointment	3
Informant not home to keep interview appointment	2
Informant has moved	1

197. (ANSWER ONLY IF INFORMANT HAS MOVED.)

Informant has returned to tribal area or reservation	5
Informant has moved out of Michigan	4
Informant has moved outside of Metropolitan Detroit geographical area selected for the study	3
Informant is in the U.S. Armed Forces	2
Informant has no known address	1

APPENDIX B-3

SCALE USED FOR HOUSE TYPE

- 1 Excellent houses.--Very large single-family dwellings in good repair. These are surrounded by large lawns and yards which are landscaped and well-cared for and have an element of ostentation with respect to size, architectural style and general condition of yards and lawns.
- 2 Very good houses.--Roughly, these do not quite measure up to the first category. The primary difference is one of size. They are smaller than 1 but are still larger than utility demands for the average family.
- 3 Good houses.--In many cases these are only slightly larger than utility demands. These are more conventional and less ostentatious than the two above.
- 4 Average houses.--1-1/2 to 2-story wood-frame and brick single-family dwellings. Conventional style. Lawns well cared for but not landscaped. (NOTE: In our analysis the requirement "not landscaped" is not taken to mean "no shrubery" but rather that what shrubery is present is slight, has an air of ordinariness, unconcern, amateurishness.)
- 5 Fair houses.--Houses whose condition is not quite as good as those with a 4 rating. Also, smaller houses in excellent condition.
- 6 Poor houses.--Size is less important than condition. Houses are badly run down but have not deteriorated sufficiently that they cannot be repaired. They suffer from lack of care but do not have a profusion of debris.
- 7 Very poor houses.--Size is less important than condition. Houses have deteriorated so far that they cannot be repaired. These are considered unhealthy and unsafe to live in. The halls and yards are littered with junk and many have an extremely bad odor. All buildings not originally intended for dwellings and shacks and overcrowded buildings are included here.

Treatment of multiple-dwelling units.--Houses intended for one family but converted into multiple-family dwellings are handled as above. Each dwelling, however, was given a 1-point lower scale than the rating arrived at on the basis of the total structure.

Apartments in regular apartment buildings.--These were not limited to one rating but ranged from good housing to very bad housing. Total size is less important than condition and the way the building is kept up. Best approach was to use the basis of the size of the living unit and the building's exterior condition.

* Source: Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:149,150).

APPENDIX B-4

SCALE USED FOR RESIDENTIAL AREA

- 1 Very high.--Residents are aware that this area has a very high status reputation. "No one can live here unless his family has lived in the community for at least three generations." Best houses in town are located here. The streets are wide and clean and have many trees.
- 2 High.--Dwelling areas are felt to be superior and well above most but a little below the top. This has fewer mansions and pretentious houses than does 1. Chief difference is reputation.
- 3 Above average.--A little above average in social reputation and to the scientific observer. An area of nice but not pretentious houses. Streets are kept clean and houses are well-cared for. Known as a "nice place to live but society doesn't live here."
- 4 Average.--Areas of workingmen's houses. Small and unpretentious but neat in appearance. In these areas live the respectable people in town who "don't amount to much but never give anybody any trouble."
- 5 Below average.--All areas in this group are undesirable because they are close to factories, include the business section of town, are close to the railroad, etc. More run-down houses here because there are people living in these areas who "don't know how to take care of things." More congested and heterogeneous than those above. It is said that "all kinds of people live here, and you don't know who your neighbors will be."
- 6 Low.--Rundown and semi-slums. Houses are set close together. Yards and streets are often filled with debris and sometimes are not paved.

- 7 Slum districts.--Very low. The areas with the poorest reputation in town with unpleasant and unhealthy geographical positions and have social stigma attached to the people living here. Houses are little better than shacks. People are referred to by such terms as "squatters," "itinerants," "lazy," "shiftless," "immoral," and "it is a bad place to live in."

* Source: Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:153,154).

APPENDIX B-5

SCALE USED FOR RECORDING THE DEGREE OF
RACIAL INTEGRATION CHARACTERISTIC
OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

- 1 All white neighborhood. "No Negroes live here."
- 2 Only a few neighbors are Negroes. The criterion used was "one or more families but less than on-half."
- 3 Quite a few neighbors are Negroes. The criterion used was "about half."
- 4 Almost all or most neighbors are Negroes. The criterion was "more than half but not all."
- 5 All neighbors are Negroes.

NOTE: Racial integration and segregation are important subjects in the United States today. In Metropolitan Detroit the racial characteristics of neighborhoods, in this case reference is to the relative number of Negro Americans living there, sometimes change greatly and very rapidly when one moves only a very short distance. Because of this, observations were limited to the block on which the informant now lives. In case the respondent could not be located we inquired at the proper address and/or neighbors to verify his former residence there. This done, we recorded the data on this scale for use in comparative analysis.

APPENDIX B-6

SCALE FOR RECORDING EDUCATIONAL
ACHIEVEMENT BY STEP

- 1 17 years and over
- 2 16 years
- 3 13-15 years
- 4 12 years
- 5 9-11 years
- 6 5-8 years
- 7 0-4 years

NOTE: Scale is taken from Parker and Kleiner (1966:398).

APPENDIX B-7

SCALE USED FOR RECORDING PAY

ACHIEVEMENT BY STEP

1	\$385.00 and over per week.	\$20,020 and over per year.
2	\$290.00-\$384.00 per week.	\$15,080-\$19,965 per year.
3	\$241.00-\$289.00 per week.	\$12,532-\$15,028 per year.
4	\$192.00-\$240.00 per week.	\$10,010-\$12,480 per year.
5	\$175.00-\$192.00 per week.	\$9,100-\$9,984 per year.
6	\$155.00-\$174.00 per week.	\$8,060-\$9,048 per year.
7	\$135.00-\$154.00 per week.	\$7,024-\$8,008 per year.
8	\$115.00-\$134.00 per week.	\$5,908-\$6,968 per year.
9	\$95.00-\$114.00 per week.	\$4,940-\$5,928 per year.
10	\$75.00-\$94.00 per week.	\$3,900-\$4,888 per year.
11	\$50.00-\$74.00 per week.	\$2,600-\$3,849 per year.
12	\$25.00-\$49.00 per week.	\$1,300-\$2,528 per year.
13	Less than \$25.00 per week.	Less than \$1,300 per year.
14	Nothing. "Does not work."	
0	Cannot ascertain	
88	"I do not know." This was the response of some of the informants which was recorded but which has for most purposes been analyzed with "cannot ascertain," above.	

NOTE: We prepared the above scale because of its descriptive value with the intent of collapsing it into a seven-point scale later. We have worked on this by recording the proportion of the total responses and comparing

this proportion with the proportions in seven steps in the areas of education and occupation. Taking the proportions for education and occupation and averaging them and then applying the proportions obtained to this scale results in the following suggested breakdown, should such be desired. It should be noted that this is for average take-home pay.

- 1 \$385.00 and over per week.
- 2 \$290.00-\$384.00 per week.
- 3 \$192.50-\$289.00 per week.
- 4 \$155.00-\$192.00 per week.
- 5 \$95.00-\$154.00 per week.
- 6 \$50.00-\$94.00 per week.
- 7 \$49.00 per week or less.

APPENDIX C

TABLES

TABLE 2.1--Indian Dancers by Group

Presence	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	00 (00.0)	19 (54.3)	19 (23.8)
Absent	45 (100.0)	16 (45.7)	61 (76.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 32.120 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .633$$

*Note: It should be remembered that "Membership" refers to active members only.

**There are other dancers than these who dance. We are selectively interviewing in terms of monthly meetings attended.

TABLE 2.2--Children Doing Indian Dancing by Group

Instructed	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	00 (00.0)	14 (53.8)	14 (20.0)
No	44 (100.0)	12 (46.2)	56 (80.0)
Total	44 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	70 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 30.600 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .661$$

*These data are controlled for marital status, household, and for individuals only who have children. No attempt is made here to control for the age of the children. The minimum age would be, however, about four. Usually this refers to adolescents, who were by definition excluded from being interviewed. Hence, none of those listed in Table 2.1 are duplicated in Table 2.2.

**Some of these dance with the North American Indian Association. Some have migrated, e.g., to schools and following marriage. The training of children in the art of Indian dancing, however, indicates a desire on the part of parents to perpetuate what they have started.

TABLE 2.3--Extension of Household Hospitality to Visiting Indians at Detroit Pow Wows by Group

Entertains Visiting Indians	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	2 (4.4)	15 (50.0)	17 (22.7)
No	43 (95.6)	15 (50.0)	58 (77.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 21.310 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .533$$

Item 23: Do you take Indians into your home as guests while pow wows are in progress here in Detroit?

*The two groups contrast in some interesting ways. Individuals in the Non-Membership Group entertain visiting relatives. Otherwise, they offered no excuse for not entertaining visiting Indians. Those in the Membership Group do not, according to our data which may be lacking at this point, entertain kinsmen. They always offered immediate excuse, saying the house was too small or facilities were inadequate.

**Data is controlled for household.

TABLE 2.4--Informant Participation in Detroit Pow Wows by Group

Participates	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	0 (00.0)	29 (90.6)	29 (37.7)
No	45 (100.0)	3 (9.4)	48 (62.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	77 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 60.243 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .867$$

*These data are for participation in the building at the time the pow wow is in process.

**We are uncertain one way or the other about three in the Membership Group, hence the deletion.

***It appears that the members are indeed cooperating.

TABLE 2.5--Attendance at Detroit Pow Wows by Group

Informant Attends	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	9 (20.0)	35 (100.0)	44 (55.0)
No	36 (80.0)	0 (00.0)	36 (45.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (.00.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 51.226 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .800$$

*The data on the Membership Group remains the same if we consider pow wows without regard to place; for the Non-Membership Group, however, the "Yes" cell doubles (Cf. Table 4.6). If we had presented this alternate set of data, the χ^2 would have been 31.635, $P = < .001$, and $\phi = .645$. Those additional nine in the Non-Membership Group were coded as attending only "occasionally," i.e., they had attended somewhere once or twice. All of the others in both groups, conforming to our data in this table, assert that they always attend if at all possible, excepting two in the Non-Membership Group and one in the Membership Group who said "almost always."

**Indeed, according to their statements 100% attend.

TABLE 2.6--Places Where Detroit Indians Attend Pow Wows
by Group

Place	Combined Groups	Membership Group	Non- Membership Group
Detroit, Michigan	186	135	51
Walpole Island, Ontario	55	49	6
Chicago, Illinois	38	38	
Hastings, Michigan	25	24	1
Cross Village, Michigan	19		19
Lansing, Michigan	15	12	3
Mantoulin Island, Ontario	12	12	
Sarnia, Ontario	12	12	
Petoskey, Michigan	10	8	2
Oneida Reservation, Ontario	8	2	6
Harbor Springs, Michigan	7		7
Tama, Iowa	5	5	
Traverse City, Michigan	4		4
Toronto, Ontario	4	4	
Caughnawaga, Quebec	3	3	
Hopkins, Michigan	3	3	
St. Clair Shores, Michigan	3	3	
Arizona	2	2	
Garden River Reservation, Ontario	2	2	
Moravian Reservation, Ontario	2	2	
Minnesota	2	2	
Oklahoma	2	2	
Six Nations Reservation, Ontario	2	2	
Taos Pueblo, New Mexico	2	2	
Bernaps (near Grand Rapids), Mich.	1	1	
Cleveland, Ohio	1	1	
Gary, Indiana	1	1	
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan	1	1	
Round Lake, Michigan	1	1	
St. Ignace, Michigan	1	1	
Sand Lake, Michigan	1	1	
Sheridan, Wyoming	1	1	

*These places are rank ordered in terms of the sums of weighted scores derived from the statements of our informants. Weights used were: 4 for "most often," 3 for "second most often," 2 for "third most often," and 1 for all residual or extra places attended. These raw data do not suppose that "pow wows" as we use the term actually were held in each of these places or, if so, they continue.

TABLE 2.7--Respondents Who Do Indian Crafts by Group

Does Indian Crafts	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	0 (00.0)	19 (54.3)	19 (23.8)
No	45 (100.0)	16 (45.7)	61 (76.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 32.120 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .633$$

The statistics in this table are identical to that in 2.1 but the data itself is different in that these who do Indian crafts are not necessarily those who do Indian dancing. We found that 15 said either crafts or dancing but not both. There are enough extra dancers to make that total of 19, and enough extra who work in crafts to make that 19. This means that almost everyone does one or the other, and some both. Crafts mentioned are: arrowheads, baskets, beadwork of varying types, costumes, drums, featherwork, leather work, painting, silk screening, tanning of hides, and woodcraft. Stone chipping is a new art learned by only one. Most common is beadwork, costumes, featherwork, and silk screening. Leather work, drums, and tanning is done mostly by the drummers and singers, there being six.

TABLE 2.8--Commercial Aspects of Pan-Indianism by Group

Individual Realizes Personal Profit	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	0 (00.0)	9 (25.7)	9 (11.3)
No	45 (100.0)	26 (74.3)	71 (88.8)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 13.257 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .407$$

By "commercial aspects" we refer to gains made by the individual for himself via crafts, Indian dancing, drumming and singing, and public speaking about Indians. These are distinguished from group gains made by the organization in lieu of a common goal for all Indians.

At the time of interviewing, one person made her living by beadwork, not because of the Association (Appendix D-2u, D-66). Aside from this, contacts may be made through the Association or perhaps via status associated with it. Greatest earnings will probably accrue through public speaking, and then via drumming and singing. The rest would earn only occasional petty cash. There is some overlap in the areas where the nine persons earn. Two earn from public speaking, three from drumming and singing, three from crafts, and two from solo dancing. All, in accordance with the Association's code of donated services, must be earned outside the group--except for perhaps free meals.

TABLE 2.9--Persons Doing Public Parading in Costumes by Group

Respondent Parades	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	0 (00.0)	14 (40.0)	14 (17.5)
No	45 (100.0)	21 (60.0)	66 (82.5)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 21.973 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .524$$

TABLE 2.10--Participation in the Recreational Activities of the North American Indian Association by Group

Participates	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	12 (26.7)	35 (100.0)	47 (58.8)
No	33 (73.3)	0 (00.0)	33 (41.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 43.468 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .737$$

*By "recreational activities" we exclude pow wows and those falling sometimes on the third Sunday evening of the month at the Y.W.C.A. We believe that the responses from the Non-Membership Group were accurate in some cases, i.e., current, but in most we think they meant that they had attended the activity mentioned perhaps once or twice. We present the data for the above table below. It should be remembered that these functions will sometimes run to three hundred or more and that we have only the active members under consideration and a sample of those who are not members.

Activity Attended	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Thanksgiving Dinner	1 (2.2)	32 (91.4)	33 (41.3)
Christmas Children's Party	1 (2.2)	35 (100.0)	36 (45.0)
New Year's Dance	7 (15.3)	32 (91.4)	39 (48.8)
Princess Dance	6 (13.3)	32 (91.4)	38 (47.5)
Annual Banquet	3 (6.7)	32 (91.4)	35 (43.8)
Labor Day Picnic	6 (13.3)	30 (91.4)	36 (45.0)

*We probably failed to get a good representation from the non-membership Indian community which attends these events due to our method of selecting our Non-Membership Group. As a criterion for this, we admitted no Indian who is or has ever been a member of the Association.

TABLE 2.11--Presence of Consanguines in the North American Indian Association by Group

Consanguines Present	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	7 (15.6)	20 (57.1)	27 (33.8)
No	38 (84.4)	15 (42.9)	53 (66.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 15.276 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .448$$

*Item 8, Appendix B-1: Do you have any kin, 1st cousin or closer, who are now attending the regular monthly meetings of the NAIA 20% or more of the time?

**As a control we asked the respondent two additional open-ended questions: (1) how many, and (2) to name them. We then assessed the validity of the response from our knowledge of the Association itself, specifically from our list of the Membership Group. We were not faced with a dilemma in any case since we received no false answers.

TABLE 2.12--Presence of "Best Friends" in the North American Indian Association by Group

"Best Friends" Present	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	3 (6.7)	34 (97.1)	37 (46.3)
No	42 (93.3)	1 (2.9)	43 (53.8)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 64.737 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .888$$

*Item 9, Appendix B-1: Do any of those persons whom you referred to as your "best friends here in Detroit" attend the regular monthly meetings of the NAIA 20% or more of the time?

**We exercised controls with the Non-Membership Group on this item by asking the respondent for the name or names of those concerned, which we then checked against our list. We found no discrepancies.

TABLE 2.13--Summary of the Relative Strengths of the Findings in the Two by Two Tables Nos. 2.1-2.12, Ranked in Terms of Phi Coefficients

P	Phi Coefficient	Table Number	Table Title
< .001	.888	2.12	Presence of "best friends" in the North American Indian Association by group
< .001	.867	2.4	Informant participation in Detroit pow wows by group
< .001	.800	2.5	Attendance at Detroit pow wows by group
< .001	.737	2.10	Participation in the recreational activities of the North American Indian Association by group
< .001	.661	2.2	Children doing Indian dancing by group
< .001	.633	2.1	Indian dancers by group
< .001	.633	2.7	Respondents who do Indian crafts by group
< .001	.533	2.3	Extension of household hospitality to visiting Indians at Detroit pow wows by group
< .001	.524	2.9	Persons doing public parading in costumes by group
< .001	.448	2.11	Presence of consanguines in the North American Indian Association by group
< .001	.407	2.8	Commercial aspects of Pan-Indianism

*P indicates our chances of being correct. A P of < .001 is here taken to mean the finding is highly significant.

** ϕ , the Phi Coefficient, is a measure of the strength of the relationship. Since all the findings are highly significant, all the phi's are also. Some, however, are stronger than others: the higher is the stronger. The phi is not a percentage of strength but a relative measure. Since all are obtained on 2 x 2 tables, they are all comparable.

TABLE 2.14--Ranked Meaning of Pow Wows to Indians by Group

Meaning	Weighted Scores		
	Membership Group	Non-Membership Group (Attends)	Non-Membership Group (Does Not Attend)
Renewal of friendships, socializing	71	18	1
Subtribal feelings of unity	6		
Total	77	18	1
Enjoyment and appreciation of:			
Indian dances	33	32	2
Feelings of nativism, "perpetuation"	16	3	
Indian crafts	10	5	3
Indian costumes	8	3	5
Total	67	43	10
Educational Fund for Indians	21	3	
Feelings of ethnic identity	11		4
Importance of a message to convey to Non-Indians	4	3	5
Religious overtones of the pow wow	2	2	
Recreation	2	2	10

Item 26: "Tell me what are the most important things that pow wows mean to you. If you dislike them, tell me what you dislike most about them. When you have, please tell me also their order of importance to you."

*The most important, or first, choice was weighted three, the second was weighted two, and the third was weighted one. The total weighted scores were then summed by group.

**The Membership Group responded essentially as participants, those in the Non-Membership Group who attend, as observers but also from the perspective of meeting their friends, and those in the Non-Membership Group who do not attend gave their opinions, if they had any, of their appraised meaning of the pow wow. The contexts of responses, therefore, differ. Most of those non-members who do not attend had no idea what the pow wow might mean.

TABLE 2.15--Ranked Meaning of Indians Parading in Costume by Group

Meaning	Weighted Scores	
	Membership Group	Non-Membership Group
Importance of a message to convey to Non-Indians	66	26
Feelings of ethnic identity	30	9
Dances, crafts, and costumes:		
Desire to show ¹ Indian costumes	27	24
Advertisement to secure opportunities to put on Indian dances	1	
Feelings of nativism, "perpetuation" Crafts		2
Total	<u>28</u>	<u>26</u>
Recreation, e.g., "enjoy it"	11	3
Renewal of friendships, socializing with Indians	2	
Supertribal feelings of unity	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
Dislike ² it	6	6

Item 28: "Tell me now what are the most important things that parading with Indians means to you. If you dislike this activity tell me why. When you have, please tell me also their order of importance to you." We asked the item, however, of all respondents.

¹Members appear to answer in terms of the group of which they are a part and non-members in terms of like or dislike, good or bad.

²Two paraders in the Membership Group dislike it because of the insults sometimes hurled by Whites who watch. Two non-members disapprove because they feel the activity is humiliating.

*The most important, or first, response was weighted three, the second was weighted two, and the third was weighted one. The total weighted scores were then summed by group.

TABLE 2.16--Message Conveyed by Indians Parading in Costume by Group

Message	Weighted Scores	
	Membership Group	Non-Membership Group
"We ¹ seek to correct current misunderstandings about Indians."		
"Indians are not dying out but are here."	27	
"Indians have a culture to be proud of."	8	
"Indians are not savages but are civilized."	4	3
"Indians are as good as anyone else."	3	3
Total	<u>42</u>	<u>6</u>
"We ¹ are proud to be identified as Indians."	16	11
"We ¹ represent Indians as a whole."	12	
"Indians are unified. We ¹ are also organized."	7	3
"Indians are the true, first, Americans."	6	6
"We ¹ seek to draw attention to the ways in which Indians have been mistreated."		
"Our ¹ country has been taken away."	1	1
"Our ¹ life span has been shortened."	1	
"We ¹ have not been accorded equal treatment generally in comparison to other ethnic groups."	1	
Total	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
"Our ¹ appearance in costume gives White people		
a. food for thought, and		6
b. makes them ashamed."	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
"We ¹ seek recognition."	2	3

¹"We" and "our" should be taken as "they" or "their" for the responses of the Non-Membership Group. Statements are personified for effect.

*First response was weighted three; second, two, and third, one. They were then summed by group.

TABLE 3.1--"Indian" Households

Households		Excluded	Used
Members			
Acceptable by definition	35		35
Unacceptable by definition	94	94	
Total	<u>129</u>		
Non-Members acceptable by definition			
Persons on the NAIA lists	178		
Persons not on the NAIA lists	47		
Total	<u>225</u>		225
Units unsatisfactory for sampling			
Persons in Metropolitan Detroit			
Former members	169		
Exclusions on age	29		
No known address	88		
Total	<u>286</u>	286	
Persons not in Metropolitan Detroit			
In Southeastern Michigan	36		
Outside of Southeastern Michigan	255		
Total	<u>291</u>	291	
Deceased	44	44	
Total	975	715	260

*These findings represent a portion of the result of our work with our paid informant prior to sampling. From those households of non-members which were acceptable for sampling we drew a simple random sample of 150 via random numbers.

TABLE 3.2--Reasons for Non-Interviews (Non-Members)

Reasons	Frequency	Per Cent
Refused to be interviewed	2	1.9
Not home to keep set appointment	5	4.8
Not home to make an appointment	7	6.7
Over 63 years of age	14	13.3
Deceased	6	5.7
Less than 1/4th Indian "blood"	7	6.7
Duplicate card (contained Indian name)	1	1.0
Moved: In Southeastern Michigan but outside Metropolitan Detroit	6	5.7
Moved: Out of Michigan but not to the reservation	6	5.7
Moved: Returned to reservation	7	6.7
Moved: In the U.S. Armed Services	2	1.9
Moved: No known address	42	40.0
Total	105	100.1

TABLE: 4.1--Age by Group

Age	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
61 - 63	4	8.9	4	13.3
58 - 60	3	6.7	3	10.0
55 - 57	4	8.9	1	3.3
52 - 54	4	8.9	4	13.3
49 - 51	2	4.4	2	6.7
46 - 48	3	6.7	2	6.7
43 - 45	6	13.3	4	13.3
40 - 42	4	8.9	4	13.3
37 - 39	7	15.6	0	0.0
34 - 36	6	13.3	2	6.7
31 - 33	1	2.2	1	3.3
28 - 30	0	0.0	0	0.0
25 - 27	1	2.2	2	6.7
22 - 24	0	0.0	1	3.3
Total	45	100.0	30	99.9
Mean Age	45.9		46.8	

t = .089

n.s.

*Note: Age is controlled for household.

TABLE 4.2--Sex by Group

Sex	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Male	17 (37.8)	8 (26.7)	25 (33.3)
Female	28 (62.2)	22 (73.3)	50 (67.7)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .999$ n.s.

*Note: Sex is controlled for household.

TABLE 4.3--Tribe of Birth by Group

Tribe	Interviewed				Persons Not Interviewed	
	Membership Group		Non-Membership Group			
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Single:						
Apache			1	2.2		
Aztec					1	2.2
Cherokee	1	2.9	1	2.2	2	2.5
Chippewa	6	17.1	11	24.4	14	17.3
Choctaw					1	1.2
Delaware	3	8.6	2	4.4	2	2.5
Mohawk	1	2.9	1	2.2	5	6.2
Ojibwa	4	11.4	3	6.7	3	3.7
Oneida	3	8.6	2	4.4	3	3.7
Onondaga					1	1.2
Ottawa			17	37.8	38	46.9
Potawatomi	3	8.6				
(Caldwell) Potawatomi					1	1.2
Sioux	1	2.9				
Taos Pueblo	2	5.7				
Mixed:						
Cayuga-Mohawk	1	2.9			1	1.2
Chippewa-Cayuga	1	2.9				
Chippewa-Ojibwa					2	2.5
Chippewa-Ottawa	1	2.9	3	6.7	4	4.9
Delaware-Ojibwa	2	5.7			1	1.2
Delaware-Potawatomi	2	5.7				
Mohawk-Delaware					1	1.2
Mohawk-Tarascan	1	2.9				
Ottawa-Choctaw			1	2.2		
Potawatomi-Ojibwa	1	2.9	1	2.2		
Potawatomi-Oneida	1	2.9				
Potawatomi-Ottawa	1	2.9	1	2.2		
Winnebago-Ojibwa			1	2.2	1	1.2
Total	35	100.4	45	99.8	81	99.8
Cannot Ascertain					24	

*We have presented the picture of the persons not interviewed as accurately as we can from our data available prior to the interviewing. We have no reason to doubt any of the figures given for that group with the exception that our estimate on the numbers of Ottawas might be a per cent or two high. When we interviewed the Ottawas in the Non-Membership Group, we never found our prior information faulty. We have not computed the per cent for the persons not interviewed on the basis of those for whom we have no knowledge. We have, however, presented the frequency of 24 in that category.

TABLE 4.4--Tribe of Birth: Single or Mixed by Group

Tribe of Birth	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Single	36 (80.0)	21 (70.0)	57 (76.0)
Mixed	9 (20.0)	9 (30.0)	18 (24.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .984$ n.s.

*Note: These data are controlled for household.

TABLE 4.5--Degree of Indian "Blood" by Fourths by Group

Degree of Indian "Blood"	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
4/4ths	11 (24.4)	15 (50.0)	26 (34.7)
3/4ths-15/16ths	8 (17.8)	6 (20.0)	14 (18.7)
2/4ths-11/16ths	9 (20.0)	5 (16.7)	14 (18.7)
1/4th - 7/16ths	17 (37.8)	4 (13.3)	21 (28.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.1)

df = 3 $\chi^2 = 5.607$ n.s.

*Note: These data are controlled for household.

TABLE 4.6--Degree of Indian "Blood" Controlled at the Three-Fourths Level by Group

Degree of Indian "Blood"	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
3/4ths-full	19 (42.2)	21 (70.0)	40 (53.3)
11/16ths or less	26 (57.8)	9 (30.0)	35 (46.7)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 5.581$ P < .01 $\phi = .273$

*These data are controlled for household. Forecasting efficiency indicates predictability of membership with knowledge of degree of Indian "blood."

TABLE 4.7--Adeptness at Speaking One's Tribal Language by Group

Adeptness	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Speaks it well	9 (20.0)	9 (30.0)	18 (24.0)
Speaks it poorly	7 (15.6)	7 (23.3)	14 (18.7)
Understands only a little of it	8 (17.8)	6 (20.0)	14 (18.7)
Cannot understand it	21 (46.7)	8 (26.7)	29 (38.7)
Total	45 (100.1)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.1)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = .843 \quad n.s.$$

*Note: These data have been controlled for household. Following this analysis we controlled for the ability to speak the language versus the inability to do so and found the results also non-significant.

TABLE 4.8--Religion by Group

Religion	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Protestant	18 (40.0)	11 (42.3)	29 (41.4)
Roman Catholic	26 (60.0)	15 (57.7)	41 (58.6)
Total	44 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	70 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = .008 \quad n.s.$$

*Note: These data are controlled for household and refer only to the two religions mentioned because the inclusion of more would have resulted in too few in the cells for analysis. It should be noted that four are missing in the Membership Group: one, Longhouse; one, Christian Science; one, Free Thinker; and one, None. In the Non-Membership Group one is missing, Jehovah's Witnesses.

TABLE 4.9--Sending Point by Group*

Sending Point	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	f	%	f	%
U.S.A. but outside of Michigan:				
Long Beach, California			1	2.9
Lavita, Colorado	1	2.2		
Big Falls, Minnesota	1	2.2		
Leach Lake, Minnesota	1	2.2		
Taos Pueblo, New Mexico			2	5.7
Buffalo, New York	2	4.4		
Tulsa, Oklahoma			1	2.9
Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin	1	2.2		
Michigan:				
Metropolitan Detroit	3	6.7	3	8.6
Chippewa Indians				
Baraga	1	2.2		
Bay Mills	1	2.2		
Cedarville	1	2.2		
Cheboygan	1	2.2		
Elk Rapids	1	2.2		
Houghton	(1)			
Iron Mountain			1	2.9
Isabella	1	2.2		
L'Anse	(1)			
Mecosta			1	2.9
Nahma			1	2.9
St. Ignace	(1)			
St. Jacques	1	2.2		
Sault Ste. Marie	1	2.2	1	2.9
Shelldrake	(1)			
Sugar Island	4	8.9	2	5.7
Ottawa Indians				
Alba	1	2.2		
Brutus	1	2.2		
Burt Lake	3	6.7		
Charlevoix	1	2.2		
Cheboygan	1	2.2		
Cross Village	2	4.4		
Custer			1	2.9
Hart	1	2.2		

*Map 1.

TABLE 4.9--Continued.

Sending Point	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	f	%	f	%
Michigan:				
Ottawa Indians				
Manistique	2	4.4		
Manton	1	2.2		
Maple River (Alanson)	1	2.2		
Middle Village	1	2.2		
Northport	1	2.2		
Omena	1	2.2		
Petoskey			1	2.9
Topinabee (rural)	1	2.2		
Potawatomi Indians				
Covert Township			1	2.9
Dowagiac			(1)	
Watervliet			1	2.9
Canada:				
Moravian Reservation	1	2.2	3	8.6
Muncey Reservation	1	2.2	1	2.9
Just off the Muncey Reserve	1	2.2	1	2.9
Oneida Reservation	2	4.4	6	17.1
Six Nations Reservation			1	2.9
Walpole Reservation			5	14.3
Caughnawage Reservation	1	2.2	1	2.9
Total	45	99.3	35	100.6

*The purpose of this table is two-fold: (1) to indicate the sending point from which our respondents have immigrated to Metropolitan Detroit and (2) to add data and meaning to Map 1. In the table we have utilized birthplace since seldom is the greater number of the first 17 years elsewhere. Where there were over half elsewhere, we have indicated the place and the number of persons concerned, placing the number in parenthesis but not adding it twice. We have been impressed by the way the Michigan Indians divide themselves in point of origin and the very close correspondence between our findings and those of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1961. Accordingly, we divided the Michigan Indians according to primary tribal affiliation and have presented the data in a manner which will correspond to the map.

TABLE 4.10--Type of Place of Socialization by Group

Type of Place	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Metropolis	5 (11.1)	6 (17.1)	11 (13.8)
Small City	8 (17.8)	6 (17.1)	14 (17.5)
Village	12 (26.7)	0 (00.0)	12 (15.0)
Rural (non-reservation)	12 (26.7)	5 (14.4)	17 (21.3)
Reservation	8 (17.8)	18 (51.4)	26 (32.5)
Total	45 (100.1)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.1)

$$df = 4 \quad \chi^2 = 18.208 \quad P < .01 \quad \phi = .477$$

*By place of socialization we refer to the greater portion of years lived during the ages of 1-17. We have not computed the phi coefficient nor the forecasting efficiency since we have here more than a 2 x 2 table and the measures would not be comparable. Metropolis is defined as 250,000 or over; small city as between 10,000 and about 20,000; village as less than 10,000.

TABLE 4.11--Reservation Versus Non-Reservation Place of Socialization by Group

Type of Place	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Non-Reservation	37 (82.2)	17 (48.6)	54 (67.5)
Reservation	8 (17.8)	18 (51.4)	26 (32.5)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 10.084 \quad P < .01 \quad \phi = .355$$

*Forecasting efficiency indicates that knowing the place of socialization we can predict affiliation or not with a Pan-Indian association.

TABLE 4.12--Relative Ratios of "Best Friends" of Parents by Group

Relative Ratio	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
All or more white friends	26 (57.8)	2 (5.7)	28 (35.0)
About the same of both	9 (20.0)	11 (31.4)	20 (25.0)
Fewer or no white friends	10 (22.2)	22 (62.9)	32 (40.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.0)

$$df = 2 \quad \chi^2 = 24.585 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .560$$

*The effort here is to attempt to assess the Indian or non-Indian influences to which the respondent was probably subjected during his period of socialization. It is also an attempt to determine in a crude manner, when compared with Tables 4.10 and 4.11, the degree of integration of the family, in which the respondent was reared, into the dominant society. One could suspect that a generation or two ago that in areas of Indian concentration Indians would have been prone to find their friends among Indians for the most part.

TABLE 4.13--Degree of Integration into the Non-Indian Society of the Family of Orientation by Group

"Best Friends" of Parents	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Mostly or all non-Indians	26 (57.8)	2 (5.7)	28 (35.0)
Indian friends equal to or more than white friends	19 (42.2)	33 (94.3)	52 (65.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	80 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 23.677 \quad P < .001 \quad \phi = .555$$

*It is assumed that the "Best Friends" of a person are indicative of social relationships and, therefore, that those of one's parents are indicative of integration into the dominant society in the context used here.

TABLE 4.14--Year of Immigration to Metropolitan Detroit
by Group

Years	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
1966-1968	0	0.0	3	11.1
1963-1965	1	2.4	0	0.0
1960-1962	1	2.4	0	0.0
1957-1959	2	4.8	1	3.7
1954-1956	1	2.4	0	0.0
1951-1952	5	11.9	5	18.5
1948-1950	6	14.3	3	11.1
1945-1947	3	7.1	1	3.7
1942-1944	7	16.7	2	7.4
1939-1941	7	16.7	4	14.8
1936-1938	2	4.8	5	18.5
1933-1935	1	2.4	0	0.0
1930-1932	4	9.5	1	3.7
1927-1927	1	2.4	0	0.0
1924-1926	1	2.4	0	0.0
1921-1923	0	0.0	1	3.7
1918-1920	0	0.0	1	3.7
Total	42	100.2	27	99.9

t = .2679

n.s.

*These data are corrected for household. Three in each group were born in Metropolitan Detroit. The mean year for the Non-Membership Group is 1945.86 and for the Membership Group is 1945.00. In analysis we followed Garrett (1962:122,124) for the significance of a difference between means in small samples.

TABLE 4.15--Age at Immigration to Metropolitan Detroit
by Group

Age	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
58 - 60	0	0.0	1	3.4
55 - 57	0	0.0	0	0.0
52 - 54	0	0.0	0	0.0
49 - 51	0	0.0	1	3.4
46 - 48	0	0.0	0	0.0
43 - 45	0	0.0	0	0.0
40 - 42	0	0.0	0	0.0
37 - 39	5	12.2	2	6.9
34 - 36	2	4.9	0	0.0
31 - 33	3	7.3	2	6.9
28 - 30	1	2.4	3	10.3
25 - 27	0	0.0	2	6.9
22 - 24	4	9.8	5	17.2
19 - 21	9	22.0	5	17.2
16 - 18	11	26.8	5	20.7
13 - 15	6	14.6	2	6.9
Total	41	100.0	29	99.8

t = .505

n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. We did not compute in this table persons who immigrated during infancy. This meant the exclusion of four in the Non-Membership Group and one in the Membership Group. The mean age of the Non-Membership Group at immigration is 22.63 and of the Membership Group is 25.10. In the analysis we tested the significance of a difference between the means by correcting for small samples (Garrett, 1962: 122,124).

TABLE 4.16--Total Years Lived in Metropolitan Detroit
by Group

Total Years	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
46 - 48	1	2.2	0	0.0
43 - 45	2	4.4	2	6.9
40 - 42	1	2.2	0	0.0
37 - 39	4	8.9	3	10.3
34 - 36	2	4.4	0	0.0
31 - 33	2	4.4	3	10.3
28 - 30	6	13.3	5	17.2
25 - 27	5	11.1	3	10.3
22 - 24	6	13.3	3	10.3
19 - 21	3	6.7	2	6.9
16 - 18	8	17.8	3	10.3
13 - 15	1	2.2	1	3.4
10 - 12	1	2.2	2	6.9
7 - 9	2	4.4	0	0.0
4 - 6	1	2.2	0	0.0
1 - 3	0	0.0	2	6.9
Total	45	99.7	29	99.7

t = .114

n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. We were not able to ascertain the total number of years for one respondent in the Membership Group inasmuch as she had moved so much due to reasons of health. We do, however, believe that her number of years is about at the mean. The mean for the Non-Membership Group is 25.47 years and for the Membership Group is 24.86 years. In analysis we corrected for small samples (Garrett, 1962: 122-124).

TABLE 4.17--Relative Ratio of Kinsmen Remaining in One's Rural Tribal Area by Group

Subjective Estimate of Ratio	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
"All" or "Most." Greater than half	9 (20.0)	13 (43.3)	22 (29.3)
"Quite a few." Explained as "about half"	7 (15.6)	9 (30.0)	16 (21.3)
"Only a few." Explained as "less than half"	21 (46.7)	6 (20.0)	27 (36.0)
"None"	8 (17.8)	2 (6.7)	10 (13.4)
Total	45 (100.1)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

$$df = 3 \quad \chi^2 = 10.321 \quad P < .02 \quad \phi = .371$$

*These data are controlled for household. They are subjective and were taken because we felt it rather meaningless to use absolute ones since absolute numbers of kinsmen can vary so much per individual. For uniformity in response we utilized visual aids (see Appendix B for their description and illustration).

**In response to this item we called for kinsmen who are first cousins or closer to Ego. If the respondent had questions about this, we explained who these might be. We also specifically reminded our informants that this item calls for these kinsmen to be those living in his rural tribal area, i.e., reservation or rural Indian community. The data is dichotomized for the largest possible phi coefficient in Table 4.18. We suspect, however, that some of our informants may have responded with their place of socialization in mind.

TABLE 4.18--Less Than Half Versus Half or More Kinsmen Remaining in One's Rural Tribal Area by Group

Subjective Estimate of Ratio	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
One-half or more	16 (35.6)	22 (73.3)	39 (50.7)
Less than one-half	29 (64.4)	8 (26.7)	37 (49.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

$$df = 1 \quad \chi^2 = 10.317 \quad P < .01 \quad \phi = .371$$

*These data are controlled for household. Description of the dichotomized categories is given under Table 4.17.

TABLE 4.19--Relative Ratio of Respondent's "Best Friends" Living in His Rural Tribal Area by Group

Subjective Estimate of Ratio	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
"All" or "Most." Greater than one-half	2 (4.4)	7 (23.3)	9 (12.0)
"Quite a few." Explained as "about half"	7 (15.6)	9 (30.0)	16 (21.3)
"Only a few." Explained as "less than half"	15 (33.3)	10 (33.3)	25 (33.3)
"None"	21 (46.7)	4 (13.3)	25 (33.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (99.9)	75 (99.9)

$$df = 3 \quad \chi^2 = 13.122 \quad P < .01 \quad \phi = .418$$

*These data are controlled for household. A description of the assumptions and measures underlying this table is presented under Table 4.17. The data herein is dichotomized for further analysis in Table 4.20 at exactly the same point as in Table 4.18 for comparability.

TABLE 4.20--Less Than Half versus Half or More "Best Friends" Living in One's Rural Tribal Area by Group

Subjective Estimate of Ratio	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
One-half or more	9 (20.0)	16 (53.3)	25 (33.3)
Less than one-half	36 (80.0)	14 (46.7)	50 (66.7)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 9.000$ P < .01 $\phi = .346$

*These data are controlled for household.

TABLE 4.21--Current National Citizenship by Group

Citizenship	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Canada	5 (11.1)	15 (50.0)	20 (26.7)
United States	40 (88.9)	15 (50.0)	55 (73.3)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 13.920$ P < .001 $\phi = .431$

*These data are controlled for household. Had we presented the same for the time of immigration our findings would have been slightly different since one has altered his citizenship from Canada to the United States.

TABLE 4.22--Marital Status by Group

Marital Status	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Married	40 (88.9)	21 (70.0)	61 (81.3)
Unmarried	5 (11.1)	9 (30.0)	14 (18.7)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 4.230$ P < .05 $\phi = .237$

*These data are controlled for household. An analysis of the "married" category is found in Table 4.23.

TABLE 4.23--Non-Indian Marriages by Group

Presence or Absence	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Married an Indian	5 (12.5)	9 (42.9)	14 (23.0)
Married a non-Indian	35 (87.5)	12 (57.1)	47 (77.0)
Total	40 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	61 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 2.826$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. By "non-Indian marriage" we mean the marriage of one defined in this study as an Indian to one who cannot meet the criteria used here. In all cases save two, one in each of the groups, where we found an Indian married to a non-Indian, the respondent asserted clearly that the spouse had no Indian "blood." In the two cases mentioned the respondent thought that the spouse might have some Indian "blood" but had no idea about how much.

**The χ^2 has a $P < .10$, a $\phi = .215$, and an FE of 6.3 which would have been significant had we hypothesized here. Since this portion of our work is purely exploratory, we reserve judgment at this point.

TABLE 4.24--Household Size by Group

Size	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
9	3	6.7	0	0.0
8	1	2.2	1	3.3
7	3	6.7	0	0.0
6	5	11.1	4	13.3
5	11	24.4	4	13.3
4	5	11.1	10	33.3
3	5	11.1	5	16.7
2	11	24.4	5	16.7
1	1	2.2	1	3.3

t = .833

n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. The groups have been adjusted for smallness of size (Garrett, 1962:122-124). The mean household size for the Non-Membership Group is 4.4 and for the Membership Group is 3.9. This most likely concords with the mean ages of the groups (see Table 4.1) in that most of the children are now away from their natal families.

TABLE 4.25--Number of Children per Household by Group

Number	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
7	2	4.4	0	0.0
6	2	4.4	1	3.3
5	1	2.2	0	0.0
4	6	13.3	3	10.0
3	11	24.4	4	13.3
2	4	8.9	8	26.7
1	8	17.8	6	20.0
0	11	24.4	8	26.7

t = 1.966

n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. The data includes only those children currently living in the household. The mean number for the Non-Membership Group is 2.3 and for the Membership Group is 1.7.

TABLE 4.26--Location of Households by Mailing Zone* by Group

Mailing Zone City or Suburb		Interviewed				Persons Not Interviewed	
		Membership Group		Non-Membership Group			
		f	%	f	%	f	%
017	Clawson			1	2.2		
021	East Detroit					2	1.9
024	Farmington			1	2.2		
030	Hazel Park					1	1.0
066	Roseville	1	3.3			3	2.9
067	Royal Oak					1	1.0
071	Madison Heights			1	2.2	3	2.9
072	Berkley			1	2.2		
075	Southfield	1	3.3	1	2.2	1	1.0
080	St. Clair Shores					3	2.9
089	Warren	1	3.3				
101	Allen Park			1	2.2		
122	Melvindale					1	1.0
124	Dearborn	1	3.3			2	1.9
125	"			2	4.4		
126	"	3	10.0				
127	Dearborn Heights	1	3.3			1	1.0
141	Inkster			2	4.4	2	1.9
146	Lincoln Park	1	3.3	3	6.7	4	3.8
154	Livonia			3	6.7	4	3.8
180	Taylor			2	4.4	4	3.8
183	Trenton			1	2.2	2	1.9
184	Wayne	1	3.3	2	4.4	2	1.9
192-a	Southgate			2	4.4		
192-b	Wyandotte					1	1.0
201	Detroit	2	6.7	1	2.2	9	8.6
203	Highland Park			3	6.7	2	1.9
204	Detroit			1	2.2	1	1.0
205	"	1	3.3			1	1.0
208	"	2	6.7	2	4.4	4	3.8
209	"	1	3.3	1	2.2	7	6.7
210	"	1	3.3	2	4.4	5	4.8

*See Map 2.

TABLE 4.26--Continued.

Mailing Zone City or Suburb		Interviewed				Persons Not Interviewed	
		Membership Group		Non-Membership Group			
		f	%	f	%	f	%
211	Detroit	1	3.3	1	2.2	3	2.9
212	Hamtramck					1	1.0
213	Detroit	1	3.3			3	2.9
214	"					2	1.9
215	"	1	3.3				
216	"	2	6.7	1	2.2	7	6.7
218	River Rouge			2	4.4	2	1.9
220	Ferndale	1	3.3				
221	Detroit			1	2.2		
223	"			2	4.4		
227	"	1	3.3	1	2.2		
228	"	1	3.3	1	2.2	6	5.7
234	"	1	3.3	1	2.2	3	2.9
235	"	3	10.0			2	1.9
236	Grosse Pt. Farms					2	1.9
237	Oak Park	1	3.3	1	2.2		
238	Detroit					4	3.8
239	Redford			1	2.2		
240	"					1	1.0
000	Cannot Ascertain					3	2.9
Total		30	99.5	45	99.3	105	100.9

*This table presents the geographic areas in which field work was done and the degree of interviewing success in the various areas. All of the mailing zones, or zip codes, contain five digits, the first two of which are 48. For purposes of economy the interviewing was done according to these. Since these conveniently code the map and allow us to pinpoint fairly closely areas for discussion, we have utilized them here.

TABLE 4.27--Residential Areas by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
2 "High" and			
3 "Above average"	8 (8.9)	3 (10.0)	7 (9.3)
4 "Average"	27 (60.0)	14 (46.7)	41 (54.7)
5 "Below average"	9 (20.0)	7 (23.3)	16 (21.3)
6 "Low" and			
7 "Slum districts"	5 (11.1)	6 (20.0)	11 (14.7)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 3 $\chi^2 = 1.671$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. The scale used was that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:153,154) and is reproduced in Appendix B-4.

TABLE 4.28--Degree of Racial Integration Characteristic of the Neighborhood by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
All white neighborhood	35 (77.8)	22 (73.3)	57 (76.0)
"About half" and "Less than half" Negroes	7 (15.6)	5 (16.7)	12 (16.0)
"More than half" and "All" Negroes	3 (6.7)	3 (10.0)	6 (8.0)
Total	45 (100.1)	30 (100.0)	75 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = .921$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. A description of the steps may be found in Appendix B-5.

TABLE 4.29--House Type by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Not Interviewed	Total
3 "Good houses"	4 (8.9)	3 (10.0)	7 (9.3)
4 "Average houses"	20 (44.4)	7 (23.3)	27 (36.0)
5 "Fair houses"	13 (28.9)	10 (33.3)	23 (30.7)
6 "Poor houses" and			
7 "Very poor houses"	8 (17.8)	10 (33.3)	18 (24.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (99.9)	75 (100.0)

df = 3 $\chi^2 = 4.620$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. The scale used is that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:149, 150). This is reproduced, with the few minor modifications made, in Appendix B-3.

TABLE 4.30--Residential Areas Among Non-Members by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Not Interviewed	Total
2 "High" and			
3 "Above average"	4 (8.9)	7 (7.5)	11 (8.0)
4 "Average"	27 (60.0)	28 (30.1)	55 (39.9)
5 "Below average"	9 (20.0)	32 (34.4)	41 (29.7)
6 "Low"	4 (8.9)	14 (15.1)	18 (13.0)
7 "Slum districts"	1 (2.2)	12 (12.9)	13 (9.4)
Total	45 (100.0)	93 (100.0)	138 (100.0)

df = 4 $\chi^2 = 13.527$ P < .01 $\phi = .313$

*The scale used is that described under Table 4.27 and the data are controlled for household. Of the 105 persons not interviewed we have here excluded eight: seven with less than 1/4th Indian "blood," one on whom we had a duplicate card, four for which the address was faulty to begin with, listed in Table 3.2 with those with no known address.

TABLE 4.31--Residential Areas: Effects of Missing Data on This Study

Step	Non-Membership Group + Persons Not Interviewed	Membership Group	Total
2 "High" and	11 (8.0)	3 (10.0)	14 (8.3)
3 "Above average"	55 (39.9)	14 (46.7)	69 (41.1)
4 "Average"	41 (29.7)	7 (23.3)	48 (28.6)
5 "Below average"	18 (13.0)	6 (20.0)	24 (14.4)
6 "Low"	13 (9.4)	0 (0.0)	13 (7.7)
7 "Slum districts"	138 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	168 (100.1)
Total			

df = 4 $\chi^2 = 4.316$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. Explanations of the scale are offered under Table 4.30. The findings here should be compared with those in Table 4.27. Whether the data from those not interviewed is added to the Non-Membership Group or not, the results remain the same since in either case, when analysis is made against the Membership Group, we do not reach an acceptable level of significance.

TABLE 4.32--Degree of Racial Integration Characteristic of the Neighborhood Among Non-Members by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Not Interviewed	Total
All white neighborhood	35 (77.8)	61 (65.6)	96 (69.6)
"About half and "Less than half" Negroes	7 (15.6)	6 (6.5)	13 (9.4)
"More than half" and "All" Negroes	3 (6.7)	26 (28.0)	29 (21.0)
Total	45 (100.1)	93 (100.1)	138 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 9.830$ P < .02 $\phi = .267$

*Data is controlled for household. Scales are described under Table 4.28.

TABLE 4.33--Degree of Racial Segregation Characteristic of the Neighborhood: Effects of Missing Data on This Study

Step	Non-Membership Group + Persons Not Interviewed	Membership Group	Total
All white neighborhood	96 (69.6)	22 (73.3)	118 (70.2)
"About half" and "Less than half" Negroes	13 (9.4)	5 (16.7)	18 (10.7)
"More than half" and "All" Negroes	29 (21.0)	3 (10.0)	32 (19.0)
Total	138 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	168 (99.9)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 2.834$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. The scales are described under Table 4.28. The findings here should be compared with those in Table 4.28. Whether the data from those not interviewed is added to that from the Non-Membership Group or not, the results remain the same. In either case, when analysis is made against the Membership Group, we do not reach an acceptable level of significance which would allow us to interpret differences to other than chance.

TABLE 4.34--House Type Among Non-Members by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Not Interviewed	Total
2 "Very good Houses"	4 (8.9)	6 (7.0)	10 (7.6)
3 and "Good houses"			
4 "Average houses"	20 (44.4)	18 (20.9)	38 (29.0)
5 "Fair houses"	13 (28.9)	26 (30.2)	39 (29.8)
6 "Poor houses"	6 (13.3)	25 (29.1)	31 (23.7)
7 "Very poor houses"	2 (4.4)	11 (12.8)	13 (9.9)
Total	45 (99.9)	86 (100.0)	131 (100.0)

df = 4 $\chi^2 = 10.865$ P < .05 $\phi = .281$

*These data are controlled for household. The scale is described under Table 4.29. The additional deletions in the category "persons not interviewed" are seven, all cases where the former place of residence has been demolished.

TABLE 4.35--House Type: Effects of Missing Data on This Study

Step	Non-Membership Group + Persons Not Interviewed	Membership Group	Total
2 "Very good houses"	10 (7.6)	3 (10.0)	13 (8.1)
3 and "Good houses"			
4 "Average houses"	38 (29.0)	7 (23.3)	45 (28.0)
5 "Fair houses"	39 (29.8)	10 (33.3)	49 (30.4)
6 "Poor houses"	31 (23.7)	9 (30.0)	40 (24.8)
7 "Very poor houses"	13 (9.9)	1 (3.3)	14 (8.7)
Total	131 (100.0)	30 (99.9)	161 (100.0)

$$df = 4 \quad \chi^2 = 2.342 \quad n.s.$$

*These data are controlled for household. The table should be compared with Table 4.29 underneath which is also given the scale which has been used. As with Table 4.34 there are an additional seven persons deleted in the table above because the former place of residence has been demolished.

TABLE 4.36--Social Class Achievement by Group

Class Achievement	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Middle	9 (20.0)	5 (16.7)	14 (18.7)
Upper-Lower	29 (64.4)	17 (56.7)	46 (61.3)
Lower-Lower	7 (15.6)	8 (26.7)	15 (20.0)
Total	45 (100.0)	30 (100.1)	75 (100.0)

$$df = 2 \quad \chi^2 = 2.354 \quad n.s.$$

*These data are controlled for household. The scaling method used was that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1969:149-154) and is offered for comparative purposes.

TABLE 4.37--Educational Achievement by Group

Years Completed	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
16			1	3.3
15				
14			1	3.3
13	1	2.2	2	6.7
12	18	40.2	6	20.0
11	3	6.7	1	3.3
10	7	15.6	7	23.3
9	1	2.2	1	3.3
8	9	20.0	6	20.0
7	3	9.3	3	10.0
6	1	2.2	1	3.3
5				
4	2	4.4		
3			1	3.3
Total	45	100.0	30	99.8
Mean Education 10.1 years			9.9 years	

t = .503

n.s.

*These data have been controlled for household. Corrections have been made in analysis for small groups (Garrett, 1962:122-124). The data presented is for the respondent and not the head of the household since this gives a better picture of the Indian community in Metropolitan Detroit, the rate of marriage to non-Indians being so high. The data for the head of the household is almost identical, the mean for the Non-Membership Group being 10.1 and for the Membership Group 9.9, but there is a very slight variation in the mid-range distribution.

TABLE 4.38--Occupational Achievement of Head of Household by Group

Step	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
2,3	4 (8.9)	2 (6.7)	6 (8.0)
4	7 (15.6)	8 (26.7)	15 (20.0)
5	14 (31.1)	8 (26.7)	22 (29.3)
6	15 (33.3)	8 (26.7)	23 (30.7)
7	5 (11.1)	4 (13.3)	9 (12.0)
Total	45 (.00.0)	30 (100.1)	75 (100.0)

df = 4 $\chi^2 = 1.678$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. The scale used is that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1960:140,141).

TABLE 4.39--Weekly Take-Home Pay of Head of Household by Group

Step	Amount	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
2,3	\$192.50-\$384.00	11 (28.9)	5 (16.7)	16 (23.5)
4	\$155.00-\$192.00	9 (23.7)	10 (33.3)	19 (27.9)
5	\$ 95.00-\$154.00	13 (34.2)	8 (26.7)	21 (30.9)
6,7	\$ 25.00-\$ 94.00	5 (13.2)	7 (23.3)	12 (17.6)
	Total	38 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	68 (99.9)

df = 3 $\chi^2 = 2.864$ n.s.

*These data are controlled for household. Seven persons in the Non-Membership Group declined to disclose the average weekly take-home pay of the head of the household, hence the reduction of N in that column. A more complete description of the scale is in Appendix B-7.

TABLE 4.40--Annual Take-Home Pay of Head of Household
by Group

Step	Take-Home Pay	Non-Membership Group		Membership Group	
		Frequency	Cum. %	Frequency	Cum. %
2	\$15,080-\$19,965	2	100.1		
3	\$12,532-\$15,028	3	94.8	3	99.9
4	\$10,010-\$12,480	6	86.9	2	89.9
5	\$ 9,100-\$ 9,984	2	71.1	6	83.2
6	\$ 8,060-\$ 9,048	7	65.8	4	63.2
7	\$ 7,024-\$ 8,008	2	47.4	3	49.9
8	\$ 5,980-\$ 6,968	5	42.1	4	39.9
9	\$ 4,940-\$ 5,928	6	29.0	1	26.6
10	\$ 3,900-\$ 4,888	1	13.2	1	23.3
11	\$ 2,600-\$ 3,849	2	10.6	4	20.0
12	\$ 1,300-\$ 2,528	2	5.3	2	6.7

N = 38

N = 30

*This table is presented for information only. Controls have been made for household. In the Non-Membership Group seven persons either did not know or declined to relate the actual take-home pay of the spouse, male head of the household. We did reduce the Non-Membership Group to an N of 30 by means of eliminating the last eight persons drawn in the random sample who are included in the Above table. After this we applied the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test for small samples and obtained a finding of no significance as we had with the χ^2 test presented in Table 4.39. We have elected to present the original data here because we feel it more informative.

TABLE 4.41--Summary of the Relative Strengths of the Significant Findings in Two by Two Tables Nos. 4.1-4.40 in Terms of Phi Coefficients

P	Phi Coefficient	Table Number	Table Title
< .001	.555	4.13	Degree of integration into the non-Indian society of the family of orientation by group
< .001	.431	4.21	Current national citizenship by group
< .01	.371	4.18	Less than half versus half or more kinsmen remaining in one's rural tribal area by group
< .01	.355	4.11	Reservation versus non-reservation place of socialization by group
< .01	.346	4.20	Less than half versus half or more "best friends" living in one's rural tribal area by group
< .01	.273	4.6	Degree of Indian "blood" controlled at the three-fourths level by group
< .05	.237	4.22	Marital status by group ¹
< .10	.215	4.23	Non-Indian marriages by group ²

¹These data are on married versus unmarried persons.

²Were we offering an operational hypothesis which was one-tailed this would have been significant. Not offering such, it fails to reach the required level. Nonetheless, because of the interest of many of our readers in these data, we list the findings here.

*The Phi Coefficient is indicative of the strength of the relationship, whereas P is indicative of our chances of being correct when we assert significance.

**We here interpret our phi's as very significant when associated with a P of < .001, as highly significant when associated with a P of < .01, and as significant when associated with a P of < .05. With the exception of the last set of data all of these are two-tailed tests since we have previously offered no operational hypotheses on any.

TABLE 5.1--Disjunction Between Former Aspirations and Current Achievements in Education by Group

Disjunction	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	12 (30.8)	22 (68.8)	34 (47.9)
Absent	27 (69.2)	10 (31.3)	37 (52.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 10.234$ P < .01 $\phi = .393$ FE = 25.6

*This measure is based on a comparison of responses to Items 31 and 32 (Appendix B-1), the actual years concerned being reduced to a seven-step scale (Appendix B-6) and then dichotomized in the manner indicated above.

**We found ourselves with a forecasting efficiency of 25.6 per cent gain over the expected 54.9 per cent in the direction of predictability toward affiliation with the organization. We also found, however, a 32.4 per cent gain over the expected 52.1 per cent in the reverse direction, i.e., the ability to predict responses on the basis of knowledge about the groups concerned. The predictability thus favors the reverse direction. Our inability to use the measures we had hoped in the goal area of education was quite likely the reason for the measure we obtained. Our other tests in this area substantiate the predictability of group membership in each case.

TABLE 5.2--Disjunction in Steps Between Former Aspirations and Current Achievements in Education by Group

Disjunction in Steps	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
2, 3, or 4 steps	5 (12.8)	12 (37.5)	17 (23.9)
One step	7 (12.9)	10 (31.3)	17 (23.9)
None	27 (69.2)	10 (31.3)	37 (52.1)
Total	39 (99.9)	32 (100.1)	71 (99.9)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 10.762$ P < .01 $\phi = .389$ FE = 25.6

*This measure is based on a comparison of responses to Items 31 and 32 (Appendix B-1), the actual years concerned being reduced to a seven-step scale (Appendix B-6). The Non-Membership Group showed only one response in step 3 and none in step 4, whereas the Membership Group showed one in step 3 and two in step 4. Because of the few in these categories, we included them in the manner indicated.

**There is a gain in forecasting efficiency of a gain of 5.4 per cent from membership to response in contrast to the 25.6 per cent gain in the opposite direction.

TABLE 5.3--Former Educational Aspirations in Step by Group

Aspired Educational Level	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
College or professional	1 (2.6)	12 (37.5)	13 (18.3)
Complete high school	28 (71.8)	15 (46.9)	43 (60.6)
Less than a complete high school education	10 (25.6)	5 (15.6)	15 (21.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 14.686$ P < .001 $\phi = .454$ FE = 28.2

*These responses were gathered from the administration of Item 32 (Appendix B-1) and collapsed in a manner which admitted the greatest efficiency in analysis.

**There is no gain in forecasting efficiency moving from group membership to response.

TABLE 5.4--Disjunction in Steps Between the Former Educational Aspirations of Respondents and the Educational Achievements of the Heads of Their Families of Socialization by Group

Disjunction in Steps	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
3, 4, or 5	6 (21.4)	16 (61.5)	22 (40.7)
2	12 (42.9)	7 (26.9)	19 (35.7)
None or one	10 (35.7)	3 (11.5)	13 (24.2)
Total	28 (100.0)	26 (99.9)	54 (100.1)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 9.589$ P < .01 $\phi = .421$ FE = 35.7

*The measure of disjunction was obtained by a comparison of the responses of individuals to Items 32 and 45 (Appendix B-1), the same being reduced to seven-step scales (Appendix B-6).

**The indicator used for the head of the family of socialization was the male head, usually father, or, lacking the same, the female head.

***The numbers in each of the groups is reduced because of the inability of the respondents to state, from lack of knowledge, the educational achievement of the head of their families of socialization.

****Our raw data is interesting and offers some additional insights into the data analyzed in the above table. The educational achievement of the heads of the families of socialization was overwhelmingly at levels 6 (between 5 and 8 years of schooling completed) and 7 (none through 4 years finished), practically eliminating the utility of achievement as a control. There were, however, some differences. Those for the Non-Membership Group showed 11 at step seven, 10 at step six, 6 at step four, and 1 who had completed college. Those for the Membership Group showed 10 at step seven, 13 at step six, 1 at step five, 1 at step four (completed high school), and 1 who had completed college.

*****There was no gain in forecasting efficiency in the reverse direction.

TABLE 5.5--Current Educational Aspirations for a Hypothetical Son by Group

Aspired Level	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Professional	1 (2.7)	9 (28.1)	10 (14.5)
Complete college	23 (62.2)	16 (50.0)	39 (56.5)
High school and/or some college	13 (35.1)	7 (21.9)	20 (29.0)
Total	37 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	69 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 9.312$ P < .01 $\phi = .367$ FE = 21.6

*These data were gathered in response to Item 40 (Appendix B-1) which were reduced to a seven-step scale (Appendix B-6). "Professional" refers to step 1.

**We were "unable to ascertain" for two persons in the Non-Membership Group. The lumping of "some college" with a completed "high school" was done because we felt some lack of sincerity in the responses of those saying "some college" and because of the difference that a finished college education makes.

***There was no gain in forecasting efficiency in the ability to predict the response.

TABLE 5.6--Willingness of Respondents to Give Financial Assistance to Hypothetical Son in Gaining Their Aspired Education for Him by Group: Generalized for All Aspired Levels of Education

Amount Respondent Is Willing to Give	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Most (c. 3/4ths) or All	10 (27.8)	17 (53.2)	27 (39.7)
"About half"	15 (41.7)	8 (25.0)	23 (33.8)
"None" or only a small part (c. 1/4th)	11 (30.6)	7 (21.9)	18 (26.5)
Total	36 (100.1)	32 (100.1)	68 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 4.620$ P < .10 $\phi = .256$ FE = 19.4

*The data for this table came from the administration of Item 41 (Appendix B-1). In each case we were careful to assert, "assuming you have the ability." We also drew a rectangle and divided it into four quarters, illustrating the meaning of the ordinal scale we were using.

**We were "unable to ascertain" in the cases of three in the Non-Membership Group. Our raw data indicated, under these explanations, that in the Non-Membership Group two were willing to provide all the funds whereas in the Membership Group seven were willing to do the same. In the Non-Membership Group seven were unwilling to provide anything, whereas we found none in the Membership Group indicative of the same. We included "none" with "about 1/4th" because, should the situation perchance occur, we were unwilling to assume the validity of "none."

***The data as it is presented here is essentially for information. There is a forecasting efficiency, indicating ability to predict from group affiliation to response, of 18.5--nearly as great as in the direction of affiliation.

TABLE 5.7--Educational Aspirations for a Hypothetical Son and Willingness to Contribute Financially to It by Group

Aspired Level	Amount of Help	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Complete college or professional	3/4ths to all	7 (17.9)	12 (37.5)	19 (26.8)
	1/4th to 1/2	17 (43.6)	14 (43.8)	31 (43.7)
Some college or high school	Deleted	15 (38.5)	6 (18.8)	21 (29.6)
Total		39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.1)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 4.962$ P < .10 $\phi = .299$ FE = 12.8

*The data for this table is from Items 40 and 41 (Appendix B-1).

**There is no predictability, i.e., gain via forecasting efficiency, from the knowledge of group membership to response. The gain in predictability suggests membership as the dependent variable.

TABLE 5.8--Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Occupation by Group

Occupational Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	9 (23.1)	18 (56.3)	27 (38.0)
Absent	30 (74.9)	14 (43.8)	44 (72.0)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 8.119$ P < .01 $\phi = .338$ FE = 23.1

*Items 47, 50, 52 (Appendix B-1).

**There is a slight gain in forecasting efficiency from a knowledge of group membership to response of 9.1 per cent.

TABLE 5.9--Occupational Aspirations, Full or Part-Time, by Group

Type of Work	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Full time	10 (43.5)	13 (59.1)	23 (51.1)
Part time	6 (26.1)	7 (31.8)	13 (28.9)
None	7 (30.4)	2 (9.1)	9 (20.0)
Total	23 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	45 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 1.903$ n.s.

*Item 49 (Appendix B-1).

**These data are controlled for female respondents.

TABLE 5.10--Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Occupation, Controlled for Full-Time Work, by Group

Occupational Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	7 (17.9)	14 (43.8)	21 (29.6)
Absent	32 (82.1)	18 (56.3)	50 (70.4)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 5.529$ P < .02 $\phi = .279$ FE = 43.6

*There is no gain in forecasting efficiency which allows the prediction of response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.11--Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Occupation for the Head of the Household by Group

Occupational Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	5 (12.8)	13 (40.6)	18 (25.4)
Absent	34 (87.2)	19 (59.4)	53 (74.6)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 7.219$ P < .01 $\phi = .319$ FE = 20.5

*These data use in addition to those of Tables 5.8 and 5.9 those from Items 60, 63, and 65 (Appendix B-1).

**There is no forecasting efficiency indicative of the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.12--Unachieved Aspirations in Occupation for the Head of the Household by Group

Unachieved Aspirations	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	8 (20.5)	21 (65.6)	29 (40.8)
Absent	31 (79.5)	11 (34.4)	42 (59.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 14.693$ P < .001 $\phi = .455$ FE = 33.3

*There is a forecasting efficiency of 23.8 per cent from a knowledge of group membership to response.

TABLE 5.13--Disjunction Between Former Occupational Aspirations and Current Occupational Achievements by Group

Unachieved Aspirations	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	5 (12.8)	20 (62.5)	25 (35.2)
Absent	34 (87.2)	12 (37.5)	46 (64.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 18.872$ P < .001 $\phi = .516$ FE = 38.5

*These data utilize a comparison of information from Items 50 and 54 (Appendix B-1). They are controlled for married, non-working females in a manner which places them in the "absent" category.

**There is some predictability of response, given a knowledge of group membership, this being 26.1 per cent.

TABLE 5.14--Disjunction Between Aspired Occupational Achievement for a Hypothetical Son and the Current Occupational Achievement of the Head of the Household by Group

Disjunction in Steps	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
4 or 5 steps	6 (15.4)	11 (34.4)	17 (23.9)
0, 1, 2, or 3 steps	10 (25.6)	13 (40.6)	23 (32.4)
"Don't care"	23 (59.0)	8 (25.0)	31 (43.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 8.556$ P < .02 $\phi = .347$ FE = 20.5

*The scale used is that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1967:103-105), the data on the Hypothetical Son being gathered in response to Item 68 (Appendix B-1).

**There is predictability of response, given a knowledge of group membership, but at a forecasting efficiency of 16.1 per cent.

TABLE 5.15--Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Pay by Group

Pay Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	10 (25.6)	18 (56.3)	28 (39.4)
Absent	29 (74.4)	14 (43.8)	43 (60.6)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 6.947$ P < .01 $\phi = .312$ FE = 20.5

*Items 72, 73, 75 (Appendix B-1). The scale used is described in Appendix B-7.

**There is a 9.3 per cent forecasting efficiency from a knowledge of group membership to response.

TABLE 5.16--Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Pay by Group: Controlled for Full-Time Work

Pay Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	8 (20.5)	14 (43.8)	22 (31.0)
Absent	31 (79.5)	18 (56.3)	49 (69.0)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 4.486$ P < .05 $\phi = .251$ FE = 15.4

*There is no forecasting efficiency toward response, given a knowledge of group membership.

**By "full-time work" we, of course, refer to aspirations for it.

TABLE 5.17--Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Pay by Group: Controlled for the Head of the Household

Pay Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	9 (23.1)	20 (62.5)	29 (40.8)
Absent	30 (76.9)	12 (37.5)	42 (59.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 11.361$ P < .001 $\phi = .400$ FE = 28.2

*In addition to the data utilized in Tables 5.15 and 5.16 we used that drawn from responses to Items 76, 77, and 79 (Appendix B-1).

**There is a forecasting efficiency of 19.0 per cent toward response, given the knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.18--Correlations Between Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Education and Occupation by Group

Stress Scores	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in both areas	3 (7.7)	12 (37.5)	15 (21.1)
Present in either but not the other area	14 (35.9)	13 (40.6)	27 (38.0)
Absent in both areas	22 (56.4)	7 (21.9)	29 (40.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (99.9)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 12.852$ P < .01 $\phi = .426$ FE = 23.7

*There is a forecasting efficiency of 20.6 from the knowledge of group membership to response.

TABLE 5.19--Correlations Between Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Education and Pay by Group

Stress Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in both areas	2 (5.1)	11 (34.4)	13 (18.3)
Present in either but not the other area	17 (43.6)	16 (50.0)	33 (46.5)
Absent in both areas	20 (51.3)	5 (15.6)	25 (35.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 15.975$ P < .001 $\phi = .459$ FE = 23.1

*There is a forecasting efficiency of 9.1 per cent from the knowledge of group membership to response.

TABLE 5.20--Correlations Between Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Occupation and Pay by Group

Stress Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in both areas	6 (15.4)	10 (31.3)	16 (22.5)
Present in either but not in the other	5 (12.8)	13 (40.6)	18 (25.4)
Absent in both areas	28 (71.8)	9 (28.1)	37 (52.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 13.840$ P < .001 $\phi = .442$ FE = 30.8

*There is a forecasting efficiency of 10.8 per cent toward response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.21--Generalized Correlations Between Unachieved Aspirations and Associated Stress in Education, Occupation, and Pay by Group

Stress Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in any two or all areas	6 (15.4)	23 (71.9)	29 (40.8)
Present in only one area	11 (28.2)	6 (18.8)	17 (23.9)
Absent in all areas	22 (56.5)	3 (9.4)	25 (99.9)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (99.9)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 25.379$ P < .001 $\phi = .598$ FE = 43.6

*Interestingly, there is a forecasting efficiency of 55.2 toward response, given a knowledge of group membership.

**In correlation we shall use the data of this table as dichotomized, i.e., "absent in all areas" versus "present in only one area" and/or "present in any two or all areas." When this is done df = 1, $\chi^2 = 17.174$, P < .001, $\phi = .492$, FE = 30.8 and there is reversal predictive potential of 10.9.

TABLE 5.22--Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress in Education by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	4 (10.3)	13 (40.6)	17 (23.9)
Absent	35 (89.7)	19 (59.4)	54 (76.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 8.770$ P < .01 $\phi = .351$ FE = 23.1

*Items 33 and 34 (Appendix B-1).

**There is no forecasting efficiency in the direction of the response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.23--Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress in Occupation by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	2 (5.1)	11 (34.4)	13 (18.3)
Absent	37 (94.9)	21 (65.6)	58 (81.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 9.883$ P < .01 $\phi = .373$ FE = 25.6

*Items 55 and 56 (Appendix B-1).

**There is no forecasting efficiency in the direction of the response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.24--Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress in Pay by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	1 (2.6)	9 (28.1)	10 (14.1)
Absent	38 (97.4)	23 (71.9)	61 (85.9)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 7.751$ P < .01 $\phi = .330$ FE = 20.5

*Items 80 and 81 (Appendix B-1).

**These data have been corrected for continuity in analysis.

***There is no forecasting efficiency in the direction of response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.25--Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress in Any Goal Area by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in the area(s) of education and/or occupation and/or pay	6 (15.4)	15 (46.9)	21 (29.6)
Absent	33 (84.6)	17 (53.1)	50 (70.4)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 8.258$ P < .01 $\phi = .341$ FE = 23.1

*There is no forecasting efficiency in the direction of response from a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.26--Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress in Any Two or Three Goal Areas Simultaneously by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	1 (2.6)	13 (40.6)	14 (19.7)
Absent	38 (97.4)	19 (59.4)	57 (80.3)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 16.136$ P < .001 $\phi = .497$ FE = 30.8

*The goal areas are education, occupation, and pay.

**There is no forecasting efficiency indicative of ability to predict response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.27--Correlations in the Goal Area of Education Between the Failure to Achieve One's Former Goals and Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress by Group

Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in both	3 (7.7)	10 (31.3)	13 (18.3)
Present in either without the other or absent in both	36 (92.3)	22 (68.8)	58 (81.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 6.388$ $P < .02$ $\phi = .300$ FE = 17.9

*There is no score in forecasting efficiency which indicates the ability to predict response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.28--Correlations in the Goal Area of Education Between the Failure to Achieve One's Former Goals and the Presence or Absence of Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress by Group

Stress Measure in Relative Deprivation	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	3 (25.0)	10 (47.6)	13 (39.4)
Absent	9 (75.0)	11 (52.4)	20 (60.6)
Total	12 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 1.659$ n.s.

*Since these data are controlled for the disjunction between one's former educational aspirations and current educational achievements, only those individuals who have scored in this matter are included in the above analysis.

TABLE 5.29--Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian by Group

Experienced Discrimination	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	13 (33.3)	20 (62.5)	33 (46.5)
No	26 (66.7)	12 (37.5)	38 (53.5)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 5.948$ P < .02 $\phi = .289$ FE = 17.9

*Items 164 and 165 (Appendix B-1).

**The category "yes" includes respondents who have experienced discriminatory practices against themselves for being Indian on either the item (164) dealing with such prior to Detroit immigration and/or the one (165) on it during residence in the metropolis.

***The ability to predict response, given knowledge of group membership, is greater than that indicated above for such membership being 21.1 per cent.

****When these data are controlled for migration, the $\chi^2 = 8.335$, the P < .01, the $\phi = .350$, and the FE = 2.21--but 27.8 the other way.

TABLE 5.30--Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian Prior to Detroit Immigration by Group

Experienced Discrimination	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	10 (25.6)	18 (56.3)	28 (39.4)
No	29 (74.4)	14 (43.8)	43 (60.6)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 6.947$ P < .02 $\phi = .313$ FE = 20.5

*Item 164 (Appendix B-1).

**The above analysis disregards whether or not the respondent has experienced discrimination for being an Indian in Metropolitan Detroit.

***The ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership, is 9.3 per cent.

****When these data are controlled for migration the χ^2 is 7.721, the P < .01, the $\phi = .330$, and the FE = 21.1--that in the reverse direction is 15.0 per cent.

TABLE 5.31--Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian During Residence in Metropolitan Detroit by Group

Experienced Discrimination	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	6 (15.4)	14 (43.8)	20 (28.2)
No	33 (84.6)	18 (56.3)	51 (71.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 7.031$ P < .01 $\phi = .315$ FE = 20.5

*Item 165 (Appendix B-1). This analysis disregards whether or not the respondent has experienced discrimination prior to migration.

**There is no forecasting efficiency in the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

***When controlled for migration the $\chi^2 = 0.288$, the P < .01, FE = 23.4 and there is no FE in the opposite direction.

TABLE 5.32--Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian Prior to but Not During Detroit Residence by Group

Experienced Discrimination	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	7 (17.9)	6 (18.8)	13 (18.3)
No	32 (82.1)	26 (81.3)	58 (81.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .003$ n.s.

*When controlled for migrants the $\chi^2 = .035$ and is also not significant.

TABLE 5.33--Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian
Prior to and Also During Detroit Residence by Group

Experienced Discrimination	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Yes	3 (7.7)	12 (37.5)	15 (21.1)
No	36 (92.3)	20 (62.5)	56 (78.9)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 9.225$ P < .01 $\phi = .361$ FE = 23.1

*There is no forecasting efficiency in the direction of response, given a knowledge of group membership.

**When controlled for migrants the $\chi^2 = 10.120$, the P < .01, $\phi = .386$, and the FE = 23.7. Again, there is no forecasting efficiency in the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.34--Summary Data. Unachieved Aspirations in the Larger Society and Associated Stress, Correlated with Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress and/or Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian by Group

Measures in Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress and/or Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present in both	1 (2.6)	13 (40.6)	14 (19.7)
Present in either but not the other	9 (23.1)	10 (31.3)	19 (26.8)
Present in unachieved aspirations in the larger society and associated stress only	10 (23.1)	6 (18.8)	16 (22.5)
Absent in all variables	19 (48.7)	3 (9.4)	22 (31.0)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 3 $\chi^2 = 22.479$ $P < .001$ $\phi = .563$ FE = 33.3

*By the comments "present in both" and "present in either but not in the other" we have reference to the two variables of relative deprivation and associated stress, and/or experienced discrimination for being an Indian.

**This table constitutes raw data from which we worked and which does not pertain to our hypothesis until it is analyzed in greater detail. It is presented for the information which it conveys.

***There is a greater forecasting efficiency in the direction of the ability to predict in the direction of the response, given knowledge of group membership--45.5 per cent--than in the direction of our hypotheses offered.

****When we control these data for immigrants into Detroit, the $\chi^2 = 24.953$, the P remains at $< .001$, and the phi coefficient extends to .606. Using this control, the forecasting efficiency in the direction of our hypothesis (I) reaches to a gain of 36.8 per cent. This is, however, less than the gain in the ability to predict response, given knowledge of group membership--this being 45.5 per cent.

*****Our criteria for the inclusion of responses were that the respondent must show associated stress connected with any, some, or all of the goal areas of education, occupation, or pay in the variables of unachieved aspirations and associated stress and the perspective of relative deprivation. These criteria also meant that the respondent must have indicated experienced discrimination for being an Indian either prior to or during residence in Detroit.

TABLE 5.35--Unachieved Aspirations in the Larger Society and Associated Stress, Correlated with Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress and/or Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian by Group

Measures Appearing with Unachieved Goals in the Larger Society and Stress	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Both relative deprivation and associated stress, and experienced discrimination for being an Indian	1 (2.6)	13 (40.6)	14 (19.7)
Relative deprivation and associated stress, or experienced discrimination for being an Indian (1)	9 (23.1)	10 (31.3)	19 (26.8)
Either no score in any of the variables or one in unachieved goals in the larger society and stress alone	29 (74.3)	9 (28.1)	38 (53.3)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 20.347$ $P < .001$ $\phi = .535$ FE = 33.3

*These measures and the above analysis are perhaps most pertinent to the theory and design of this study.

**There is predictability of response, given knowledge of group membership. This is not, however, as great as that quoted above. The predictability in this reverse direction is 10.5 per cent.

***When we control the above data for migration, considering immigrants to the metropolis only, the $\chi^2 = 23.304$, the $P < .001$, the phi is .585, and the forecasting efficiency is 36.8--although there is a 16.7 per cent gain also in the reverse direction.

TABLE 5.36--Unachieved Aspirations in the Larger Society and Associated Stress, Correlated with Both Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress and Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian by Group

Required Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	1 (2.6)	13 (40.6)	14 (19.2)
Absent	38 (97.4)	19 (59.4)	57 (80.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 16.136$ P < .001 $\phi = .477$ FE = 30.8

*By the comment "present" we require here that the respondent be measureable by the design of analysis herein used in any of the goal areas, or more, of the variables analyzed under Hypotheses Ia, Ib, and Ic.

**There is no forecasting efficiency indicative of the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.37--Unachieved Aspirations in the Larger Society and Associated Stress as Correlated with Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress and/or Experienced Discrimination, Dichotomized, by Group

Required Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	10 (25.7)	23 (71.9)	33 (46.7)
Absent	29 (74.3)	9 (28.1)	38 (53.3)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 15.004$ P < .001 $\phi = .460$ FE = 33.3

*There is also the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership, with a forecasting efficiency of 36.8 in this direction.

TABLE 5.38--Unachieved Aspirations in the Larger Society and Associated Stress, Correlated with Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress by Group

Association	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	3 (7.7)	16 (50.0)	19 (26.8)
Absent	36 (92.3)	16 (50.0)	52 (73.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 15.887$ $P < .001$ $\phi = .473$ FE = 33.3

*By "present" we require that the respondent be measureable in terms of an assumed associated stress in both his unachieved aspirations and relative deprivation, but in any of the goal areas of each: education, occupation, or pay.

**There is no predictability of response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.39--Unachieved Aspirations in the Larger Society and Associated Stress, Correlated with Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian by Group

Association	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	8 (20.5)	20 (62.5)	28 (39.4)
Absent	31 (79.5)	12 (37.5)	43 (60.6)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 13.045$ $P < .001$ $\phi = .429$ FE = 30.8

*The criteria parallel those of Table 5.39.

**There is a forecasting efficiency of 18.6 per cent in the direction of response, given knowledge of group membership.

***When controlled for migration, the $\chi^2 = 16,348$, $P < .001$, $\phi = .490$, and there is a forecasting efficiency of 34.2--with a reversal predictability of 24.4.

TABLE 5.40--Correlations: Relative Deprivation and Associated Stress with Experienced Discrimination for Being Indian by Group

Associated Responses	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	2 (5.1)	13 (40.6)	15 (21.1)
Absent	37 (94.9)	19 (59.4)	56 (78.9)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 13.114$ P < .001 $\phi = .430$ FE = 28.2

*There is no score in forecasting efficiency indicative of the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.41--Disjunction Between Aspirations and Actuality in the Maintenance of Meaningful Social Relationships with One's Rural Tribesmen and Associated Stress by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	8 (20.5)	17 (53.1)	25 (35.2)
Absent	31 (79.5)	15 (46.9)	46 (64.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 8.101$ P < .01 $\phi = .338$ FE = 23.1

*Disjunction is measureable by a comparison of responses to Items 141 and 144 (Appendix B-1), and the Valence of Failure by Item 143 (Appendix B-1). The criterion for the "maintenance of meaningful social relationships" used was that of visiting among one's rural tribesmen.

**There is a slight ability, forecasting efficiency of 4.3 per cent, to predict response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.42--Aspired Frequency of Visiting Among One's Rural Tribesmen by Group

Aspirations	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Very often	5 (12.8)	6 (18.8)	11 (15.5)
Quite often	7 (17.9)	9 (28.1)	16 (22.5)
Fairly often	4 (10.3)	8 (25.0)	12 (16.9)
Occasionally	16 (41.0)	9 (28.1)	25 (35.2)
Not at all	7 (17.9)	0 (00.0)	7 (9.9)
Total	39 (99.9)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 4 $\chi^2 = 9.879$ P < .05 $\phi = .373$ FE = 17.9

*The above ordinal scale assumes continuity in terms of increase in aspired frequency of visiting as one moves from "not at all" to "very often." The data (Item 141, Appendix B-1) is offered for its informative value.

**The measure of forecasting efficiency does not indicate any ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.43--Disjunction Between Aspirations and Expectations, and Associated Stress, for Living in One's Rural Tribal Area Prior to Retirement by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	6 (15.4)	9 (28.1)	15 (21.1)
Absent	33 (84.6)	23 (71.9)	56 (78.9)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 1.651$ n.s.

*Items 146, 148, and 149 (Appendix B-1).

TABLE 5.44--Disjunction Between Aspirations and Expectations, and Associated Stress, for Retiring in One's Rural Tribal Area Among His Tribesmen by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	4 (10.3)	9 (28.1)	13 (18.3)
Absent	35 (89.7)	23 (71.9)	58 (81.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 3.625$ P < .10 $\phi = .224$ FE = 12.8

*The measure on "disjunction" was made by a comparison of responses to Items 166 and 169 (Appendix B-1), and the Valence of Failure was obtained from Item 168 (Appendix B-1).

**The measure of forecasting efficiency does not indicate any ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.45--Aspirations for Retirement in One's Rural Tribal Area Among His Tribesmen by Group

Aspiration	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	14 (35.9)	19 (59.4)	33 (46.5)
Absent	25 (64.1)	13 (40.6)	38 (53.5)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 3.837$ P < .10 $\phi = .232$ FE = 12.8

*In obtaining the above measure the data of Item 166 (Appendix B-1) was dichotomized.

**There is greater predictability from a knowledge of group membership to response, forecasting efficiency is 15.8, than from response to group membership.

TABLE 5.46--Expectations for Retirement in One's Rural Tribal Area Among His Tribesmen by Group

Expectations	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	11 (28.2)	13 (40.6)	24 (33.8)
Absent	28 (71.8)	19 (59.4)	47 (66.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 1.231$ n.s.

*In obtaining the above measure the data of Item 169 (Appendix B-1) was dichotomized.

TABLE 5.47--Loss of Tribal Status During One's Lifetime and Associated Stress by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	0 (00.0)	12 (37.5)	12 (16.9)
Absent	39 (100.0)	20 (62.5)	59 (83.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 17.649$ $P < .001$ $\phi = .499$ FE = 30.8

*The measure on forecasting efficiency indicates 00.0 per cent, or no ability to predict response given a knowledge of group membership.

**The above measure depends upon D (loss) plus valence, the theory and operational measures which have been described in Chapter I. If, however, we alter the above measure to make the table refer to the "lack" of tribal status and associated stress by group, we can do so by considering, in addition to those scored as "present" in the above table those who have never had such status and express desire for the same (Item 170, Appendix B-1). Doing this, the $\chi^2 = 13.779$, $P < .001$, $\phi = .440$, and FE = 30.8. Again, there is no forecasting efficiency in the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.48--Former Tribal Status by Group

Former Status	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Had full tribal status	25 (64.1)	23 (71.9)	48 (67.6)
Terminal--Had full status but 1/4th Indian "blood"	10 (64.1)	4 (12.5)	14 (19.7)
Never had tribal status	4 (10.3)	5 (15.6)	9 (12.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 3.539$ n.s.

*The above table is descriptive and the analysis is not corrected for continuity, which would have reduced the χ^2 still further.

TABLE 5.49--Current Tribal Status by Group

Tribal Status		Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	Full	22 (56.4)	15 (46.9)	37 (52.1)
	Terminal	12 (30.8)	0 (00.0)	12 (16.9)
Absent	Lost during one's life	0 (00.0)	13 (40.6)	13 (18.3)
	Never had it	5 (12.8)	4 (12.5)	9 (12.7)
Total		39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 3 $\chi^2 = 25.777$ P < .001 $\phi = .602$ FE = 33.3

*By "terminal" we have reference to persons of 1/4th to 7/16ths degree of Indian "blood" who have tribal status but who lack descendants with the same. In this sense, lacking heirs who can carry this status for them into the future, they are terminal.

**There is no ability, using forecasting efficiency, to predict response from a knowledge of membership as the data is arranged.

TABLE 5.50--Valence of Tribal Status by Group

Valence Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Most intense	22 (56.4)	24 (75.0)	46 (64.8)
Middle range	11 (28.2)	4 (12.5)	15 (21.1)
Absent	6 (15.4)	4 (12.5)	10 (14.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 2 $\chi^2 = 3.166$ n.s.

*Item 170 (Appendix B-1). The category "most intense" refers to step 5, "middle range" to steps 2, 3, and 4, and "absent" to steps 0 and 1.

TABLE 5.51--Valence of Tribal Status, Dichotomized, by Group

Valence Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Most intense	22 (56.4)	24 (75.0)	46 (64.8)
Middle range and Absent	17 (43.6)	8 (25.0)	25 (35.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 2.715$ $P < .10$ $\phi = .196$ FE = 5.1

*This table uses the data and measures of Table 5.50, being an effort to isolate the "most intense" category for comparison with other responses.

**There is no forecasting efficiency measure which indicates the ability to predict response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.52--Tribal Marginality and Associated Stress¹
by Group

Stress Measures	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	0 (00.0)	10 (31.3)	10 (14.1)
Absent	39 (100.0)	22 (68.8)	61 (85.9)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 11.756$ P < .001 $\phi = .407$ FE = 25.6

¹By definition this measure requires that individual respondents be measureable in a manner which allows the assumption of stress associated with the two variables: (1) the disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of meaningful social relations with their rural tribesmen (Table 5.41), and (2) the loss of tribal status during one's lifetime (Table 5.47).

*In the above analysis we have used corrections for continuity.

**There is no forecasting efficiency score which indicates the ability to predict the response from a knowledge of group membership.

***If we use the "lack of tribal status and associated stress" instead of the "loss" of such, as we have above, we add one person in the category "present" under the Non-Membership Group and $\chi^2 = 10.851$, P < .001, $\phi = .391$, FE = 20.5, and there is no score on forecasting efficiency allowing prediction from group membership toward response.

TABLE 5.53--Tribal Marginality (Relaxed)¹ and Associated Stress by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	8 (20.5)	19 (59.4)	27 (38.0)
Absent	31 (79.5)	13 (40.6)	44 (62.0)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 11.160$ P < .001 $\phi = .396$ FE = 28.2

¹Our measure in this table requires that the respondent be scored in a manner which allows the assumption of stress associated with (1) the disjunction between aspirations and actuality in the maintenance of meaningful social relationships with his rural tribesmen (Table 5.41) and/or (2) the loss of tribal status during his lifetime (Table 5.47).

*There is a measure of forecasting efficiency of 13.6 per cent which allows some predictability of response, given knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.54--Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)¹ and Associated Stress by Group

Stress Measure	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	12 (30.8)	23 (71.9)	35 (49.3)
Absent	27 (69.2)	9 (28.1)	36 (50.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 11.799$ P < .001 $\phi = .405$ FE = 28.2

¹We require in this measure of maximal relaxation that the respondent be scored in a manner allowing the assumption of stress in any one or more of the following areas: (1) the disjunction between aspirations and achievement in the maintenance of meaningful social relations with his rural tribesmen, (2) unachieved aspirations for living in his rural tribal area with his tribesmen prior to retirement, (3) the disjunction between aspirations and expectations for retiring in his rural tribal area and among his tribesmen, and (4) the loss of tribal status.

*We have not hypothesized in this manner but suggest the approach as pertinent to "tribal marginality and associated stress." There is a greater forecasting efficiency score, 38.9 per cent, indicative of ability to predict response from a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.55--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures in Class Mobility and Tribal Marginality by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	0 (00.0)	6 (18.8)	6 (8.5)
Absent	39 (100.0)	26 (81.3)	65 (91.5)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 5.768$ P < .02 $\phi = .272$ FE = 15.4

*The criteria used are those hypothesized and tested for (1) class mobility and associated stress (tested in Table 5.36) and (2) tribal marginality and associated stress (tested in Table 5.52).

**There is no forecasting efficiency score which allows response to be predicted from a knowledge of group membership.

***Corrections have been used for continuity in analysis.

TABLE 5.56--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures in Class Mobility and Tribal Marginality (Relaxed)¹ by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	0 (00.0)	9 (28.1)	9 (12.7)
Absent	39 (100.0)	23 (71.9)	62 (87.3)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 9.935$ P < .01 $\phi = .374$ FE = 23.1

¹The criteria used in the relaxation of "tribal marginality and associated stress" is presented and tested in Table 5.53.

*The criteria used for "class mobility and associated stress" are those of Table 5.36.

**There is no score in forecasting efficiency indicating ability to predict response, given knowledge of membership.

TABLE 5.57--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures in Class Mobility and Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)¹ by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	0 (00.0)	13 (40.6)	13 (18.3)
Absent	39 (100.0)	19 (59.4)	58 (81.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 19.155$ P < .001 $\phi = .519$ FE = 33.3

¹The criteria used in the maximal relaxation of "tribal marginality and associated stress" have been presented and tested in Table 5.54.

*The criteria used for "class mobility and associated stress" are those of Table 5.36.

**There is no score in forecasting efficiency indicative of the ability to predict response from a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.58--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures in Class Mobility (Relaxed)¹ and Tribal Marginality (Relaxed)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	3 (7.7)	17 (53.1)	20 (28.2)
Absent	36 (92.3)	15 (46.9)	51 (71.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 17.998$ P < .001 $\phi = .503$ FE = 35.9

¹The criteria used in the relaxation of "class mobility and associated stress" are those used in Table 5.37.

²The criteria used in the relaxation of "tribal marginality and associated stress" are those used in Table 5.53.

*There is a small score in forecasting efficiency, 3.9 per cent, indicative of a slight ability to predict response from group membership.

TABLE 5.59--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures in Class Mobility (Relaxed)¹ and Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	3 (7.7)	21 (65.6)	24 (33.8)
Absent	36 (92.3)	11 (34.4)	47 (66.2)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 26.456$ P < .001 $\phi = .610$ FE = 46.5

¹The criteria used in the relaxation of "tribal marginality and associated stress" are those used in Table 5.37.

²The criteria used for the maximal relaxation of "tribal marginality and associated stress" have been presented and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is a forecasting efficiency of 21.3 per cent for the ability to predict response, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.60--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures: Unachieved Aspirations Associated with Relative Deprivation¹ and Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	2 (5.1)	15 (46.9)	17 (23.9)
Absent	37 (94.9)	17 (53.1)	54 (76.1)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 16.638$ P < .001 $\phi = .484$ FE = 38.5

¹The criteria used for "unachieved aspirations associated with relative deprivation" are those presented and tested in Table 5.38.

²The criteria used for "tribal marginality (maximal relaxation)" are those used and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is a zero score in forecasting efficiency indicating inability to predict response in the above table, given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.61--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures:
Unachieved Aspirations Associated with Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian¹ and Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	2 (5.1)	19 (59.4)	21 (29.6)
Absent	37 (94.9)	13 (40.6)	50 (70.4)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (.00.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 24.641$ P < .001 $\phi = .589$ FE = 43.6

¹The criteria used in "unachieved aspirations associated with experienced discrimination for being an Indian" are those presented and tested in Table 5.39.

²The criteria used for "tribal marginality (maximal relaxation)" are those used and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is a forecasting efficiency score of 12.0 per cent indicating considerable lesser ability to predict response from a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.62--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures: Unachieved Aspirations Associated with Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian Prior to Detroit Immigration¹ and Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	2 (5.1)	18 (56.3)	20 (28.2)
Absent	37 (94.9)	14 (43.8)	51 (71.8)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.1)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 22.779$ $P < .001$ $\phi = .570$ FE = 41.0)

¹The criteria used for "unachieved aspirations" were that the respondent be measureable in a manner allowing the assumption of stress in any single or combination of the goal areas of education, occupation, or pay. To this was added the criterion that he also has experienced discrimination for being an Indian prior to Detroit immigration without considering whether or not he has experienced the same while a resident of the metropolis. Data on this latter parallels that of Table 5.30.

²The criteria used for "tribal marginality (maximal relaxation)" are those used and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is a measure of forecasting efficiency, 7.8 per cent, indicating a slight ability to predict response from a knowledge of membership.

TABLE 5.63--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures:
Unachieved Aspirations Associated with Experienced Discrim-
ination for Being an Indian During Detroit Residence¹ and
Tribal Marginality (Maximal Relaxation)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	1 (2.6)	15 (46.9)	16 (22.5)
Absent	38 (97.4)	17 (53.1)	55 (77.5)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 19.832$ P < .001 $\phi = .529$ FE = 35.9

¹The criteria used in this first area parallel those of Table 5.62 except that here we deal with discrimination during Detroit residence, without regard to such prior to immigration.

²The criteria used for "tribal marginality (maximal relaxation)" are those used and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is no measure in forecasting efficiency allowing the ability to predict response given a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.64--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures:
Unachieved Aspirations Associated with Experienced Discrimination for Being an Indian Prior to and During Detroit Residence¹ and Tribal Marginality (Maximum Relaxation)² by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	1 (2.6)	12 (37.5)	13 (18.3)
Absent	38 (97.4)	20 (62.5)	58 (81.7)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 14.140$ P < .001 $\phi = .446$ FE = 28.2

¹The criteria used in this first area parallel those of Tables 5.62 and 5.63 except that we require that the individual experience discrimination for being an Indian both prior to and during Detroit residence--to which that of unachieved aspirations in the larger society in any of the goal areas is added. That on discrimination parallels Table 5.33.

²The criteria used for "tribal marginality (maximal relaxation)" are those used and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is no score in forecasting efficiency allowing the ability to predict response from a knowledge of group membership.

TABLE 5.65--Correlation of Associated Stress Measures:
Unachieved Aspirations in Class Mobility in the Larger
Society¹ with Tribal Marginality (Maximum Relaxation)²
by Group

Stress Measures in Both Areas	Non-Membership Group	Membership Group	Total
Present	8 (20.5)	23 (71.9)	31 (43.7)
Absent	31 (79.5)	9 (28.1)	40 (56.3)
Total	39 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 18.733$ P < .001 $\phi = .514$ FE = 38.5

¹We have suggested that measures in this first area do not relate specifically to Indians but are applicable generally to individuals in the contemporary U.S. society. Our criterion used here is that the respondent be measurable, using our study design, in a manner allowing the assumption of stress associated with unachieved aspirations in any single or combination of the areas of occupation, education, and/or pay. Some greater detail is presented in Table 5.21.

²The criteria used for "tribal marginality and associated stress (maximum relaxation)" are those used and tested in Table 5.54.

*There is nearly as great an ability to predict the response from a knowledge of group membership, forecasting efficiency is 35.0 per cent, as in the direction indicated under the table--response to membership.

TABLE 5.66--Correlation: Between the Findings in Table 5.59 and the Degree of Integration into the Non-Indian Society of the Families of Orientation of the Membership Group

"Best Friends" of Parents	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
Indian friends equal to or more than white friends	10 (90.0)	20 (95.2)	30 (93.8)
Mostly or all non- Indians	1 (9.1)	1 (4.8)	2 (6.3)
Total	11 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.1)

df = 1

n.s.

*The percentages in the cells immediately indicate the non-significance of these data. Comparisons may be made with Tables 5.67-5.72.

**The data on the families of orientation by group (Table 4.13) without this correlation were highly significant.

***It is assumed that the "best friends" of a person are indicators of social relationships and that those of one's parents thus indicate the degree of integration of that family into the larger society in terms of social relationships.

TABLE 5.67--Correlation: Between Findings in Table 5.59 and Current National Citizenship on the Membership Group

Citizenship	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
Canada	5 (45.5)	12 (57.1)	17 (53.1)
United States	6 (54.6)	9 (42.9)	15 (46.9)
Total	11 (100.1)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .355$ n.s.

*The data on citizenship were highly significant when tested by group (Table 4.21).

TABLE 5.68--Correlation: Between Findings in Table 5.59 and Less Than Half Versus Half or More Kinsmen Remaining in the Rural Tribal Areas of the Membership Group

Subjective Estimate of the Ratio Remaining There	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
One-half or more	9 (81.8)	17 (81.0)	26 (81.3)
Less than one-half	2 (18.2)	4 (19.0)	6 (18.8)
Total	11 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.1)

df = 1 n.s.

*The data on the relative ratio of kinsmen remaining in the rural tribal areas by group and apart from correlation were very significant (Table 4.18).

TABLE 5.69--Correlation: Between Findings in Table 5.59 and Reservation Versus Non-Reservation Place of Socialization for the Membership Group

Type of Place	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
Reservation	5 (45.5)	13 (61.9)	18 (56.3)
Non-reservation	6 (55.6)	8 (38.1)	14 (43.8)
Total	11 (100.1)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.1)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .276$ n.s.

*The test (Table 4.11) on reservation versus non-reservation place of socialization by group, but without the above correlation, showed the differences very significant.

TABLE 5.70--Correlation: Between Findings in Table 5.59 and Less Than Half Versus Half or More of the "Best Friends" of the Membership Group Living in the Rural Tribal Area

Subjective Estimate of the Ratio	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
One-half or more	2 (18.2)	15 (71.4)	17 (53.1)
Less than one-half	9 (81.8)	6 (28.6)	15 (46.9)
Total	11 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.0)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = 8.028$ $P < .01$ $\phi = .501$ FE = 14.3

*Should we correct this table for small numbers, continuity, the forecasting efficiency measures remain the same but we get:

$\chi^2 = 6.812$ $P < .01$ $\phi = .461$ FE = 14.3

**These data were also very significant when tested by group but apart from the above correlation (Table 4.20).

***There is greater predictability (FE = 41.2) that those under stress will select friends in the rural tribal area than in the opposite direction.

TABLE 5.71--Correlation: Between Findings in Table 5.59 and Degree of Indian "Blood" Controlled at the Three-Fourths Level on the Membership Group

Degree of Indian "Blood"	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
3/4ths - full	6 (54.6)	16 (76.2)	22 (68.8)
1/4th - 11/16ths	5 (45.5)	5 (23.8)	10 (31.3)
Total	11 (100.1)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.1)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .782$ n.s.

*When we tested the two groups for significant differences in the degree of Indian "blood" at the 1/4th level (Table 4.5) we found no differences except perhaps by chance factors. Our most effective measure was executed as above, but without the correlation here made, and we found then (Table 4.6) the differences very significant.

TABLE 5.72--Correlation: Between Findings in Table 5.59 and Non-Indian Marriages for the Membership Group

Presence or Absence	Assumed Stress (Table 5.59)		Total
	Absent	Present	
Married to an Indian	4 (36.4)	10 (47.6)	14 (43.8)
Not married to an Indian	7 (63.6)	11 (52.4)	18 (56.3)
Total	11 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	32 (100.1)

df = 1 $\chi^2 = .052$ n.s.

*Our measures here on non-Indian marriages are slightly different from those previously made (Table 4.23) in that here we have included unmarried persons (women) with those "not married to an Indian" for the sake of numerical efficiency. In Table 4.23 we found significance only at the $P < .10$ level. Should we abstract the nine unmarried females from the above data there is a loss of three under the "absent" category and six under "present" but, when corrected for continuity, the measure of χ^2 is only .201 and still non-significant.

APPENDIX D
NOTES

APPENDIX D-1

Loss of ability to do Indian dancing: ascribed to forced cultural change by Christian missions.

The following are brief portions of statements which were tape recorded from our informants.

a. Loss of Indian dancing in Michigan.

" . . . it went out years ago on Sugar Island. The Catholic Church frowns on this, you know."

" . . . even on Sugar Island it was illegal."

"Over most of the Northern Peninsula it was prohibited. Indian dancing was interpreted as having to do with pagan religion and was denounced by both Catholic and Protestant groups. Of course, you know, Indians were not pagan. We never were pagan."

"It died out in Traverse City and Dowagiac where the Roman Catholic Church would not permit what they said was 'pagan dancing.'"

"In Michigan it was illegal."

b. Loss of Indian dancing in Canada (areas adjacent to Michigan).

"The Catholic Church disapproves of Indian dancing. It was lost for a good 40 years on Mantoulin Island."

"I never danced in my life (until recently). That was taken away from us."

" . . . the United Brethren frowned upon dancing. They said, 'It was primitive. This Indian dancing, it was pagan rites.' A lot of people still think that this is pagan rites. It was taken away a long time ago on the Moravian Reservation."

"Indian dancing went out years ago on the Moravian, Walpole, and Sarnia Reservations."

"The Anglican Church at Walpole would not permit it. That's why we had to learn our dancing all over again."

c. Retention of Indian dancing.

"Some of the Chippewa dancing was retained in Minnesota and Wisconsin and areas like that, but it was lost in the East (i.e., Michigan)."

"In northern Canada some Indian dancing is retained, where the missionaries didn't reach."

"With the Longhouse it existed. You see, Longhouse existed among the Oneidas in Muncey. It also existed in Caughnawaga. This is what makes the Mohawks and the Oneidas and some of those people feel as they do, because they resisted white man's influence. They know they have been taught to resist it so more or less I do not think they want even to be bothered mixing with Indians who are influenced with whites."

d. "Relearning" Indian dancing.

"I just picked it up by research. Well, research from reading and study, from recordings of Indian dancing from the Smithsonian Institute. We don't dance . . . (our tribal) style. Most of the Woodland style dancing is fast. I don't mind a fast war dance because it is the same beat."

"People can learn the western styles by just watching others because it hasn't died out in the Southwest and West like here."

"It didn't die out in the West. I think this is why you find so many Indians in this area, and also the Indians of New York City, doing the western style dancing, wearing head bonnets, etc., that belong to the West; but especially I am talking about Indian dancing."

APPENDIX D-2

Some comments on Kurath (1965).

In all cases the page references refer to those in the above volume.

- a. p. 29. Bear dance. Kurath indicates that the bear dance no longer exists, even as a pow wow feature. We have observed on numerous occasions [54] perform this at the Detroit pow wow.
- b. p. 59. Lansing. Kurath indicates that the Grand River American Indian Society now (1966) has its headquarters in Lansing, Michigan. She also indicates that this group held its first pow wow in Lansing in 1965. This might, quite innocently, convey the

impression to some that an organized urban group of Indians did not exist there prior to 1965. Our records indicate that a group had come into existence in Lansing by 1941 because on November 16, 1941 fifteen visitors from a club in Lansing visited, as a group, one of the meetings of the Detroit club. Also on March 22, 1942 representatives of the Lansing Indian Club were present inviting Indians in Detroit to the (American style) dance they were planning for April 4th.

Quite likely this group was not the same as the one now centering its activities in Lansing. The earlier group evidently did learn some Indian dancing, probably not of the contemporary Pan-Indian type, through an emissary from the Detroit club. [17], of the Ottawas, had traveled considerably with the Hiawatha Pageant of Harbor Springs. It collapsed during World War II and he came to Detroit in 1942 where he lived till his death in 1949. He was very active in the Detroit group, serving as its president in 1943. We would date the following data from our paid informant as about 1948. One of our respondents thinks that this group in Lansing was an offshoot from Mt. Pleasant and that [17]"taught them to dance."

- c. p. 58. Isabella Reservation. Kurath suggests that dancing activities in southern Michigan appear first on the Isabella Reservation where a group in the 1930's "tried to recall or invent dances and scenes (pageants), or to transfer ideas from the Wisconsin Chippewa, notably an intelligent leader in Odanah, Frank Smart." She then tells us that the group "initiated programs on the Reservation" and at a later date one at Hastings. Evidently she attended events at Hastings in 1953 and 1966, about which she reports. She also says that "these same performers have continued appearances on the (Isabella) Reservation, formerly on July 4 weekend, then after Labor Day, as a Harvest Celebration," which she evidently attended in 1966. This suggests that some sort of a program, which included Indian dancing, was begun on the Reservation in the 1930's and has continued. There is, however, some evidence to the contrary.

The Indians at Walpole Island held very successful and well-known Indian shows in the 1920's (Appendix D-2d). Given considerable social intercourse between Isabella and Walpole, one cannot but wonder if events at Walpole were not related to those of Thomas, Pelcher, Quigno, and the Pamps to start Indian dancing at

Isabella. The Walpole show became extinct and it appears that the efforts at Isabella in the 1930's may also have failed for a while. Of these, Kurath mentions that Ben Quigno "got religion" and retired.

Our data indicates that an emissary went from the Detroit group in 1946 to Isabella and organized a club. It is difficult to envision an Indian club on a small reservation such as this unless it is organized around some special purpose such as the presentation of Indian Programs. On the problem we offer the following data.

The brothers, [1] and [2], were Chippewas from the Isabella Reservation who came to Detroit to work during World War II and became members of the club. [1], of interest to us here, was active in the club from its beginning through 1947, after which he retired to Mt. Pleasant. He was highly interested in matters pertaining to Indians and served on the Executive Board of the club for four years. On March 17, 1946, he informed the club that he had organized a club in Mt. Pleasant and urged the Detroit club to write a letter of encouragement. Some of the members of the mother group were also from the Isabella Reservation and knew well whereof he was speaking.

The club which [1] started in Mt. Pleasant evidently failed because we read in the Detroit News (January 6, 1950):

MT. PLEASANT. Michigan Chippewa conduct first annual tribal pageant at Mt. Pleasant. Honorary membership awarded to Dr. E. C. Beck, head of Central Michigan College English Department.

It should be noted that Michigan has had one federally-supported Indian school, no longer existent, and that it was at Mt. Pleasant. To this boarding school Indian children from the various tribes across Michigan came. On the possible relevance of this we offer the comment of Howard on factors which have quite likely contributed to the appearance of Pan-Indianism (Howard, 1955:219):

Finally, I might mention Indian school contacts as a source of much pan-Indian feeling. Certainly the "Indian clubs" at schools such as Haskell and Chilocco have been responsible for a great deal of intertribal exchange of songs, dances, and costume styles.

- d. pp. 49, 50. Walpole Island. Kurath quite correctly informs us that there have been long and important social relationships between persons at Isabella and at Walpole, especially on the occasions of the camp meeting or the revival meeting.

From the data which we have we offer the following outline of events at Walpole (cf. Appendices D-18, D-28, D-29, and D-30).

1. Formerly the members of the reservation put on shows which ceased, and with their closure the ability to do Indian dancing was all but lost. In 1966 one informant said that

"A lot of the people at Walpole used to dance long ago. Some 40 or 45 years ago when they had Indian dancers and an Indian band in full regalia, they put on Indian shows. The Tashmoo boat from there to Detroit was where many white people saw the Indians dance."

2. Around 1948 [17] went to Walpole to give instruction in Indian dancing.
3. [4] claims to be instrumental in teaching or at least stimulating Indian dancing on Walpole. The remarks of [4] refer to approximately 1954. The dancing evidently failed to continue. The paraphrase which follows is illustrative of the missionary activity and code employed.

"Years ago they used to hire me to get a group to put on a program for Walpole and I usually talked to them first before I started the program. I remember they had a program once, and they asked me out there. The chief and the whole council were present and I told them, 'You know, this looks ridiculous when you come to think of it. Here I am, I am an Indian, these are my kids, the kids I have brought here to dance. These kids were raised in a white man's city. They go to white man's schools. They are living in an absolute white man's community, and yet these kids know their traditions. They can Indian dance, and they have their customs, and they can do all this. You have to come to me in a big city like Detroit to come and dance for you your dances. On your reservation what do I see--nothing but Indians--you have to let the white man run your lives. They have taken away your culture. I

should be coming here from the city to you? Here you have this background. I'm not that old. I can remember when your leaders sponsored dancing. What has happened to you people? You have gotten to the place where you are ashamed to be Indians. Here you have come to me. I live in a white man's world and I am more Indian than you are!"

4. According to their flyers advertising the pow wow, the second was in 1966, making the first in 1965. It was derived essentially from the North American Indian Association. That group had been instrumental in starting the Toronto club. [4] had worked with the [24] family in starting the Mantoulin pow wow. [24] had moved from Mantoulin to Toronto where he got the Toronto pow wow started. The group at Walpole copied both Toronto and Detroit.
- e. p. 60. Semi-monthly meetings of the North American Indian Association. Kurath informs us that the North American Indian Club "found a sponsor in the downtown Y W C A , and has held regular meetings there, usually once a month on Sundays" Her data on the frequency of their meetings is in error. Since its beginning in 1940 the club has met semi-monthly, the first and third Sundays, and has held additional meetings when necessary. Only rarely does it forego one of the semi-monthly meetings, this being because of holidays and a conflict in schedule such as a pow wow. Prior to each is a dance rehearsal of about two hours. Theoretically, the first meeting of the month is for business and the second for recreation. In actuality most are called for business. The dance rehearsal is called for 4:30 p.m., the dinner which has been prepared by some of the member families for 6:30, and the business meeting for 7:30. Usually they last until about 10:00, but more often extend to 10:30 or 11:00 than fall at 9:00 or 9:30. It also has a wide variety of other activities which mean that those who carry most of the load wind up spending a minimum of a day or two per week in work of some sort associated with it.
 - f. p. 60. Theatrical qualities of the Detroit pow wow. Kurath refers correctly to the theatrical qualities of the contemporary Michigan pow wow, even saying, "The pow wow is now a theatre" (p. 78). In our text we indicate that while this is true it is more than a mere theatre to many who perform. Of the Detroit pow wow she comments, "The numbers on the programs--recently at Ford High School--are as cosmopolitan as

the membership. They are essentially the same (see Appendix D-45 for an illustrative and typical program) as those in the list of the Grand River American Indian Society, minus some Algonquian numbers, but enriched by the presentations of the visiting groups. In this stage setting the atmosphere is more formal than at Hastings" (p. 60).

We have attended a number of pow wows, outdoor as well as that of the Detroit Association. There are differences, part of which arise out of the setting, whether reservation or non-reservation, whether conducted in an open field or in an auditorium atmosphere. These differences call for differing types of activities and offer differing theatrical possibilities.

The Ford High School is located in a modern middle class all white neighborhood on the edge of Detroit. It is a well-designed modern building with an auditorium capable of seating around 2,500 persons, and has an ample parking lot. When one enters the vestibule in the front he stands beside the ticket window. Having paid the required "donation," he turns to see the large and well lighted vestibule filled with well dressed visitors chatting at the booths which are arranged along the walls.

The North American Indian Association always has a booth with items of the traditional Indian cultures which have been loaned by the members with [55], who is both interested in such and has learned to make Indian arrowheads, caring for the display. It also has a table of greeting cards for sale, silk screened, and one of Indian crafts, cared for by [29], and others. [47], long a member and recently moved back to Petoskey, formerly cared for an Association table but now usually has her own. Visiting Indians set up their tables on which they also offer items for sale. These will represent various groups from Walpole, Chicago, etc. Mt. Pleasant is always attended by [49], the Saginaw Valley Band of Chippewa by [15], and the Caughnawaga Reservation by [56], currently in Detroit and member of the Association. Usually other tables will represent groups from perhaps Hastings, Lansing, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Mantoulin Island, etc. All persons behind the tables are costumed.

The large high school offers dressing rooms for the various groups and ample dining facilities--open with free meals by the Association to Indian participants only.

Ushers await the visitor to take his ticket, offer him a printed program, and to conduct him to his seat in the rather ornate and very comfortable auditorium. [46], professional entertainer, usually is master of ceremonies. All of the theatrical facilities of the school are used, including its loud speaking system and its unusual lighting system. The use of diverse and varying lighting effects alone enhances the theatrical quality of the performance. At the back of the rostrum are two tipis which were made by members of the Association, including ourselves, beside which are drums, hoops, etc. At the front of the rostrum are two small totem poles on either side. Also at the front on either side are the two flags, the American and the Indian (see frontispiece), left after the Grand March (Appendix D-16).

- g. p. 60. MIDA. Kurath's statement that "Reciprocally, Detroit dancers and singers have accepted invitations to dance . . . for powwows of M I D A, a metropolitan association of White dancers of Indian steps" might convey misunderstanding to some readers. The Metropolitan Indian Dancing Association extends invitations to Indians across the metropolis to participate, but the North American Indian Association does not as a group cooperate, although we did find three members who have once or twice. Refusal to cooperate is associated with feelings of social distance and resentment toward non-Indians who dress as Indians and do Indian dancing. Kurath notes a completely different attitude on the part of Indians toward White performers of their dances (p. 82):

The Indians' chief criticism of White imitators is their overattention to steps and posture intricacies of fancy war dancing, with consequent tension and self-consciousness.

This may describe the attitudes of Indians elsewhere, but the Detroit Association resents this highly simply because they view that as non-Indians Whites have no right to Indian dances. We have listened to their conversations in meetings on several occasions in which they admit that non-Indians sometimes do Indian dancing better than Indians. This admission is usually to stir their members to do better. We have also heard them talk of White professionals attending Indian dances with motion picture equipment and tape recorders and then stealing the Indian dances and learning them themselves and thereby gaining financial rewards.

According to its flyer MIDA had its first "pow wow" in 1957. If this is true it antedates that of the Association by two years. We do not know what sort of meeting it refers to under "pow wow" or whether these have been continuous. We doubt if it were intertribal in the sense that is the North American Indian Association which sends notices to tribes, reservations, urban clubs, etc. We do find two interesting comments which indicate that the Association has as a group never cooperated.

1. In 1959 the professional worker at the Y.W.C.A. wrote, " . . . desires prestige for the club through his dance troop and is jealous of MIDA, a commercial outfit which puts on Indian dances" (By permission).
 2. On May 1, 1966, we sat beside [38] at a business meeting when someone announced the coming "pow wow" of MIDA. A silence fell over the group, no one offering comment. We spoke to [38] saying that perhaps some of the Indians were there. He looked at us very seriously saying, "Only the sinners." After the meeting, significantly, we were given the notice. It had been addressed to the Association but, probably due to the chilly reception, it was never delivered.
- h. pp. 59, 60. Best dance group in Michigan. Of the Grand River American Indian Society which recently moved its headquarters to Lansing and started its pow wows there in 1965 Kurath notes (p. 59):

During rehearsals they have improved their techniques. They have made fine costumes. What with their strict rules of sober behavior and their excellent organization, they have become the best dance group of Michigan.

Of the Detroit group she comments, " . . . they are approaching the status of professionals" (p. 60).

These remarks are, we think, unfortunate. Some Detroit Indians are indeed very good, but we would not know what criteria to use in assessing "professional." We know of none today who contemplate doing Indian dancing as an occupation, i.e., profession, or means of earning a living. To determine which group is best would be, it seems, especially hazardous since so much would depend on where one judges the

Indian dancing, the personnel which are or are not present in each dancing group, etc. Here we make a few observations.

1. The North American Indian Association in Detroit has been holding dance rehearsals regularly since at least 1952. Usually these have been for a minimum of two hours twice a month prior to its meetings. Sometimes these have been held as often as twice a week. Often they last considerably longer than two hours.
2. The Detroit group is well organized.
3. The North American Indian Club was started in order to attract Indians out of bars. It never has attempted to be anything like a temperance union but it is known for its sober behavior and orderly conduct. It always hires a police guard at its dances on New Year's, etc., and does not hesitate to eject Indians showing intoxication or who become unruly in behavior. Some of the members do not drink at all, asserting that alcohol has been one of the things which White man brought to Indians which has been most harmful.
4. The North American Indian Club started with a group of professional and semi-professional Indian dancers. Most died or left and [39] and [38] took their place, and [23] remained. Also included are several other families. [38] is one of the best drummers and singers in the area, being requested to drum and sing in Mantoulin, Toronto, Walpole, and Sarnia. He travels as far as Oklahoma and Taos. Recently he returned from Tama, Idaho, having taken an active role there. [39] usually teaches dancing while [38] drums and sings. [39] has traveled as widely as [38], has been for several years Mid-western dancing champion, has won the international (Canada and United States) championship, and has taken first place at Petoskey, Chicago, Detroit, and at Tama, Idaho. [48] and the Shawano dancers are also members of the Detroit group. We could enumerate a number of other excellent dancers in the Association should we choose. Also, [16] is still in the Association. [56], Mohawk from Caughnawaga, is an excellent dancer, sometimes teaching Mohawk dances.

5. In her photos of Indian dancing at Fulton and Lansing we notice a number of dancers from the Detroit group, especially at Fulton. There are some also at Fulton from Walpole Island. Some of the Detroit group are at Isabella (p. 123). The "Indian flag" (see frontispiece) of which we spoke appears in a photo (p. 115) as does the Medicine Man's Dance (p. 115). When some Potawatomi escaped the U.S. army at Chicago while being moved to Kansas, some fled to "Indiantown" near Athens, Michigan, and others to Walpole Island. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Indians from Walpole at Fulton (pp. 111-121) or from the Hastings-Hopkins area. We are impressed that there is something of a Pan-Indian subsociety in Michigan something like that which Howard (1955) and Newcomb (1955 and 1956) found in Oklahoma. Unless one knows these Indians quite well it is difficult to separate them into categories such as tribe, point of origin, etc.
6. Indians from all these areas visit at the Detroit pow wow and dance. All are welcome to participate in the contests for women, men, and children. At these contests the judges are selected very carefully. They arrive at their decisions independently and then collaborate. Great care is taken to avoid bias because of intergroup relationships and possible factions. [39] could probably win most of the men's contests but he deliberately refuses to compete or else disbars himself to allow others to win. When we thought about the Detroit contests we could not recall any from the Grand River group who have ever won. We checked our opinion with [29] and [57] to be confirmed by both in our appraisal. [57] admitted that they are good, and [29] gave them "A" for effort, saying they are now rehearsing more than the Detroit group.
7. We do not think that anyone should say which group in the State is best for a variety of reasons:
 - a. Persons of differing ability come from the various areas to pow wows here or there. Some of these are only learning whereas some are quite proficient.
 - b. Groups out-state may know some of the Michigan dances better, or they may not, than Indians in Detroit and similar areas. On the other

hand, Indians in Detroit may know some of the dances from the Southwest or Canadian areas better than Indians out-state.

- c. There is apt to be considerable fluctuation from year to year which Indians from which group attend what pow wow.
 - d. It is probably better to consider individual Indian dancers or groups of Indians who make up trios, duets, etc., and put on special numbers. It would take considerable work with clearly defined criteria to evaluate such.
 - e. If one is prepared to be the cause of possible factions between Indians or Indian groups then one should state which is better. If one desires to avoid this he should exercise caution. Unless the Indians of Michigan clearly agree among themselves which is the best group, and we doubt if they do, one runs the risk of considerable controversy and possible refutation.
- i. p. 80. Creation Myth. "The Creator Sings for Three Races," by Eli Thomas and related by Kurath is used to show that others besides Indians may do Indian dances. We also collected the Creation Myth but minus the element on singing. This may be significant because the North American Indian Association does not appreciate non-Indians doing Indian dancing. Ours, in fact, has the notion of racial separatism in it. The following is from [4].

"Do you know why the Indian land means a lot to the Indians? Because our legend of creation tells us that the Great Spirit created us in His own image out of the earth. The earth became our mother and He is our Father. This is our legend. In creation the first man was white, and the second one in his oven he forgot and was burnt black, and the next one he watched very carefully until it was toasted a golden brown. The first man was discontented and his eyes wandered always to the snows of the north, the second one's eyes went to the sun of the south, and neither was content with the beautiful land with all the animals and all the trees and rivers and everything else. They did not pay any attention to it. It didn't appeal to them. He made the last man because He loved these things and He wanted someone to enjoy

them, and the first two didn't. The third man that He made loved everything: the flowers, the trees, and everything. He loved the animals and would talk with them and take them as pets. He treated them as though they were his brothers and took care of them. Then the Great Spirit gave each a mate, and to the first he said, 'I will give you your mate and you take your blanket and go to the snows of the north where you will find your lands.' So the first departed for the snows of the north. The next one had black complexion with the crisp burnt hair. He departed with his mate, took his blanket and went to the suns of the south, to the hot country, and there the Great Spirit gave him his land. To the one who was baked nice and brown he gave this country--to him and his mate to have for all time. This is the reason that the Indian loves North America better than any country in the world."

- j. p. 59. Grand Valley American Indian Lodge. Kurath suggests that "John Bosin . . . started his Michigan career as accompanist for the Grand Valley American Indian Lodge." Our data suggests that he was, prior to this, anxious to start a group in Grand Rapids and came to the North American Indian Association for help which, according other help also, advised against the inclusion of non-Indians. Back in Grand Rapids, the group organized with non-Indians as members and split, the Indians becoming the Nish na bah dancers, probably being the same as or the forerunner of the Grand River American Indian Society, now in Lansing. We offer the following data from our informants.
 - 1. "I know when [52] came to Detroit and he was asking all about the Indians and he was thinking of starting this, because he is from Oklahoma, he wanted to start the one in Grand Rapids. I said that there are Indians other than Ottawas. His wife is Michigan Chippewa (Mt. Pleasant). He said there are Potawatomi and other Indians in that area and he wanted to form an Indian club. Anyway, I gave him a copy of our constitution and answered his questions about the Whites, showing him why we didn't admit them. I said it was because we wanted to keep our club Indian. I told him what happened in the Chicago Council Fire. I said, 'This is why we want to keep our club Indian.' . . . "

2. "Yes. The Grand Rapids club was started by our help too, but they wouldn't listen. I told them to make sure that all their officers could only be Indians, and I said, 'Don't just let anybody join--intermarriage yes, but hold your elective officers to Indians in order to survive. You could probably survive if you permit Whites to join and take office, but you will become a White organization if you do.' They went back to Grand Rapids and started this organization. The Historical Society decided to sponsor them. They could meet in the museum and all this and that, you know. Then all these historical guys got coming to it and, since they were the controlling power, they let them join. Pretty soon the Indians were pushed into the background and they rebelled. When they started having their dances the historical people were all in there dancing, and they got White people to dance, and the Indians got mad and quit. Then the Indians started their own group. The name of the old group was the Grand Valley Lodge. The name of the group that busted away was the Nish ba nah Dancers."

(NOTE: The requirements of the North American Indian Association are and have been 1/4 or more Indian blood, as is the newly organized Grand River American Indian Association in Lansing.)

- k. p. 57. Petoskey. We do not know the date when the programs under the Ottawas started in Petoskey. Kurath mentions one in July of 1965 at the high school there with the proceeds going into a scholarship fund and also the connection with Detroit. The Northern Ottawa have long had satisfying relationships with the Detroit group. Our data indicate that in 1961 the Association entered its princess in the Michigan Indian Princess Contest. Because of the very close similarity to, the subsequent data to, and the close relationships with the Detroit group it appears that the Petoskey program may be modeled after the Detroit pow wow. We would not wish, however, to specify the actual connection.

APPENDIX D-3

Alternate explanation of the origin of the North American Indian Association.

The professional worker at the Y.W.C.A. most closely identified with the Association, probably on knowing the type of explanation which we were receiving from the members, has indicated to us on at least three different occasions that the real story is somewhat different from what the old members might tell us. She asserted that many Canadian Indians were immigrating to Detroit about the time of World War II and earlier and that she is of the opinion that the Canadian government appealed to the B.I.A. to send a representative into the city to help them adjust. When we inquired about the drinking problem she concurred that such might have entered into the thinking of [3] but that there was more to it than simply this. On the first of these occasions she offered to open for us all of the records of the Y.W.C.A., a concern for accuracy. A careful reading, however, of the records failed to provide any data on the thesis. In order to inquire further we wrote to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., for any data which it might have on the subject only to be informed that several Bureau and National Archives sources had been checked, but, unfortunately, the Bureau could find no correspondence with the North American Indian Club of Detroit under any of its names. This was not a little perplexing since the Association has communicated directly with the B.I.A. by mail on numerous occasions, since it has frequently had personnel from the Bureau as speakers at its annual banquets, even the Commissioner; and since we have looked at hand written communication from the Bureau to the Association, even to the possibility of its opening a relocation office in Detroit. Our third source of data, the original members, appeared without knowledge of the interest of the Canadian government in the formation of the club. A consideration of the wording of the Preamble of the first constitution of the Association, presented in Chapter II, does suggest some credibility in the suggestion of the Y.W.C.A. representative.

APPENDIX D-4

Reasons why the Association was advised against affiliation with the Fireside Council of Chicago and why it refuses to allow non-Indians to be members.

The following are portions of statements which were tape-recorded from our informants and given for added insights.

- a. "Our group isn't older than the Fireside Council. Where they meet, I don't know. Now the Fireside Council was formed before us, and we did not want to follow their example and go into their pitfalls. See, the Fireside group in Chicago originally was for Indians, but it was opened to Whites and they were fostered with White money. People with money and others interested in anything Indian came in, and they had no restrictions in their constitution. Pretty soon your ruling body was White and the more backward Indians withdrew. It was no longer an Indian organization."
- b. "We learned a lesson from that group. We knew like them that we'd be faced with problems. Pretty soon you're not going to attract just the plain old ordinary Indian. He actually, basically deep down inside him, he doesn't want White companionship--none of it. He wants to come in and be with Indians and govern himself. Indians basically have been under the thumb of the White man too much--and then they have come out and are making their living with a White boss over you and all of this. If you want a White person over you in an organization, you can easily join a veterans' organization or some other organization. I am interested in the Indians for the purpose that I would like to see them remain Indian and retain their Indian values and culture and heritage and yet be able to afford that which is good of the White man's civilization to advance his own. I think this is the heart of the feeling of the Indian club."

APPENDIX D-5

Continued attitudes of the rejection of persons of less than one-fourth degree of Indian "blood" as members of the Association.

The North American Indian Association is willing to accept non-Indians who are married to their members as associate members or selected non-Indians who are highly esteemed and valued occasionally as honorary members. The latter involves recommendation by the Executive Board, vote of the body, sponsorship by one who is a long and reputed member of the organization, and finally adoption "as a member of the tribe of the person sponsoring him." In no case can any of these hold elected office. Furthermore, honorary membership can be removed should the Association be displeased at some time by said person. We have also been in attendance at meetings where persons have sought membership and asserted their Indianness but who were refused because of the suspicion that such lacked the requisite degree of Indian genes. On one such occasion one of the members literally broke down and cried to think that such would even be considered, asserted that she wanted and thought this was an Indian club. Even the suspicion that an individual poses as Indian when he lacks the requisite causes immediate hostility.

APPENDIX D-6

Factionalism between U.S. and Canadian Indians.

The following was prepared by the professional worker of the Y.W.C.A. at the time (By permission):

"Several problems have arisen in the group and certain conflicts of personalities. Part of these arose from the selection of the Indian princess and part I believe from the fact that the men who have come back from the army are perhaps a bit anxious to take over the leadership from the women who carried on so ably during the war. There is also a long standing difficulty which arises at various points between the Canadian Indians and those who were originally United States citizens, but this difficulty is not fundamental, and with wise leadership can be resolved. The last meeting in June struck a note of harmony and I believe with the election in the fall of new officers they will go forward to a new year with good promise."

APPENDIX D-7

Speeches and demonstrations on Indian culture, excepting dancing, given at meetings of the North American Indian Association from 1940 through 1947.

2/ 9/41 Speech, "Indian Art"
 3/ 9/41 Speech on Indians and the playing of Indian music
 12/ 4/41 Speech, "The Sioux on the Rosebud Reservation"
 3/ 8/42 Speech, "Contributions of Indians to U.S.
 Society and Culture"
 4/19/42 Speech, "The Chickasaw of Oklahoma"
 4/19/42 Rendition of Indian songs
 3/23/41 Demonstration of an Indian drum to the club
 12/ 3/44 Speech, "Origin of the Head Dress, Indian Flag
 and Swastika"
 12/ 4/44 Speech, "Sioux Rain Symbol"
 1/11/45 Entertainment with Indian songs
 1/21/45 Indian arrow head display
 4/ 1/45 Lecture on and demonstration on Indian archery
 4/ 1/45 Speech, "Indian Archery"
 10/ 1/45 Oneidas, sing hymns in the Oneida language
 10/ 1/45 Speech, "Famous Old Indian Chiefs"
 2/17/46 Speech, "The Miami Tribe"
 3/17/46 Speech, "The Potawatomi Tribe"
 3/17/46 Speech, "Origin and Life of the Cheyenne"
 4/21/46 Speech, "The History, Hobbies and Customs of
 the Cayuga Indians"
 2/16/47 Indian movies

APPENDIX D-8

A chronological listing of all references to Indian dancing in the North American Indian Association from 1940 through 1947.

- 9/19/40 a. Organizational meeting. [14] (Ojibway from the Muncey Reservation) and [15] (chief of the Saginaw Valley Band of Chippewas in Michigan) from St. Charles did a few Indian dances in native costume.
- 2/ 9/41 b. [16], an Oklahoma Cherokee who had broadcasted over WMBC, and several children did the stomp dance which was enjoyed by everyone.
- 4/19/42 c. Shooting act by [16]. He also did the stomp dance, in which some of the members participated.

- 1/11/45 d. [17] (Ottawa from northern Michigan) was chosen to be in charge of an Indian floor show for the coming Valentine's Dance.
- 11/ 1/45 e. After the meeting was adjourned [19] and [11] (both Mohawks from the Caughnawaga Reservation) entertained with Indian songs and dances.
- 11/16/47 f. The Arrow Dance was performed by some of the children. All these children were descendants of migrants from the Santa Domingo Pueblo save one, a descendant from a migrant Pima who had lived in a California mission.

APPENDIX D-9

A chronological listing of all references to Indian programs and similar activities of the North American Indian Association from 1940 through 1947.

- 1/ 7/45 a. The club decided to hold an Indian Bazaar on February 18th. There were to be booths for baked goods, fancy work, Indian handicrafts, and "Grandma's Party" of jams, jellies, preserves, etc.
- 8/23/45 b. An Indian Concert was given at the Nor-Wayne Project Auditorium with proceeds going to the current expenses of the baseball team.
- 6/17/46 c. [19] suggested starting an Indian orchestra.
- 10/ 6/46 d. [12] reported that the Banquet Committee was planning an outstanding affair and seeking Indian talent for the program.
- 11/ 3/46 e. Motion made by [20] that the club sponsor an Indian Bazaar at the Central Y.W.C.A.
- 1/19/47 f. Announcements: Anyone interested in a club orchestra or an Indian play were to consult [21] and [19] (Mohawks from the Caughnawaga Reservation).
- 10/ 9/47 g. [22] told about Indian performers being wanted at Third and Stimson for Halloween program. The president appointed [20] to arrange for it.

11/16/47 h. There was a discussion about holding an all-Indian program later in the year. The stage was to be decorated with Indian scenery and all organizations in the city were to be notified. The admission charge was to be \$1.10.

APPENDIX D-10

Sault Ste Marie, Ontario.

Very likely Sault Ste Marie receives immigrants from both the reservations on Mantoulin Island and at Blind River, Ontario. Kurath (1966:58) indirectly vouches for the validity of part of the data which we offer.

[24] was very interested in starting Indian dancing on Mantoulin Island. His entire family are excellent dancers and our data indicate that [25], his son, started the pow wow on Mantoulin with the aid of his sister [26], daughter of [24], in the 1960's. [26] was also instrumental in starting the pow wow in Toronto, Canada.

In 1944 [24] was living at the Sault but he came to Detroit in order to receive assistance in starting a club back home. On February 20, 1944, he attended the club for the express purpose of communicating his desire to organize an Indian club such as it in the Soo. He was given a copy of one of the club constitutions.

APPENDIX D-11

A chronological account of speakers dealing with supertribal issues.

11/30/41 [7] from St. Thomas, Ontario, [8] from Detroit, and [9] were present. [7] was asked to say a few words to the club. He mentioned some of the Indian Treaties which were broken when the governments of both the United States and Canada decided to govern the Indians. (NOTE: This has been a persistent concern of Indians in Detroit and the data is given here not because the speaker represents a supertribal group or that a call to supertribal unity was given, but because the issues are supertribal and important, especially in understanding Canadian Indians.)

1/21/45 [18] spoke in regards to the Indian Rights Bill to be brought up before the House Committee.

9/16/45 [10] of Kansas City was the first speaker. He was secretary of the Indian League of the United States. He urged the Indians to make a united effort and fight for their rights which were promised in the various treaties signed by the U.S. Government. [7] spoke on the same topic in regard to Canadian-born Indians. [11], a Mohawk of the Six Nations of Canada, spoke on the same subject.

[10] also read letters which had been drafted by their united effort. These letters were to be sent to President Truman of the United States and Prime Minister Mackenzie, King of Canada.

[12], a Sioux, urged the members to forget their tribal differences and unite in a joined effort to obtain the legal rights promised them in their treaties.

3/17/46 [12] read an editorial about Indians and their rights and spoke about the stand Indians should take.

1/19/47 One of the visitors represented the League of North American Indian Nations and invited all to join this "very worthwhile thing" for the Indians. He also joined the N.A.I.C.

APPENDIX D-12

Some comments on the difficulty of getting the Indians to integrate in the years 1944-1947.

The following comments are taken from the reports of the professional workers at the Y.W.C.A. who had the responsibility of working with the club (By permission):

January 1946. "There is need for including this group in any attempts we may make for interracial education."

June 1946. "The place of this club in the Business and Industrial Department is still a questionable matter. They are not a group which can be integrated into a program of Business and

Professional or Industrial Girls. . . . They are particularly eager to have a club home for Indian people who come to the city and to keep alive some of the Indian culture. They are also interested in the problems which the Indians as a minority group face. . . . Eventually they may wish to meet elsewhere but as long as they do meet in the building a staff member needs to have a good working relationship with them. . . . To what extent this can be continued should be a question of study, perhaps with the Council of Social Agencies, but certainly there should be no abrupt breaking off of relations . . . a race which does not easily mix and needs special help . . . "

December 1946. ". . . They are still very shy of any contact with other groups which results in a great reluctance amounting almost to an apathy towards the total community at large."

APPENDIX D-13

On the effect of the winter blizzards of 1947 on the Navahos when the members of the North American Club learn of it.

The following account is taken from the December report for 1947 of the professional worker of the Y.W.C.A. (By permission):

They are also doing much service work amongst their own people both here in Detroit and elsewhere. The plight of the Navaho Tribes has really excited their feelings of resentment and persecution against the "Pale Faces" in Washington and the country at large. We are trying to form a committee to work with the Public Affairs Committee in an effort to find some direction in which to move. Nothing has come out of this so far.

APPENDIX D-14

Letter from the treasurer announcing proposed changes in the North American Indian Club (Mimeographed):

December 1, 1948

Dear Friend:

At the next meeting, Sunday, December 5, an important change in the policy of the North American Indian Club is to be brought up. You are specially invited to attend this meeting.--To offer any suggestions and to have a say as to what is being contemplated. The meeting will be open to anyone. . . .

The office of the club president is vacant. If you have a qualified candidate, rush right down to this meeting. There is an opportunity with distinction to serve the Indian people. . . .

In the past, this club has been mainly social. There has existed a need for a broader and more constructive aim. Many Indian people have suggested such a thing. The time has come for this move. This letter proposes a suggestion. However, as far as I know ALL FORMER CLUB ACTIVITIES AND POLICIES WILL STILL BE CARRIED OUT AS BEFORE EXCEPT THAT WE WILL ADOPT SOMETHING NEW TO WORK TOWARDS.

One major club objective is proposed herewith which in our opinion should be stressed and a great deal more activity should be had. The promotion of Indian Rights. In this respect, I think we should formulate an objective. Some policy on which we can get a common agreement, I propose this one:

To keep ourselves informed on pending bills in Congress regarding Indian affairs. On this score--to get the opinions of Indians in Detroit who belong to the tribes or sections of the country the particular bill refers. Also to contact the tribal council and authorities back in the reservation to which the legislation refers. With this information we could be in a position to make an intelligent stand; and it would be my opinion that the club should discuss these measures at committee meetings, the committee should report to the club their majority opinion and the club should take that stand.

Another point that should interest us here in Detroit is the possibility of the settlement of any Indian Treaty claims that the rights and privileges of Indians who have left the reservation are protected and not left out of any settlement that they have a just claim to. This may not appear important but I am told that just such a thing has been considered.

One club objective should be to furnish correct and authentic information about Indians. Too many white people have an erroneous idea about Indians. We should let the people know that Indians off the reservation live, act, and are of the same standards of the white people. We should object anytime we see or hear any adverse publicity regarding an Indian by the newspapers, radio which tends to put the Indian in an unfavorable light or use him for buffoonery.

This is another policy I propose here which you may or may not agree. I believe the club should make effort to furnish constructive ideas and criticism of the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding present day Indian problems. It is stated here that the club should resist any move to abolish the Indian Service at this time. We should resist any move to turn the administration of Indian Affairs over to the states or to place the Indians on reservations entirely on their own. They are not ready for any of this yet. It is my strong belief that Indians in Detroit are in a better position as to economic circumstances and education than those back home. I believe we are morally obligated to do something on a broad scale. If we do, I am sure we would benefit personally and collectively. The North American Indian Club is the logical organization we have here to work with. These objectives mentioned here are suggestive only, they are open to change, additions or improvement. Now suppose the club did seriously adopt objective of this nature, just what could WE do about it?

Here it is: Publicity, There are many opportunities right here in Detroit. There are various groups that from time to time ask for some Indian to talk on Indian problems and Indian life. We should never lose any chance to talk about ourselves or our problems to the general public or before government or civic groups. We should send articles to the newspapers, they may be published. Petitions and letters to Congress will do some good. If we ever

get a chance to talk over the radio we should get a person qualified to do that. Every means possible should be used to get the idea of the betterment of Indians across to the public and the government. Enlisting the Aid of large organizations. Several large organizations have expressed an interest in our problems. The YWCA are interested in minority groups and has frequently asked us to furnish constructive information regarding the Indian question. They have a large nation-wide organization and representatives in Washington, D.C. to work on such affairs. Veteran groups and labor organizations have taken up the interest of special groups when their objectives were in line with theirs. They may be induced to include our aims in their political action committees when it is shown that many of our problems are inseparable from present day economic, political and racial problems.

Enough said here. Come up to the Club meeting this coming Sunday. See if we can agree to some proposal and set some long range constructive policy. Debate will be limited to three minutes per person.

Sincerely yours,

[27]

APPENDIX D-15

Letter from the president announcing proposed changes in the North American Indian Club (Mimeographed):

January 9, 1949

A SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN CLUB

Dear Friend:

To the North American Indian Club--In order to meet many of you people, I submit this proposal for the year-- . . .

Inasmuch as we are a minority group, I shall appreciate everyone of Indian blood to make every effort to enlist new members. To belong to this organization is not only a privilege, but a great honor that we should be proud of.

I am deeply concerned about conditions reported by the press of the deplorable conditions that prevail on most all reservations.

To many of us, who have seen, lived, and strenuously objected to this kind of regimented life, we should have our organization dedicated during the years, that the betterment of our people, through Congress, shall be our policy, that all Indian claims against the government of the United States be expeditiously performed.

We hope to keep in close contact with Indian affairs and support all constructive legislation pertinent to the Indians.

We shall be especially glad to join hands with the National Congress of American Indians in all their aids and proposals.

Very respectfully yours,

[28]

President

North American Indian Club

APPENDIX D-16

The grand march.

All pow wows currently given by the North American Indian Association begin with the grand march in which all who participate in dancing during the particular pow wow join in. The dancers form two lines, each of which is led by an esteemed individual bearing a flag. One carries the flag of the United States and the other the Indian flag (see frontispiece). The latter is in reality the straight lance with feathers attached on one side, reminiscent of the symbols of Plains Indians military societies (Lowie, 1953:112). Obviously, this is symbolic. Diverse interpretations might be offered for the grand dance. (1) One might think that this indicates that these Indians are herewith indicating peace with the United States and desire for fellowship with the larger non-Indian white population. We rather doubt this since the symbolism of the lance is not exactly that of peace and since historically it points to conflict between the tribes and Indians and whites. (2) We do not think its

use is symbolic of the declaration of hostilities. (3) We rather think that this symbolizes that these persons are trying to say that they are members of two cultures now and loyal to both. We always gain the impression that the lance symbolizes identification with the past and that these now represent that past, continued in the present; that these persons are now, in the land they view as rightfully theirs, loyal to both and faithless to neither. We do not see the Indian flag as the performers pleading for assimilation with loss of Indian identity, e.g., in the Anglo-conformity model, but as representative of the new Indian who is both identified with the past and at the same time pressing toward new goals in a new world now.

APPENDIX D-17

Regular membership.

The criteria of membership in the North American Indian Association were finally fixed in the 1953 revision: 1/4 or more Indian "blood," hold a tribal membership card, be accepted by the membership committee, and be 16 years of age or older. While all control the membership, the first three also assure separation from the non-Indian society.

Membership involves the filing of application forms asserting the degree of Indian "blood," giving address and telephone number, names of parents, place of birth, closest relative in the Detroit area, tribe, religion, occupation, and payment of \$4.00 dues of which \$3.50 goes to the Y.W.C.A. for the privileges of sponsorship and a place to meet, and \$.50 is retained by the Association. On receipt of the application and the dues the membership committee, being the Executive Board, reviews the statements and if everything is in order with no suspicions raised the candidate is welcomed into membership.

According to the constitution each applicant is required to be a member of a given tribe in good standing. This is attested by the possession of a tribal membership card. This excludes some who are felt to be undesirable. An alternative is that the Association might write to the tribe in question requesting precise information. Neither of these procedures are rigorously held to. We are fully aware, as are the members, that most do not in fact have such membership. Some, especially Canadian

Indian females, have lost their tribal memberships. Others whose tribal descent cannot be questioned have never had tribal membership themselves. Still others have only recently learned that they have some Indian ancestor close enough to allow them to qualify as being 1/4th or more Indian. In reaching a decision the committee usually considers first the kinsmen, place of birth, tribe the applicant is supposed to represent, physical features, worth, and the assumed integrity of the person. In all cases where there is uncertainty the committee seeks advice from its members who are capable of offering help. Most persons with reservation backgrounds are very astute in recalling kinship lines and in tracing relationships between families and are not easily fooled. Few apply for membership who do not profess to come from a reservation which is not already represented in the membership and it is persons from these reserves that are sought out for help. If, following inquiry, everything appears in order, the committee usually concurs and grants membership, such cases being most often voted on by the membership as a whole following the presentation of the data obtained. If the person is deemed undesirable or if there is any suspicion regarding his Indianness, rejection usually occurs.

APPENDIX D-18

Pan-Indianism and religion. (See Appendices D-1, D-2i, D-45, D-46.)

This is a subject worthy of separate study. Decisions regarding the presence or absence of the religious element in contemporary Pan-Indianism, either for Pan-Indianism itself or in the context of revitalization, should not be made hastily and without careful consideration of the issues. We have suggested that Pan-Indianism is secular, meaning that the secular motif predominates and not that religious elements are lacking. If religious elements are found to be present, it seems proper to expect them to be in harmony with the syncretism of Pan-Indianism, i.e., to include elements from the once-diverse tribal cultures, from the dominant non-Indian society, and those innovations which are peculiar to Pan-Indianism itself. We offer here a few points for consideration.

1. Religion is important enough to be included in the preamble of the constitution, being an issue which the Association and its members are to "prove" to non-Indians:

To prove that this culture was never devoid of beauty but always full of respect for life and enriching faith in a Supreme and Divine Power.

2. There are important religious overtones, and symbolic references to religion, in the contemporary pow wow. These are usually explained, at least partially, for the benefit of both Indians and non-Indians in attendance. At the beginning of every pow wow of the Association which we have attended [49] does the Lord's Prayer in Indian sign language and [48] appears as the Indian medicine man who, in the pageantry of his solo dance, drives away the evil spirits, evil influences it is said, so that good will reign. While both are theatrical, they also have meaning to these Indians.
 - a. [48]'s dance is intended to represent the medicine man, their benevolent religious leader or prophet from the past, acting much the same as the Christian clergyman might at the beginning of a public ceremony. More than that, the medicine man rightfully belongs in the tradition of the pow wow (Appendix D-60) of which many are fully aware. [48] is quite serious about the symbolic meaning of the dance and asserts that the role descended to him. Also, in 1969 a rain was threatening prior to the pow wow at Hastings. After the dance of [48] one informant, not [48], said, "Did you notice that? After his dance the storm went away. There must be something to this."
 - b. The Lord's Prayer in Indian sign language is, they admit, a blending with the more contemporary Christianity. It is, nonetheless, specifically interpreted to the audiences as indicative that Indians have always been, and still are, more or less Christian in their thinking and devout as well.
 - c. During the course of our interviewing we asked our respondents, "What are three most important things that pow wows mean to you?" in rank order (Item 26, Appendix B). We received three responses suggesting religious meaning (Our paid informant is not among them):

Respondent #1 (Member, second in importance):
 "Somehow it has religious meaning too."

Respondent #2 (Non-Member who attends, third response): "In the Indian program they align themselves to Divine Power, for example, the Lord's Prayer in sign language."

Respondent #3 (Non-Member who attends, third response): "The chant, it has religious meaning, and the drums."

- d. Incidentally, we have felt very much like Slotkin during some of the pow wows which he attended indoors. Given six to eight drummers singing plus fifty or sixty dancing, many with bells affixed to their persons, there is considerable noise. The loudest are usually at the beginning, followed by solos, special dances, etc. The impression is quite different outdoors. Following are some notes from Slotkin, where, however, the pow wow was a religion (Slotkin, 1957:14,15):

The rite has a decided emotional impact. The participants are welded into a collective unity by means of the tremendous dominating drumbeat which makes everything vibrate to it. My own reactions are described in the following field diary excerpts. . . . They would sometimes start pianissimo and work up to a fortissimo that involved the arm and shoulder muscles to such an extent that the men would become exhausted, and would make the whole room vibrate, and me as well. I never had such a sense of rhythm penetrating me. Their unison was extraordinary, no matter how the tempo and the magnitude of the beat varied. (After participating in the rite many times, I wrote:) It is still extraordinarily impressive to attend a Powwow; where six to eight men drum and sing, while another dozen or so dance, in the dim light of a single lamp. The drumbeat pervades the place.

(My wife's diary:) . . . The effect of the group drummers beating and singing together gives me a sense of group solidarity which is wholly absent from the -- (another) rite.

- e. We think that the presentation of the Lord's Prayer in sign language is related to revitalism. Considering the matter of the unsatisfactory and distorted culture from which those concerned wish to be removed, it seems that this prayer is

related to the religious catastrophies which removed from many of these almost all knowledge of their previous ceremonies and dances--to their regret now (Appendix D-1). The struggle with the notion that Indian religions were, or are, pagan is far from over; which difficulty is apt to be one of the greatest obstacles faced when efforts are made to introduce either Indian dancing or the pow wow to certain groups. Our data indicate that both Roman Catholicism and organized religion were evidently the major obstacles on Mantoulin Island; whereas evidently Anglicanism at first, and more recently Pentacostalism, was at Walpole. About an experience on Walpole, one of our informants said:

. . . when I did the Lord's Prayer on Saturday afternoon there were a lot of white people there. So I got the microphone and said, "Now, this prayer was given to us by the white man. Don't let anybody ever tell you that the Indian never prayed and that he was pagan. He never was pagan. I don't care what the white man's books say. Just because you pray to one Person and I to Another."

3. Most of the members of the Association belong to Christian churches (Appendix C, Table 4.8) but we think that the Pan-Indian blending sometimes makes their religion somewhat different from Christianity as it is ordinarily thought of. We know of only one in the Association who might state that the Indians were formerly pagan. In contrast, the notion that Indians are "God's people" is common. When speaking of origins, they are sometimes equated with the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel and sometimes they are thought of as a special creation. Also, it is asserted that Indians were moral and religious, not needing jails before the advent of the white man. Affirming their belief in the Great Spirit prior to the coming of white people, they further judge themselves to have been Christians, or the equivalent, prior to the disruption of their former cultures. We believe that in religion many actually feel an identification with the past. As illustrative of this we offer some comments by our informants.

Respondent #1: "Actually the original Indian faith is, according to what our prophets tell us, about the coming of a great benefactor from the East with the visage of the sun. Our prophets

even predicted his virgin birth, I mean the child. You go back in the history of my tribe--they have what they call a 'doll dance.' This even goes back to where a baby was supposed to come to benefit mankind. So in this doll dance the doll represents the baby that's to come."

Respondent #2: "This is why the Indians so readily accepted Christianity. Basically, the Indians believed that the Savior was coming."

Respondent #3: "Legend tells us that we are part and parcel of this country. It is not written down in books. What you know about Indians are the things that are written by the white man. I've even had arguments with anthropologists over this. I say, 'Sure you read books that are written by educated white men that actually know nothing about the Indian. They get ahold of a germ of an idea, and you talk to an old Indian, maybe on the reservation and you get curious about a certain thing and you ask him something. This old Indian thinks, "Now, what's the use of me trying to explain this to him. He has his idea anyway and he's going to interpret his way." So, all this is wasted effort because through the years this is the way he has been treated. Since no one has bothered to understand him, he's liable to shrug his shoulders at you and say, "It could be." History tells you, for instance, that Indians were pagan, they worshipped the sun. They worshipped the sun god. Actually, they don't. They worshipped the power behind the sun.'"

Respondent #4: (Of prayer) "Just like I've often talked to people when I lecture on religion. So there was this bird and the Indian called him the thunderbird because the thunder rolled, up in the heavens, and he thought that it was the Great Spirit speaking up there. He figured that this bird carried the messages back and forth. But he couldn't see this bird anymore than he could the Great Spirit. So, this was the mythical messenger. Now, is the Indian so very wrong? You go to any Christian church and what symbol do you have there? The dove, the Holy Spirit. This is why the Indian also reveres the eagle."

Respondent #5: "Are we so very far wrong, the Indian people? Legend tells us that the Great Spirit, or this Almighty Power of the Indian, whatever

the tribe decides to call Him in their own tongue. With some it might be a different name. It doesn't mean it is altogether a different Person, but He is the Supreme Being, the Almighty Power that created Indians in His own image out of Mother Earth. That's why the Indian is so close to nature, because he figures that his religious leaders from away back told him that he was created out of earth. So he knows that when he dies his body goes back to Mother Earth but his spirit goes to the Great Spirit. There is a separation here, and this Great Spirit breathes life into him. . . .

APPENDIX D-19

Aspirations of members of the North American Indian Association for a building of their own.

These aspirations have been implicit since the inception of the organization began in the preamble of its constitution, "to establish a meeting center for the Indian people," but they have probably had different meanings at different times. In its early years they are most likely related primarily to the desire to be independent as Indians from the sponsorship of the Y.W.C.A., a primarily all white organization.

Interest in having a building of their own was expressed in 1946, 1948, and 1950. More recently, 1965 and following, we have been witness of many discussions on the possibility of the procurement of a building by the Club for its own activities. Almost always these relate directly to urban migration and nearly always also to the possibility of the B.I.A. establishing a relocation office in Detroit with the wish that the Club could be the primary agency serving the incoming Indians. Most recently of all, since about 1969, the group has been concerned about the survival of the Association unless it procures a building and moves away from the Y.W.C.A. This is because of the racial issue and the crime rate in the central city where the "Y" is located. Several of the women are not allowed to attend by their husbands because it is in a very darkly lighted and all Negro area, and some families assert that they will not come until the club moves away. Members have had personal items stolen while in the meetings and it is not unusual to hear one report that during the meeting his auto was broken into. One was stolen. There are, however, serious problems in making the move, not the least of which is a new location which will be convenient and satisfactory for all.

APPENDIX D-20

On the expressed likelihood of the B.I.A. establishing a relocation office in Detroit.

Despite the fact that on December 15, 1966, the Assistant Commissioner of the B.I.A., wrote us that several Bureau and National Archives sources had been checked and no correspondence with or about the North American Indian Club or Association of Detroit was found, the B.I.A. has both indicated an interest in the immigration of Indians into Detroit and communicated its interest of establishing a center of some sort there.

1940-1942: [3], Assistant Guidance and Placement Officer of the U.S. Indian Department, was specifically commissioned to visit Detroit to help in the placement of migrant Indians in jobs and assist in their urban adjustment.

March, 1941: "The North American Indian Club represents individuals who have reached the highest development in Indian adjustment to American life, and this group is recognized in Washington by the Indian Service as being in a class all by itself" (Statement of the professional Y.W.C.A. worker in her Narrative Report. By permission). This glowing report is offered in that it attests the manifest knowledge of the B.I.A. in the club at this time. Interestingly, later the professional workers at the "Y" appear to complain that these Indians are not integrating as they had hoped.

December, 1951: "[33] from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., made an appointment to talk with this staff. It appears that in line with the United States Government's desire to encourage young Indians to leave the reservation a plan is being prepared whereby these young folks will be placed in cities such as Detroit to receive vocational training and skills which will enable them to find skilled jobs away from the reservations. [33] was wondering if the club which has met here for the last ten years would be a sort of welcoming committee and try to make these young people feel a little less strange in this big city. Staff assured that this was one of the purposes of the North American Indian Club in the Detroit Y.W.C.A. Staff further put [33] in direct contact with the leaders of the North American Indian group" (Annual Narrative Report of the professional Y.W.C.A. worker. By permission).

January 30, 1952: "Ten years ago a representative from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Department of Interior asked the YWCA of Detroit to provide a meeting place for the North American Indians who were brought to the city to work in the war plants and factories. From that time on, the Indians have come in. . . . Two weeks ago, [33], from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, came in to see me to talk over the possibility of more young Indians being located in Detroit and being welcomed by the club. The Bureau is now interested in encouraging young Indians to come off the reservations and take vocational training. [33] stated that Congress is preparing to make the necessary appropriations this summer for this work" (Letter from the professional worker of the Y.W.C.A. to the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. By permission).

April 31, 1955: On this date the Club president read a letter from [34] about the possibility of a field location office being established in Detroit. [34] had stated that he would be glad to come to Detroit in May. [34] did come to the Annual Banquet as the representative of the B.I.A. In the following year, however, and especially in 1957, the North American Indian Club became progressively more actively involved in the issue of termination, standing against it and for the American Indian Point IV Program with the National Congress of American Indians, the specific issue being the Isabella Reservation. Thus, in May of 1956 the club appeared in favor of termination, but later that year it came to oppose the same. The records contain no official mention of the possibility of a relocation office in Detroit after this change in position.

APPENDIX D-21

On the current unlikelihood of the B.I.A. establishing a relocation office in Detroit.

December 1, 1966: On this date [35] of the Bureau of Indian Affairs wrote the author that the main concern of the Bureau in the State of Michigan has been the administration of limited Bureau programs in Indian reservation communities and is largely restricted to matters directly related to trust land.

December 15, 1966: [35] of the Bureau of Indian Affairs wrote the author saying that at that time the B.I.A. did not contemplate any expansion of the relocation program and that to its knowledge no one from the Association had contacted the Bureau about the establishment of such a program in Detroit. He also stated that based on past experience with the relocation of Indians, the B.I.A. does not believe that the Detroit area would be a likely place for such a program.

May 20, 1967: This was the night of the 27th anniversary dinner-dance of the North American Indian Association. [36], Field Representative of the B.I.A. and recently located in out-state Michigan, was the guest speaker. After the meeting we were privileged to talk with him and he denied any knowledge of [3] and his earlier work in the city, or the B.I.A. ever having made contact with the Association regarding a relocation program in Detroit. He did, however, suggest that persons interested should work through the State legislature; and he expressed a personal interest in possibly discussing such a move with representatives from the Association, the tribes of Michigan, and the author.

APPENDIX D-22

Relocation and the possible services of the North American Indian Association.

Members of the Association are aware that relocation is related to the policy of termination and that federal expenditure carries implications of federal control. While they are opposed to termination they nonetheless recognize that considerable numbers of Indians do migrate from reservations or rural areas and feel that these need help. They highly resent federal interference and this causes a problem, how to have a satisfactory program of relocation which is not forced and which is without interference. They would aspire somehow to have the program carried out through the Association and be allowed at the same time the ruling voice once Indians are in Detroit. These attitudes seem also to vary somewhat and to change some with the times.

At first, when the B.I.A. was communicating with the Association about the possibility of a relocation office in Detroit, it appears that the group favored

limited termination. The B.I.A. communicated its possible establishment of such an office on April 31, 1955 and on May 1, 1956 the president of the Club addressed the Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A. thus (By permission):

. . . WHEREAS, in the last two sessions of Congress a number of bills to terminate federal trusteeship have been introduced both in the House and the Senate,

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court has given Congress the power to abrogate any Indian treaty whenever it is deemed detrimental to progress,

WHEREAS, this power tends to usurp the fundamental principle of the Constitution, which is 'consent of the governed,'

THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the right of Congress to abrogate Indian treaties be sustained; except where it can be clearly shown that a treaty was made under duress and that legislation be introduced to this effect without delay.

Almost immediately following, on May 5, 1956, [29] of the Club received in response to an inquiry to the Amerindian the mailing addresses of the Phoenix Indian Center, the Los Angeles Indian Center, the Gallup Indian Center, and the Indian Center in Chicago. With these the club communicated.

In 1957, after study on termination and perhaps communication with national Indian organizations, the Club took a stand against termination and for the American Indian Point IV Program. This was communicated to Richard Newberger of the Senate Subcommittee of Indian Affairs on May 9, 1957.

On June 9, 1957 the Association held a public meeting with two members of the Governor's Study Commission on Indian Affairs present: [30] and [31], who also was in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan. During this meeting, which was anti-termination, there is evidence that attitudes were turning toward anti-relocation, members feeling that via the relocation program and the Indian Claim Commission (1946) the federal government was attempting to wipe off claims and relinquish its duty of supporting the people on the reservations.

On March 6, 1966 at a business meeting of the Association, [32] spoke favoring the moving of the relocation office, B.I.A., from Cleveland to Detroit, providing

that the North American Indian Association could perform some major role in the activities. When we spoke to him saying, "I am surprised that you are for the relocation program," he responded that under certain conditions he was.

APPENDIX D-23

Discrimination in housing.

On March 7, 1954 the Club discussed the case of [37], an Indian and driver for the D.S.R. who was stoned while attempting to move into his new home in Dearborn. The AMVETS had taken up this matter also. The Club requested that any such similar incidents concerning Indian people be reported either to it or to the AMVETS, and it would try to prevent further occurrences of such discrimination in the future.

APPENDIX D-24

Mass media of communication and Pan-Indianism.

Mead (1932:67,68) noted long ago that mass media of communication continually impress Indians that they are without reference to tribe. Newcomb noted the same and said (1955:1044):

To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing on him the fact that he is an American Indian. No public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware. . . . Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

We cannot but agree that mass media contribute to Pan-Indianism. We believe it contributes to a sense of Pan-Indian identity and enables members of the Club to represent the cause of all Indians before non-Indians simply because they are usually seen as Indians. The club has always been very sensitive to publicity in that it takes great pride in and seeks to use favorable publicity to its own advantage. It is an indicator to

them of how the dominant society thinks to which it can respond. We have, for example, been present on numerous occasions when members have been discussing features of the pow wow which might possibly be improved, e.g., theatrical effects or length, and heard comments such as, "This is the way white man thinks. This is what appeals to them. If we can reach more of them by doing it this way then let's do it."

We also feel that the role of adverse publicity needs some consideration, not because it contributes to the Pan-Indian blending but rather because the response elicited may be indicative of certain revitalistic features, i.e., aspects of the current culture which are perceived as unsatisfactory to which deliberate, organized, conscious effort to effect change should be applied. We remind the reader that this very feature was incorporated in the preamble of their constitution in 1953: "To place before the Public reliable information leading to a fuller understanding of the North American Indian." (See also Appendix D-14.)

Adverse publicity has been a matter of discussion in recent years. We note that it was also in 1948, but especially in 1953.

APPENDIX D-25

On the few Indian dancers in the North American Indian Club prior to 1952.

Our data seem to indicate that some, but not many of the members, were able to do Indian dancing as of 1948, but that there had arisen an interest in group efforts in learning it by 1948. Quite early some of the children and young people had been taught certain solos to perform at special programs. Analysis of the programs at the Annual Banquets indicates that to the year of 1952 almost all Indian dancing was solo. In the following report by the professional worker of the Y.W.C.A. for that organization we find (By permission):

February 20, 1949. " . . . We have, in the North American Indian Club, a small group of people who are interested in putting on small programs of Indian ceremonial dances in costumes. (Our worker) has cultivated this group of five to six people and obtained engagements in schools with the object of obtaining clothes and money for Navajo relief. The price of admission being an article of clothing and ten cents."

APPENDIX D-26

Detroit's 250th Birthday Celebration Parade.

The stimulus of this event to adults to learn Indian dancing is quite evident in the report of the professional worker at the Y.W.C.A. (By permission):

September-December, 1951: " . . . As a result of the very beautiful float the North American Indian Club had in the 250th Birthday Parade, other organizations in the city have become aware of the Indians in Detroit. The Dearborn Historical Society sponsored an 'all Indian' program at the Fordson High School during December at which both the attendance and appreciation was good."

"Staff understands from [23] that the Detroit Historical Society is also interested in having the club put on a pageant in connection with their anniversary. The members of the club are diligently practicing the various dances and ceremonials. They are also making the headdresses and costumes necessary for these events."

APPENDIX D-27

Enthusiastic beginnings of Pan-Indian style group dancing.

The following are from the reports of the professional workers at the Y.W.C.A. to that organization (By permission):

January-June, 1952: "There is a marked increase both in interest and attendance at all meetings and events of the club. . . . "

"The particular group interested in preserving the ancient dances and ceremonials of the various Indian tribes are practicing most diligently at least one night a week."

"The Dearborn Historical Society is in communication with the Executive Committee of the club and is investigating the possibilities of the YWCA North American Indian Club being the focal point in a Dearborn Carnival to be held during the summer of 1953. The Curator of the Dearborn Museum, has been in contact with staff on this matter and staff thinks the

club should be encouraged as much as possible to undertake this event. Dearborn is thinking of some kind of simple Indian village to be set up in the Ford Field, and that the Indians will prepare at least three different types of program interpreting their ancient ceremonies. A legal contract is being drawn up and signed by the Dearborn Historical Society and the North American Indian Club. The Curator assured staff that the remuneration to the Indians will be adequate to, not only take care of those who must lay off from their work, but also add considerably to the Education Fund they are trying to build up. This Education Fund is to enable young Indians who show ability, to further their education." (See also Appendix D-24.)

July, 1952: "About twenty members of the group are continually rehearsing for various Indian dances and ceremonials, as there are quite often requests from various organizations in the community for all Indian programs. The proceeds from these entertainments is being placed in a fund which the club is trying to raise for the purpose of helping some of the young Indians to further their education."

APPENDIX D-28

Sarnia.

The Sarnia Reservation lies only a few miles to the north of Walpole. We cannot recount much of the beginnings of Pan-Indianism at Sarnia except to note that about in 1954 when [4] was visiting and instructing on Walpole, [4] was also doing much the same at Sarnia (Appendix D-2d).

Very recently the Sarnia group have developed their own pow wow, being derived from the one which began at Walpole in 1965 which in turn was ultimately derived from that in Detroit which is currently given by the Association. [4] may have been useful in starting the one at Sarnia although we think the data are better interpreted in the context of Indian dancing in lieu of the later emergence of the pow wow there.

Even though [4] did go, more likely [38] was the more actively involved, for whom we have direct information. On February 20, 1966 [38] invited us to go with him to Sarnia. He stated that he was going there to

organize a club, and that he would be going there quite regularly for a while. On discussion of the issue with others in the Association it became apparent that [38] also was thinking of a dance group. He was evidently going to drum for them and to offer aid in the dancing.

Considering this, it becomes somewhat apparent that when persons talk of organizing groups, they sometimes have different things in mind: Indian clubs, calls to return to and organize around the restoration and perpetuation of Indian culture, dancing and dance groups, the starting of pow wows, etc.

APPENDIX D-29

Toronto.

Indians here give [40] the credit for starting the Canadian Indian Center of Toronto. He is a distant cousin of [4]. We think it was in 1951, when [40] was brought by the club to Detroit to be given honorary membership, that the club rendered its greatest service in starting the Indian Club of Toronto. [40] was active in Indian affairs at the time and editor of the Native Voice, organ of the Eastern Association. The Toronto club is modeled after the one in Detroit and meets in the Y.M.C.A.

The Toronto group started its pow wows shortly after 1962. According to our data [4] worked with [26] on Mantoulin Island (cf. Appendices D-10, D-18, D-30) when they began their pow wows in 1962. [25] started the pow wow in Toronto. Interestingly, on February 20, 1966 [38] advised us that he had organized the groups on Mantoulin Island and in Toronto. When we discussed this with the others, it appears that [38] was talking about dance groups, that he had regularly gone there to drum and sing, and perhaps to instruct in the South-western Pan-Indian style of Indian dancing.

APPENDIX D-30

Mantoulin Island.

The pow wows at Mantoulin Island are of recent origin, beginning at about 1962. [26] (Appendix D-18) and [25] (Appendix D-29), children of [24] (Appendix D-10), have been the individuals most active in initiating the pow wow there. They have, however, sought assistance from [4].

APPENDIX D-31

American Indian Amvets Post 50.

The American Indian Amvets Post 50, located in Detroit Michigan, developed out of the North American Indian Association and today lacks the Pan-Indian features which characterize its mothering group.

- a. It began in the club bowling league which had been organized on November 3, 1946. Some of the men who had served in World War II returned with a desire to hold together as veterans and to emphasize recreational activities, which have since remained of major interest to its members. Perhaps the American Legion was also active in its origin. By the fall of 1949 it had become independent, being called by its present name, although its members continued to meet for some time with the Indian Club. The professional worker at the Y.W.C.A. at the time wrote (By permission):

For a while this fall it looked as though the American Legion was moving in on the Indians, but when some of the members thought the situation through it was decided to leave things as they are with the Y.W.C.A. as their meeting place and headquarters. The American Legion did succeed in setting up an all Indian post. Staff was quite frank in talking with two of the officials from the American Legion and expressed doubt as to the advisability of an all Indian post from the angle that the Indians have generally shown great reluctance in becoming part of the community and any movement which segregated them slowed the process of integration. Much time was given by staff, both in private conferences with the leaders of the group and in committee, over this Legion business but it seems to be quite settled.

- b. The separation of the group in the beginning caused considerable tension and loss of members to the Club. In the end it came to have membership requirements somewhat different from the Indian Club: (1) Its membership was exclusive and not for all Indians but only for those who had served in the U.S. Armed Services or persons in their nuclear family. (2) It came to admit non-Indians as well as Indians in membership. It also retained functions which are essentially recreational.

- c. Activities parallel with those of the club are seen in that Amvets elect a princess, have featured at times an Indian floor show, and have offered prizes for contests such as, "Why I am Proud to be an American Indian." It has also cooperated with the Indian club on issues such as discrimination and has requested help from the Club on a couple of occasions when parading. It is different in that it does not now put on shows, sponsor a pow wow, and its princess is entered in Miss Amvets, not in the Miss American Indian. When the Club began to take its active interest in altering things via political efforts in the late 1950's the Amvets separated themselves completely. It does not have the rounded program, interests, or activities that the club has, although it exists and continues to cooperate if some important local issue affecting all local Indians becomes crucial.

APPENDIX D-32

Indian organizations in association with the North American Indian Club, 1948-1958.

We do not claim to have a complete record of all those Indian organizations with which the North American Indian Club had relationships during this period but we do list those at hand.

- a. Those organizations which it had a hand in starting or assisting in one way or another.
- b. Organizations at the tribal level. Each of the members of course was a representative of his own tribe. Aside from these we find direct correspondence with, or personnel representing, the following:

Navaho Assistance, Inc.
 Minnesota Chippewa
 Northern Ottawa Association
 Oneida Reservation, Muncey, Ontario
 Oneida Reservation, Wisconsin
 Saginaw Valley Band of Chippewa
 Six Nations Reservation
 St. Regis Reservation

c. Urban organizations.

Chicago: American Indian Center--letters,
 speakers, groups
 Council Fires--letters, speaker
 Gallup Indian Center--letters
 Los Angeles Indian Center--letters
 Phoenix Indian Center--letters

d. Regional, national, and international organizations.

American Indian Council--communication and
 representative
 Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.--com-
 munication
 Indian Defense League--2 representatives
 League of Nations of North American Indians--com-
 munication, representative, appeal to join,
 application form for affiliation
 National Congress of American Indians--communica-
 tions, 2 representatives, appeals to affiliate,
 cooperative action (see Appendix D-33)
 North American Indian Brotherhood of Vancouver,
 Canada--communication, president brought as
 guest speaker
Native Voice, Eastern Association--communications,
 guest speaker. (We think this is the Eastern
 Association of the North American Indian
 Brotherhood of Vancouver, Canada since the
 national office of the Native Voice is also
 in Vancouver. We do not think this is the
 Federated Eastern Indian League.)
 United Indian Tribes of the Americas--communications

APPENDIX D-33

National Congress of American Indians.

Newcomb (1956:120) discounted the role of national Indian organizations, i.e., the National Congress of American Indians, for the Southern Plains in 1952 as a factor contributing to either the phenomenon of or the emergence of contemporary Pan-Indianism. We do not believe the same can be said for the North American Indian Association (cf. Appendix D-32). On the National Congress of American Indians we note:

- a. As early as January 6, 1949 the president of the Association addressed both its members and prospective members expressing his aspiration, probably also reflective of others in the group, saying that they would be especially glad to join hands with the National Congress of American Indians in all their aims and proposals.
- b. Almost immediately a questionnaire was sent to all Indians known to be living in Metropolitan Detroit containing as one of its items: "Do you think we ought to affiliate with the National Congress of American Indians if possible?"
- c. The Association has communicated on numerous occasions with this organization and has brought at least two of its officers to its Annual Banquets as the primary speaker of the occasion.
- d. After the passage of the House Concurrent Resolution No. 108 the Association took a strong stand on two other bills: Senate Concurrent Resolution 3, or the "American Indian Point IV Program," and Senate 809, sponsored by Senator Langer, which would have provided \$200,000,000 for its implementation. On these it stood with the National Congress of American Indians.
- e. There are references to intercommunication between 1959 and 1968 also, i.e., communications regarding the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1960.

APPENDIX D-34

Democratic Party.

Two representatives of the Democratic Party appeared at the meetings on termination, each taking a leading role. On April 26, 1957 [42] of the Clawson Democratic Club spoke on various ways of opposing the Bill and stressed that the break-up of reservations meant the loss of all rights as Indians. She was the primary speaker suggesting: (1) the duplication of literature on the Indian's plight and the circulation of the same among various charitable and civic groups in order to influence and inform the public, (2) that the club keep abreast of current events regarding Indians and (3) inform the various government representatives of its opinion, and (4) to enlist the support of large and powerful organizations which are organized nationally for lobbying purposes.

Also, on February 2, 1958, [43], a representative of the Young Democrats in Michigan, appeared. She had traveled considerably in the Southwest and informed the group of conditions on a number of reservations there. She had also interviewed several of the governors of the states and offered the club insights into their perspectives and also those of a number in Congress.

APPENDIX D-35

Y.W.C.A. interpretation of the meetings on termination.

We offer this because of the possible insights which it affords. From our reading of the written records we cannot concur that the stages mentioned really existed. Nonetheless, the report comes from a very capable person who relied not on a written record, now somewhat old, but on first hand experience as one who participated. Here we offer a portion of the letter addressed to [44] of California on December 17, 1958 by [45] of the Y.W.C.A. He was, or had recently completed, writing a book on social study and action groups and [45] had been providing data on the club (By permission):

Your story based on my information about our YWCA North American Indian Club is fine. There are just a few comments I might make.

1. To me it is significant that this group became interested in action on an issue which will in no way affect them personally. Persons reading the article might not understand that only federal assistance is limited to Indians living on reservations. Those living in cities ordinarily are no different from any other citizens in the eyes of the government. Moreover, since many club members are Canadian, even their relatives still on reservations would not benefit from a change in United States policies.
2. I am also interested in the development of their idea of effective social action. The facts are in the article, but the stages are not clearly defined. At first it was an emotional reaction to a general issue, colored by an historical distrust of the government. Their impulse was to try for formal action by what to them are "power groups"--veterans organizations, unions,

etc. The second stage, as I see it, was a willingness to get facts to share with "the other people" whom they now wanted to approach individually to sign petitions to Senators and Congressmen. The third stage was a desire to get facts for themselves, now particularly in terms of Michigan Indian communities (who would be little affected by the legislation, but whom they were in a better position to help) and a realization that individual letters were more effective than petitions and that their letters as citizens were as effective as any white citizens. The three open meetings generally reflected these three stages of development in planning and program. Naturally not all of the members were or are at the same level, but this was the trend of growth among the bulk of those interested.

APPENDIX D-36

Y.W.C.A. support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 3 and Senate 809.

The present national policy on Indian Americans as stated in House Concurrent Resolution 108 is termination of federal supervision of Indian lands and other Services to Indians as rapidly as possible. Although the Congress has not recently passed any termination bills for specific tribes because of strong opposition to them, this is the policy under which the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of Interior is now operating.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 3, introduced by Senator Murray (D.Mont.) in the 85th Congress, would replace this with a new policy, the "American Indian Point IV Program", now in hearings in the Senate Sub-committee on Indian affairs of which Senator Newberger (D.Ore.) is chairman. Senator Langer (N.Dak.) has introduced Senate 809, which would authorize \$200,000,000 to implement this program.

These two bills are strongly supported by the Association on Indian Affairs, the National Congress of American Indians and other Indian interest groups including the members of the YWCA North American Indian Club in Detroit.

On this question the proposed YWCA National Public Affairs Program to be voted on at the 1958 Convention reads: "Continue to support programs that will improve the economic, health, social and political status of Indian Americans; to assist in the economic development of depressed or underdeveloped Indian reservations; and to prepare Indians now living on reservations to achieve a normal family and community life when federal services to them are terminated by mutual agreement of tribal councils and the Government." (Mimeographed recommendation of the Central Branch Y.W.C.A. to its national organization, n.d. Since the issue was to come up for a hearing on May 13, 1957, we believe the above recommendation was made in 1956 or early in 1957 when the Indian club was considering these issues.)

APPENDIX D-37

Large organizations supporting the North American Indian Club on the termination issue.

The North American Indian Association contacted and attempted to enlist the support of many organizations in Senate Concurrent Resolution 3 and Senate 809. We have records of lawyers being contacted and diverse personnel. We know that non-Indian groups such as the Michigan Indian Foundation were also contacted as well as the tribes and reservations in Michigan. We do not know the position taken by any of these or by the Governor's Study Commission on which it had a representative.

We assume that the American Indian Center of Chicago took a stand similar to that of the North American Indian Club although we do not know if the effort was as great or if the stand was as determined. We say this because we do not know if a catalytic agent, such as the threatened termination of Michigan tribes, was present or not to those there. [4], however, did contact them and apparently they exhibited at least concern over the problem.

On the local level the Y.W.C.A. backed the club and alerted all branches across both the metropolis and the State of Michigan. It furthermore carried the cause to the national organization which in turn alerted branches across the nation, and, we think, carried the issue to, or at least were heard in, Washington.

(Letter from [45] to [44] on September 5, 1958. Cf. also Appendix D-36.):

The YWCA Public Affairs Committee in the meantime was interested in this activity of a membership group. The local committee studied the question, made a report at a state meeting, and circulated information to all YWCA's in the state.

The Democratic Party and certain national labor unions were involved. [42] sought the support of Local 771 and the U.A.W.-C.I.O. on a national level.

The veterans organizations were involved. At the national level letters were sent to representatives and senators in Congress. Letters were also sent from the national level to individual members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for support for the Point IV Program.

APPENDIX D-38

Development of the Indian Welfare Committee and Education Fund out of the meetings on termination.

(Letter from [45] of the Y.W.C.A. to [44], September 5, 1958. By permission.):

From a broad approach to the Indian problem, interest had become centered on Michigan Indian communities and a desire to help them. . . . Out of this legislative interest and action have grown other club projects. Clothing donated by interested groups in the community has been sent by the club to the northern part of the state for distribution to needy Indians. Since the need for education seemed to be at the core of the Indian problems they had studied, the club has set up a scholarship fund and is working hard to raise money for advanced education for Indian young people, concentrating for the present on those in the Detroit area. The interest of the North American Indian Club in this legislative project is significant for the fact that none of the members would benefit directly from the action they were urging on Congress.

(Narrative Report by [45] of the Y.W.C.A., January-June, 1958. By permission):

Following a final meeting on Indian legislation early in the New Year, club members felt they had done what



they could for the present in this area as a group, and turned their interest to a new and ambitious scholarship project. An Educational Fund has long been in the club By-Laws, but it was not activated until this spring.

APPENDIX D-39

Origins of the Detroit pow wow.

According to our data several possible persons in the club are good candidates for the honor of bringing the pow wow to the city. Regardless of the individual, however, the data point toward the Chicago area as the point of diffusion toward Detroit.

- a. During the presidency of [60], [60] visited the American Indian Center in Chicago and planned to have representatives from there come to the open meeting on termination which the Club was to hold on November 23, 1957. The Chicago group expressed a desire to bring dancers. Dance groups were traveling over great distances at this time, even prior to pow wows, and performing at affairs such as this. We cannot say for sure, however, if the group came or if the Indian Center in Chicago was actually holding pow wows at this time.
- b. [41] suggested that it was his idea. He had been in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where they held an outdoor pow wow and also had attended one in Chicago. He thinks he suggested the pow wow for Detroit first. The records do indicate his addressing the club in January of 1959 on the Educational Fund and the problem of financing it.
- c. [38] is a likely candidate. He is from the Southwest and lived in Chicago prior to coming to Detroit, and has known the Chicago drummers and dancers well for a long time. In May of 1959, during his presidency, he had [61], Winnebago from Chicago, as the honored guest at the Annual Banquet in May. During the summer which followed the leaders of the Detroit Club concurred (who was first to suggest it, we do not really know) on having a pow wow that fall. The first published information we have is in the form of a mimeographed notice mailed by [38] to the members in September:

. . . Several members have suggested the possibility of holding an Indian pow-wow in Detroit this fall to raise money for the club's scholarship fund. At this meeting (September 29) we will discuss this idea and try to work out details.

When the first pow wow was held (November 28 and 29), [61], drummer and singer, was present with his Chicago group. [38] also drummed and sang.

- d. One informant said that they got the idea from Chicago but they had been thinking about it before.
- e. We note that the first pow wow was attended by Indian dancers from Mt. Pleasant and Hopkins in Michigan as well as from the American Indian Center in Chicago. We do not know to what degree the southwestern Pan-Indian type of dancing characterized activities in these places. Kurath (1966) seems to indicate that in these out-state areas especially individuals tried to revive former tribal dances from Michigan. We suggest that the same is quite true for the Detroit Club; cf., the earliest dancers whom we have mentioned. We are, however, of the opinion that the great metropolis acted as a magnet to draw Indians from distant places and that quite likely Detroit was ahead of rural Michigan in Pan-Indian dancing. Both [20], Sioux, and [16], Cherokee, were quite active in Detroit in 1940. Furthermore, [38] and others from the Southwest were present in the early 1940's. For this reason we do not believe that rural Michigan should be considered as the point from which the Detroit pow wow was derived. Kurath (1966:68), in fact, implies the same:

In the 1950's the Algonquian powwow leaders included some third-hand versions of Oklahoma dances, via Wisconsin. At the same time the Detroit Indians were performing expert versions of dances and songs known to anthropologists as "Pan-Indian." Since about 1960 the Algonquians have also accepted full-fledged versions of these dances.

APPENDIX D-40

Reactions to the first pow wow of the North American Indian Association.

(Report of the professional worker at the Y.W.C.A. By permission.):

The major preoccupation of the North American Indian Club this fall was the "First All-Indian Pow wow", planned to raise money for their Indian Scholarship Fund, and also to gain recognition for their Indian dancers. There were problems in planning it because of the division between Western Indians to whom a Pow wow is an outdoor dance "Marathon" with thousands of participants, and the Eastern Indians who thought of a dance "program" on a smaller scale. As it finally worked out, they gave three performances in Central Branch Auditorium Thanksgiving Weekend--a very colorful professional show with over 50 dancers in costume of whom half were from out-of-town groups, and a total attendance of over 500. Some 300 went into the Scholarship Fund. Dancers were given no expense money but were allowed to sell Indian crafts at the Pow wow. They have gained satisfaction from this first big project, and hope to make this an annual event. They hope the next one can be outdoors, and planned far enough ahead so groups such as Scouts and Indian guides can arrange to come in by charter bus from suburban areas.

Announcement of the 1967 pow wow.



NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ASS'N.

**of DETROIT
Presents**

THE 9th ALL INDIAN

POW WOW



AT

FORD HIGH SCHOOL

20000 EVERGREEN – JUST SOUTH OF 8 MILE

PUBLIC INVITED

*Authentic Indian Dances and
Ceremonials, Performed by –*

REAL INDIANS
In Colorful, Authentic Costumes

Saturday, Oct. 21, at 2:00 and 8:00 PM

Sunday, Oct. 22, at 2:00 PM

**All proceeds for The North American Indian
Club Scholarship Fund.**

DONATION

Adults – \$1.50

Students – \$.75

**DISPLAY OF TRUE INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS –
ALSO SALES**

AMPLE OFF-THE-STREET PARKING

Notice the expressions "All Indian," "Authentic Indian,"
"Real Indians," "True Indians." 10,000 were printed.

APPENDIX D-42

Receipts.

We are unable to divulge, without breaking confidence with the Association, specific data on its receipts and expenditures. It is public knowledge, however, that it requires the members to pay dues of \$4.50 per year, of which \$4.00 goes to the Y.W.C.A. for services, the privileges of sponsorship, and a meeting place. With this, each member also obtains a Y.W.C.A. membership card. Aside from the above, there are considerable monies received via its diverse programs. Almost all of the profits are directed toward the manifest goal of education. While we indicated that the large fall pow wow might net as high as \$2,000 for the Education Fund, it should be borne in mind that the success of these varies from year to year.

APPENDIX D-43

Charismatic leadership. (See Appendix D-61.)

We have attempted to describe [46] with care in the text, as we see him. It is difficult to move beyond this without breaking professional ethics and/or the confidence of the individual concerned. Nonetheless, because of the importance of charismatic leaders in revitalization movements, we offer here a few additional insights, but only insofar as they neither injure him or bias our data.

To us [46] appears as "the man for the hour." In debate he appears as a champion of the Indian cause, freely offers data, legitimizes his claim to be heard, argues pointedly, and often resorts to knowledge of U.S. law and the social sciences. These, plus the charm of his personality, his attractive and compelling manner, his devotion to the Indian cause, and his genuine identification with his people, easily establish him as a leader of Indians in something of the sense of Steiner's "new Indian" (Steiner, 1968).

As we see him, [46] appears especially concerned with what anthropologists have called "the culture of poverty" among Indians, Indian treaties, and prejudice and discrimination against Indians. In the text we have indicated a few of his struggles on behalf of Indians against discrimination by Whites. He has recently set

himself to alter conditions for the better for those Indians living in the highly migrant slum areas of Detroit. His office, place of employment, is located in the center of Detroit in what he calls the "Red Ghetto." There he meets and knows Indians migrating into the metropolis, freely contributes to their needs, offers whatever advice he can. This enhances his grasp of data regarding Indians beyond that which he holds as the result of his background experiences.

Our interview schedule called for a response to the question, "Will you please tell me what in your mind is the very best thing that can happen to Indians" (Appendix B, Item 177). His attention turned toward the reservation, although he is not from one himself. This is presented as we took it because it is, according to his own words, a matter of public knowledge.

Rebuild the reservations and revamp their management so that with a new type of reservation these people can go anywhere they want to with pride. In 1962 the U.S. government gave out a statement of the balance paid to date, which is 20% of the Indian debt. Taken with interest it is much more. The total amount should be paid but it should be put into the hands of capable Indians so that they can start rebuilding. The total amount owed, with all interest, should be paid. They, Indians under Indian leadership, should then destroy the old type of reservations. They should come in with bulldozers and push all that old stuff into the ground and completely remake what is there. They should use the money to construct factories, new schools, churches, hospitals, construct whatever other technical facilities are needed. The balance should be held in trust to be used as needed for the benefit of Indians. Then they could stop living as they have been and the nation could stop living in public disgrace. Indians could be the proof--and the American government could say with pride, "This is the way that we treated our first citizens." I taped this on the radio. Twice it has been replayed. I've also said this before civic groups.

The foregoing comments do not, we are sure, comprise all the goals or the complete vision which he has for his people. Among others are, we think, a defense against Indians becoming amalgamated and/or assimilated into the dominant non-Indian society in a manner which leads to the loss of their identity and uniqueness as Indians. His perspective toward life within the larger U.S. society

today and in the future is the antithesis of regressive behavior. He feels that as individuals the best thing that Indians can do is to obtain higher education because this is the key to understanding and the means of eventually linking together the Indian people as a viable whole. If youth will obtain this, in preparation for greater things to come, when their opportunity for leadership eventually arrives, they will be able to lead the Indian people on to the heights of achievement which they deserve as the first and truest Americans and which will dignify them for all time. The means which he espouses are diverse, varying with the issues which are current and with differing types of persons. For those in the younger generations and the metropolis, education is primary; for those remaining on the reservation, diverse techniques (implicit in his statement) are useful but legislation is primary.

APPENDIX D-44

1966 pow wow of the North American Indian Association.

Below are two enclosures from the pow wow program on the contributions of American Indians to the larger American society.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

The North American Indian is the first inhabitant of this continent and gave of his substance to the first white settlers who came here, saving them from privation and death. The North American Indian has given to the immigrants to this country: food (corn, beans, pumpkin, tomatoes, potatoes, peanuts, maple sugar and syrup, turkey, moscovy duck, dehydrated meats and fruits, strawberries, alligator pears), herbs and drugs (cascara, hydrastis, oil of winter-green, sego), other things (animal husbandry, advanced theory of fertilization, dams and gullies for irrigation, tents, canoes, snow shoes, moccasins, snow goggles, rouge, perfume, cold cream) and games (lacrosse, kick ball, relay races, tug-of-war, a horse shoe game using mountain goat horns), the Indian trails and many picturesque names of our rivers, lakes, cities and towns.

The continental lands and their resources originally all belonged to the North American Indian, who has seldom been adequately reimbursed when they were

taken from him. The very basis of our democratic form of government today is the way of governing used by North American Indian tribal nations. During World Wars I and II and the Korean War, the North American Indian has served his country willingly on the home front as well as on the foreign battle fields, and the various languages of the North American Indian, which were originally unwritten and unknown to other races and nations were used in wartime communications at the front lines by our country.

THE THANKSGIVING TURKEY

Many people think that the descendants of the domesticated turkey - our Thanksgiving Bill of Fare, came from the wild turkeys of the United States, but such is not the case. They are the descendants of the turkey domesticated by the Aztecs. At the time Cortez conquered Mexico, the Aztecs had developed the white, gray, buff, and other breeds familiar to us today.

Just why the fowl was called "turkey" has never been definitively established. Perhaps the English erroneously called it turkey because the red wattles hanging over the face resembled the tasseled Turkish fez; but, according to early documents, the fowl was referred to as "turkers" probably from the "turk-turk" sound it makes when excited or disturbed.

Another error historians make is to credit the origin of Thanksgiving to the Pilgrims when it was truly originated by the American Indian, who feasted and danced every fall after the crops were gathered in. In this way they gave thanks to the "Great Spirit for bestowing such abundant goodness upon them."

APPENDIX D-45

Flood Myth.

This grew out of our discussion on Hitler's use of the swastika with one of the members who said he had reversed it and it was an old Indian symbol anyway.

The swastika is the sacred symbol of unity. There is a legend with it. The legend goes something like this.

Long, long ago the Great Spirit looked down upon the people and He decided that they were getting very wicked. So He came down and spoke to a great chief and his family and said, "Now you people are very wicked and I am going to destroy this land that I have given you, but you must first build a big boat and you must build it according to my directions, and you must put it upon a mountain." So He gave this chief the directions on how to build this boat. This boat was to have four arms, four juttings-out, and at the end of each jutting-out was to be an extra jutting-out. The boat was to point in four directions, to the four winds. At the end, all were to point in one direction, to the left, and each would point that way as you face the wind.

This old chief was told to do this and he thought, "This is kind of funny," but he listened to the Great Spirit and he built the boat accordingly. Then the Indians got on this boat and they took all their friends, the animals, and all of their plants. They took their seeds and they got on the boat. Then the Great Spirit made it rain, and it rained and rained until the waters rose up to the top of this mountain, until the mountain was no longer seen--and it floated. But do you know--this boat, it didn't go south, it didn't go north, it didn't go east or west. It stayed in the same place because of these juttings-out on the ends of the arms. It swirled in the waters and it remained in the same place, and when the waters receded this boat went down in the same place. So the Great Spirit gave this same land back to the Indians.

This is rather odd, considering these legends existed and had their variations among the different tribes. These legends existed before the Bible was ever introduced.

APPENDIX D-46

Legend of the Serpents.

The following myth relates especially to the feelings of many in the Association towards racial tensions in the United States. The myth is evidently quite well known by members of the Association and has meaning to them. We included an item on it in our interview schedule but withdrew it after the first dozen or so interviews since only a few seemed to know it. Toward the end of our interviewing we talked with [58] who said, "They all knew it but they would not let you know they knew it."

THE LEGEND OF THE SERPENTS

When this country was occupied by nothing but Indians there appeared in nature something that was completely new, something that the Indians had not seen before. This was a little white serpent. The prophet spoke, saying, "Brothers, take note of this serpent. He is small now but he will grow. He is growing, growing even now. Someday he will get large, larger than any of the other serpents in the land." And, of course, as the legend unfolded, the serpent grew and became large and dominated the land. It seemed as though the Indians were pushed to one side in the domination process. The white serpent controlled everything. "But," said the prophet, "there was one thing that the white serpent had not taken note of. That was the little black serpent in the southland." When the black serpent was little, the white serpent pushed it around, taking advantage of it. But the black serpent continued to grow. It began to challenge the power of the white serpent. After a while they were engaged in a bitter fight. It seems as though they bit each other and fought and fought. However, one of the things that neither the white nor the black serpent had paid any attention to was the fact that out in the Pacific, far across the ocean from them, there was also growing a red serpent.

The red serpent watched while the black and white serpents fought each other. After a while the black serpent and the white serpent, both being wounded by each other, fell down in weakness unable to fight any longer. It was at this time that the red serpent said to himself, "Now is the time to attack. Now I shall kill them both." But the red

serpent had forgotten that in their fighting with each other they had demonstrated to each other that neither was superior. Now, with the appearance of the red serpent, the black serpent and the white serpent had a common enemy. So, when the red serpent attacked, the black serpent and the white serpent joined forces and killed the red serpent. After killing the red serpent, all the strength of the black and white serpents being taken, they both fell down and died.

"Now," said the prophet, "remember this, my brothers. Through all this struggle do not participate. This is not your fight. This is not your problem, my brother. Do not become involved. Wait your time. When the black serpent and the white serpent have killed the red serpent, and when the black serpent and the white serpent have themselves become so weak so that they can fight no longer or so they die, then is your time. Then is the time that you shall come back--back out of the wooded areas, back out of the remote areas where the white serpent has driven you. Then is the time and you shall come back into your own."

[51]

This is one of the reasons, perhaps this is the main reason, that I believe that the American Indian shall never be completely integrated. That is why he will never become completely assimilated. You know, there are a lot of Indians back on the reservations, back in the mountains, back in the rural areas. When these Indians come out and begin to multiply, truly they could take over the land.

[51]

APPENDIX D-47

White people parading in public as Indians. (See Appendix D-49.)

The Detroit-Windsor Freedom Festival is a three-day affair ending on July 4 with fireworks. On the last day at the big parade in the Springwells area the members of the North American Indian Association parade in costume representing the first Americans. They feel that as such they should always be first in every parade, but seldom

are they. In 1967 there appeared in the parade a group of white people dressed as Indians and in war paint riding bareback in a group of about 20 some distance ahead of the Indians. The Association nearly refused to parade. Later, in the following business meeting, there was a heated one-way discussion on the issue. The Association nearly withdrew from all future parades there. It did address a letter of protest to the committee in charge of the Festival.

APPENDIX D-48

Indian dancing, drumming, and singing.

Of the 35 in the Membership Group whom we interviewed only 19 did Indian dancing. This was because of our requirement of 10 per cent or more attendance at the regularly scheduled monthly meetings. Other Indians in the metropolis also participate at the pow wows, all of whom, to our knowledge, have been at one time members of the Association, or now are in name only. Furthermore, the Indians from Walpole intermingle so freely that they almost seem a part of the Detroit group at the pow wows--probably because of close association with the Detroit group, but also because of close kinship connections. We think that we have in the Association a nucleus of more or less leaders with considerable numbers of others to whom the group appeals for activities which are more or less recreational to them: the pow wows, the Princess Dance, Annual Banquet, Labor Day Picnic at which the Detroit group always plays the Walpole softball team, the Thanksgiving Dinner, and the New Year's Dance. Some of the dancers of the Association were below the age level we set.

We interviewed six who knew how to do Indian drumming. Singing goes with drumming so the data remains the same on that. We know of two or three others whom we missed because they never attend the Association meetings, although they would the above mentioned recreational activities. Incidentally there is one female drummer in the Non-Membership Group and one in the Membership Group.

Of our 19 dancers seven learned in childhood on the reservation and of the drummers in the Membership Group two did the same. All of the rest in the Membership Group, drummers and dancers, have learned since 1951 save our informant, who learned a few years earlier. The

female drummer was taught it only a few years ago to meet a need in Petoskey. Our informant is the female drummer in the Membership Group, doing it only occasionally should she be requested to after she speaks. She never does it at an Indian dance or a pow wow presented by the Association.

The effort to restore and perpetuate is illustrated in the recency in which many are learning to dance or to drum. Michigan and environs is especially interesting in this context since here so much cultural forgetting had occurred. These efforts are associated with the rise of Pan-Indianism in this area.

APPENDIX D-49

Indian costumes and persons who wear them.

We have suggested that these people feel that Indian culture is theirs by right of inheritance. Their Indian costumes are, of course, part of their culture. The wearing of these seems to be related to their identity as Indians and the message(s) which they wish to convey, and they resent non-Indians wearing these, especially in public. We do not propose to analyze this but we offer some data.

- a. Two of our informants offered especially interesting comments which seem to us to relate the wearing of Indian costumes to their identity as Indians. The first, not our paid informant, had been talking about some of the public speaking she has done about Indians on television, but mostly in the elementary schools, saying:

I prefer to talk to children and correct the image that so many people have about Indians which is wrong. If you change the image of Indians in children, you change it for all of their lives.

At this point we asked if she usually went in costume and she said, "Yes." We then followed this by saying, "Does wearing an Indian costume make you feel any different?" She responded:

I can put on my costume. As soon as you do it changes you. Everything changes. You change. The way people think of you changes. They see

you then as an Indian. You become more of an Indian. Then I can show them what Indians are like and change some of these wrong images about Indians.

Another member surprised us during the interview when, for no apparent reason, she began talking about her costume. She said, "Costumes make me feel like an Indian." She impresses us as being more unstable emotionally than others. She went on to relate how, on occasion and simply because she thought about Indians and her being one that sometimes she would put on her costume and then take a bus across town. She said that she wanted people to know that Indians are still here and that she is one. Later during the interview we thought to ask her where she wanted to be buried and she responded, being a Michigan Chippewa:

Up north where my people lived, where I was raised. Up north in Indian country. You should have asked me instead, "How I want to be buried." That is more important to me.

She waited for us to ask--and we did:

I want to be buried in my Indian costume. I have two, but I want to be buried in my simple white woman's costume up north. I don't want to be buried in my better costume or with my Indian jewelry. These things should be given to living Indians who can use them to carry on the Indian tradition.

Our clearest comments on the wearing of Indian costumes came out when we asked our item on the meaning of Indians parading in costume in the Detroit events (Item 26, Appendix B). We quote from our respondents.

- b. The wearing of Indian costumes immediately identifies these people before both Indians and non-Indians as Indians and sometimes with it ridicule and mistreatment.

Respondent #1 (Non-Member): "I feel it is degrading. An old man was speaking for himself outside City Hall only last week. The others there ridiculed him. He lacked eloquence. These things, including parading, only degrade us. They embarrass and humiliate me."

Respondent #2 (Non-Member): "I do not think they ought to wear such costumes or whoop it up as Indians or dress so badly."

Respondent #3 (Member who parades): "It is a form of bravery. It takes courage to parade."

Respondent #4 (Member who parades): "I parade always if possible but I do not go for it because you run into too many ignorant people with their asinine questions."

Respondent #5 (Member who parades): "I don't like to parade because sometimes I think people all think we are queer when we parade. I do not like the shuffling around. Some have spit on my costume."

- c. Most feel that Indians are the true Americans, that they have something to say to non-Indians when they parade in costume (Table 2.16), and that they should be at the head of all parades.

Respondent #6 (Member who parades): "If they parade in their own regalia and display it and represent themselves as Indians in a group it adds to their future as Indians."

Respondent #7 (Member who parades): "When Indians parade in costume it brings the true true American to a lot of people, which is us. It makes the white people ashamed." (NOTE: She used the word "true" twice, exactly as we indicated.)

Respondent #8 (Non-Member): "It is something to see them all dressed up in their costumes during parades--or whatever as a group."

Respondent #9 (Non-Member): "I paraded at the Mt. Pleasant Indian school. If others can, so can Indians. It is our land. We were here first. We were first here and are last served. We should all be there, the first Americans, and in our costumes, and we should lead the parade. We should be first."

Respondent #10 (Member): "Indians in costume let people know Indians are still here. Indians should be at the head of the parades."

- d. They resent highly non-Indians who don Indian costumes and parade publicly as Indians (cf. Appendix D-47), and they think that only Indians should be used to represent Indians:

Respondent #11 (Member who does not parade): "I do not like to see others trying to be Indian."

Respondent #12 (Member who parades): "You are an Indian showing Indian identity with your costumes. I dislike false Indians. They should have dressed like cowboys." (Refers to the case mentioned in Appendix D-47.)

Respondent #13 (Member who parades): "This is tops. It is quite an honor. It is best of all. Generally it says, 'If you are an American, think like one.' We are the true Indians. Here is where I can really be seen as an Indian."

Respondent #14 (Non-Member): "I think it is a good thing especially when it is in costume--to see real Indians in costume rather than boy scouts, etc."

Respondent #15 (Member who does not parade): "It is great to let them (Whites) know there are Indians around. You'd be surprised how many do not know Indians are around. Sometimes they dress up Colored people as Indians and show them off as Indians. This gets me down."

Self: They do? Tell me about it.

Respondent: Well, at the fair here in Detroit, for example, they will put feathers and Indian costumes on them and show them off in public as Indians.

Self: Who does this? Do Whites do this?

Respondent: Yes. Then too, Negroes try to pass off as Indians. My kids are caught in this kind of situation all of the time. In school when the teachers ask about their nationality and that sort of thing, Negro kids say they are Indians--and then the teachers associate our kids with Negroes.

Self: A lot of the Negro people are lighter than some of the darker Indians. Is this part of the problem?

Respondent: Yes, very much so. Here is something else. I have never talked to a Negro who did not say he is part Cherokee. Oh yes I did, once one said he was part Delaware. Now, I'm inclined to believe this person because he also said he was from Canada. He seemed to know something about Indians. Why in the world do they always want to be part Cherokee? I guess a lot did inbreed with the Cherokees, but why do they all always want to be part Cherokee? This burns me up.

Respondent #16 (Non-Member): "It gives people food for thought when they see Indians parading in costume. With any conscience at all people should think when they see Indians parading."

"I was at Mackinaw City last week at the parade and the commemoration of the massacre at Fort Michmac. They did not use Indians, at least that is what the Indians there told me. It is wrong. They should have used Indians. If they would use Indians it would help Indians to be proud of their past."

- e. Even Indians without costumes feel that the line is so clearly drawn that they are not welcome to appear in parades with/as Indians.

Respondent #17 (Member): "To give a good impression we must be dressed in costumes. Why I do not parade with them is that it might not give a good impression. I do not have a costume."

Respondent #18 (Non-Member): "I like to watch them. It makes me feel proud to see them. I would like to but I do not have a costume. My kids would like it."

APPENDIX D-50

London Optimist Indian Club.

[59], a cousin of [4], came to the Association for help in organizing an Indian group in London similar to the one in Detroit. [59] was accorded this via advice and a constitution. He became president of the group in London, although he does not live there now.

APPENDIX D-51

Durrant Roll.

Often we hear the expressions "Michigan Indians" and "Indians of Michigan." When these are used in opposition to each other the former refers to Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomis, descendants of those tribes indigenous to the State and still living here. The latter expression in this context refers to all Indians, regardless of tribe and point of origin, living in the State. Often persons assert that there are around 7,000 or perhaps a few more Indians in Michigan. Statements such as this relate to those currently enrolled and to the Durrant Roll. Many are not enrolled, and the Durrant Roll is out of date. The Durrant Roll is the official registry, however. We received the following information on this from [35], Associate Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in a letter dated December 15, 1966. Our research design did not require us to pursue this further but we report the information for the benefit of our readers:

The original Durrant census rolls of Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan, 1908 and 1909, are on file in the National Archives. Inquiry about the rolls should be directed to the General Reference Section, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 2048. The census roll of all persons and their descendants who were on the roll of the Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan in 1870, and living on March 4, 1907, contains 7,396 names. The supplemental roll of children born since March 4, 1907, and prior to August 1, 1908, to members, contains 236 names. Correspondence relating to enrollment is in several parts of file No. 45533-1908-054-Special Agent H. B. Durrant, on file in the National Archives.

APPENDIX D-52

Beginnings of the Northern Ottawa Association, Chapter 10.

The local Chapter became #10 although it appeared for a while that it might be #9. In support of our statement that it began under the sponsorship of the Association we offer two pieces of data: (a) the statement of [45] of the Y.W.C.A. to the national organization in December of 1959 (By permission) and (b) a portion of its records for October 18, 1959. The latter is included in some detail because it conveys relevant information about the era and the tribes of Michigan.

- a. A new development this fall was the formal organization of a local chapter of the Northern Ottawa Association under the aegis of the Indian Club. This group, organized to help eligible Michigan Indians process applications for a claim recently approved in the courts, has been meeting monthly at the same time as the Club. The leaders of the group have become YWCA members, and all of them will if they decide to continue meeting here.
- b. The Club was host to a group of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians called together for the purpose of establishing an Information Center for the Ottawa-Chippewa Claims. The vice-president of the Michigan Ottawa Indian Association of Lansing introduced the following facts.

The Indian Claims Act was passed in 1946.

The Federal Government has acknowledged the fact that the Chippewa Indians in the eastern portion of the Upper Peninsula and the Ottawas in the northwestern portion of the Lower Peninsula have a claim to twelve and one-half million acres of land. The evaluation of this land is now in process. This was to be estimated by the value of the land in the first ten years existence of each county. The last payment on the Treaty of 1855 was in 1910, to 5,054 Indians on the Enrollment which was made in 1908.

The descendants of these Indians, full bloods down to 1/4 Indian blood, were eligible to the claims. Orphans and wards of courts will have their share kept in trust for them until they reach the age of 21 years. The Chippewas of the Saginaw Valley have a separate claim as they were adopted here and were originally of the Sac and Fox tribe. The Ottawas of the Potawatomi south of the Grand River into Indiana also have a separate claim. An Indian cannot be a claimant on more than one claim. Registration on the Enrollment for the claims was still open.

[62] stressed the need of the organization of a unit to act as an Information Center or "Listening Post" as often wrong information is circulated as to the progress of the Claims Commission. There were already 8 units organized in the State. If one was to be organized here in Detroit it would be Unit 9. The By-laws governing the operation of a Unit were read and explained, the officers

consisting of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Counsellor. There is an annual convention in Petoskey the third Sunday in June, where all units meet, and there is also a Newsletter circulated from the Central Unit in Petoskey, where each Unit may send news of interest to the Indians.

[63] then took over, and of 22 Chippewas and Ottawas present, there was unanimous decision to form a Unit. . . .

[62] and [63] answered questions. Then [63] called his newly elected officers together to make arrangements to have another meeting. Since the Indian Club invited the Unit to feel free to meet in our club rooms when we had meetings, the newly formed Unit is to have their next meeting on the third Sunday in November, i.e., on November 15, 1959.

APPENDIX D-53

Change of emphasis in 1959.

We began the contemporary era of Pan-Indianism in Detroit with the year 1959 primarily because this is the year of the first pow wow. We observe also that during this period there is direct involvement by the Association in issues affecting Indians close at home, the Association becoming visible in such contention in the news media and using or threatening the use of legal and/or political means. Interestingly, there is a suggestion, that this may be a deliberate shift in emphasis, in our data. On March 1, 1959, a motion was passed that the Club sponsor a movement dealing with current Indian affairs in Michigan similar to that in New York and New Mexico.

APPENDIX D-54

Statement of White Chapel Memorial Association (Mimeographed):

. . . .

1. The present management had nothing to do with adoption of the Caucasian restriction. It was adopted thirty-five years ago and has been in over 35,000 cemetery

deeds including Mr. Nash's. There is a proper field for regulation against discrimination in employment, exercise of political rights, and use of public facilities, but this management must respect these long standing agreements.

2. Restrictions because of creed and race are universal outside of municipal cemeteries. Application of the so-called "fair practices" principle to cemeteries would require: Catholic, Lutheran and other religious sects to bury the most blatant atheist in "consecrated" ground; Jewish cemeteries to bury non-Jews; Chinese cemeteries to bury other races. Even some American Indian tribal cemeteries might be affected.
3. The right of burial is essentially personal and individual. The individual's choice should be controlled only where necessary for public health and safety. Choice of those among whom one is buried is as personal as choice of spouse, friends, guests in a home, or membership in groups or clubs. Interference with this free choice will open a Pandora's box of religious and racial prejudice.
4. The courts have sustained cemetery restrictions to the Caucasian race. *Rice V. Sioux City Memorial Cem.*, 245 Ia. 147 (1953). There the court said as to an almost identical regulation:

It is fundamental in our law that a private individual may, unless expressly forbidden by police power enactments, deal freely with whom he pleases, and his reasons or policy are not the concern of the state.

The U.S. Supreme Court, after full argument, refused to reverse this decision. See same title, 349 U.S. 70 (1955). . . .

APPENDIX D-55

Beginnings of the Coordinating Council of Indian Affairs.

This is today a committee whose function it is to coordinate the activities of Indians in Metropolitan Detroit, although it meets only sporadically. It is currently composed of representatives from the North American Indian Association, the Northern Ottawa Association Chapter 10, the North American Indian Amvets Post #50,

and the Potawatomis of Michigan and Indiana Incorporated. It is advisory and has as its chairman, since the beginning, [46]. This was started, according to our informants, out of the Nash burial incident and under the leadership of the Association, which had called Indians from across the State to participate. Although local, we feel that, should the need arise, it could be rapidly expanded again to include representatives from all Indian groups in the State. It currently serves southeastern Michigan. The records of the Association speak of the "Resolutions Committee," evidently part of the Coordinating Council. The only statement on the Coordinating Council per se comes from the Narrative Report of the professional worker at the Y.W.C.A. to her national board, dated December 1960. This reporter, participant at the time, establishes the Association as parent (By permission):

During the summer members of the group (North American Indian Club) became excited when burial was denied an Indian in a local cemetery. They took the initiative in calling a mass meeting at the YWCA of all Indian organizations in the state. A coordinating committee with a neutral chairman ([58] who was new in the metropolis at the time) has worked out a resolution and a petition which is being widely circulated. They have had talks with the Attorney General and other state officials about drafting a bill to go before the Legislature in the spring.

The Detroit Free Press in an article, "Indians becoming 'Organization People,'" May 19, 1964, reports:

Sometimes, their work gets public attention, as when a suburban cemetery refused to bury a "non-white" Indian. At that time the Co-ordinating Council of Indian Affairs was formed. The council is still in existence, but only functions in crisis.

APPENDIX D-56

Hot lunches at Bay Mills.

For several consecutive years, e.g., 1956, 1966, the local school system at Brimley, Michigan had been transporting by bus children to school and offering hot lunches--to all except Indians. The Association expressed lively concern but left the problem to the Governor's Indian Commission, really working through it since it

depended on its member representative to act and to report back. This has been a difficult problem since, according to our information, the State does not put money into the program and the white school board took the position that since the Indians were not contributing, being on tax-free land, that neither should their children receive the benefits. The Commission and the State was in the awkward position that--not paying, it had very little to say. This denial to Indian children was going on long after issues of equality in the civil rights movement were receiving considerable attention elsewhere. We do not know yet what the results have been at Bay Mills.

APPENDIX D-57

Professional bead artist.

[47] was referred to in the text as a "professional" Indian bead worker. We have done this because: (1) this is the means by which she earns her living, (2) she views herself as a professional and travels widely advertizing herself as such, and (3) she has created The Last Supper in Beads, exhibiting her ability. She lived in Detroit from 1948-1968, and, following the riots of 1967, returned to Petoskey in the spring of 1968. While in Detroit she sometimes taught Indian beadwork at the North American Indian Association to some, was usually the person representing it in craft sales--and still often is. She was awarded life membership and her husband honorary membership in 1968.

When we interviewed her, we found she had several cabinets, constructed with small drawers, filled with beads. We have no idea how many hundreds of thousands or varying colors there were. She flies regularly to New York City to select and order special colors and sizes from Europe. She advertizes her Last Supper as containing 10-1/2 miles of nylon thread, 121 different shades of seed beads which total to 1,788,761. It is 11 feet, 6-1/2 inches long, 5-1/2 feet high, and weighs 43 pounds, 5 ounces. She did it between November 1966 and March 1968 in Detroit. She planned to take it to the Canadian Expo but the cost of transporting it across the Canadian border made it prohibitive. Prior to returning to Petoskey she told us that she plans to use it for display, to charge admission to see it, and to sell her other beadwork at the same time. We have since found her doing exactly this. For the price of \$1.25 per adult and \$.50 per child,

perhaps more now, a person is admitted to a room--no photos allowed--to view the work. There he is shown 8mm. motion pictures of the work in the process of construction. One of her family sits outside to sell tickets and beadwork, on which she also takes special orders. When last we saw her she said, "I am traveling all over with this." We received a half page color newspaper article on her appearance in Florida. We have no idea how far she has traveled to date, but she is doing this most of the time now.

APPENDIX D-58

Business meeting of April 5, 1970.

We attended this session and offer a breakdown of some of the items under discussion. These are presented in an effort to indicate something of the breadth of interest and concern in a typical meeting.

- a. There was a discussion on the Indian Red Ghetto in Detroit. It stemmed from an account that some in the Association had given to the Detroit News which had appeared on March 3, 1970 under the caption, "The Abandonment of the Indian in Detroit's Red Ghetto." There had been some unfavorable reaction and [46] had commented, "I will go down fighting bloody in defense of this." He called on the Association to rally itself to the help of these Indians and to remove conditions such as this.
- b. The wife (White) of a local Cherokee Indian (non-member) appeared speaking on opportunities in the plumbing trade for men and saying that as yet no Indians have applied. She reported that, on visiting the organization in question, she was told, "I am Negro. My first, second, and last concern is with the Negro." The group offered to circulate the information and, if there is response, to see what can be done.
- c. One of the persons on scholarship needed quickly \$176 for expenses. The vote was taken and the money granted.
- d. [46] held in his hand the personal card of a professor at Michigan State University. This individual offers a scholarship in engineering at that institution which pays 90 per cent of all expenses, including board, room, etc. and the B.I.A. will pick up the other

10 per cent. The opportunity pays for the complete education of an Indian for all four years. The Association will circulate this information.

- e. [47] was voted \$150 for use in establishing a booth for craft sales. She represents the Association.
- f. A chief at the Tonawanda Reservation had loaned an authentic and genuine old wampum belt to the museum (in Rochester, New York, we think). The curator now refuses to return it and the Indians use it in their ceremonials. The club is going to take this to the Detroit News for publicity.
- g. [4], having recently returned from Alcatraz Island, reported on events there and the "Indians of All Tribes."
- h. There was a discussion about the failure of the Indians in New York City to take Ellis Island as those in California had done.
- i. A discussion followed about lands in the Detroit area which the Association might procure, albeit not by seizure, for a place where it could construct its own building as a center for Indians. Some discussion took place regarding the most advantageous type of and location of site and how monies might be raised.
- j. Indians are to demonstrate (we could not catch the issue) in Lansing, Monday, the next day. Some will be going to participate.
- k. A representative was selected for Indians at the International Market to be held soon. The person will take crafts for sale for the Educational Fund.
- l. Plans were discussed for classes for Indians in bead work.
- m. An organization desires two Indians for a show. The Association appointed a drummer and said, "Let's send our medicine man, [48]."
- n. The Association is cooperating with a number of non-Indian groups in a drive for clothing to needy Indians in the Upper Peninsula. It is at the heart of the effort. Appeals were made for (1) more good clothing and (2) help to sort out only that which is relatively new and useful which will then be sent.
- o. The meeting closed on a note of optimism about the possibility of securing a building of their own and with requests for suggestions on how to enlarge and improve its services for Indians.

APPENDIX D-59

Pow wow and the war dance.

Interestingly, Slotkin (1957:16,17) traces the Powwow Religion, which he sees based on the Plains grass dance, to an era prior to the 1890 Ghost Dance. He suggests that the Omaha hethuska was adopted by Teton about 1860 who changed it into the Grass Dance. In 1878 it was brought into Wisconsin where some of the Chippewa received it, and the Menominee in 1879. Apparently, it was introduced into Oklahoma by about 1880 and was since described among the Fox, Kickapoo, Sauk, Winnebago, and Pararie Potawatomi. The grass dance, the basis of the Powwow Religion among at least the Menominee, is interesting since it may be related in certain ways to the Pan-Indian pow wow.

Howard (1955:216,217) notes that the Dakota grass dance was altered in Oklahoma to the war dance. Among the Pawnee it was associated with a men's war society, with religious overtones, and centered around a large drum as it did among the Menominee. Incidentally, in appeared there during the Indian disturbances known as the Wisconsin Scare. Its function among the Dakota was to serve as a rallying point for the conservative members. At any rate, it became secularized and was altered, becoming counterclockwise rather than the former clockwise.

It is interesting to us that the contemporary pow wow should seize upon this and the old scalp dance, now the round dance, as of major importance, although we doubt that most dancers are even aware of the significance.

APPENDIX D-60

Wissler on the powwow.

We have indicated that the setting has changed, the conditions and personnel have changed, but that the pow wow seems somehow fitting and appropriate in Pan-Indianism today. We offer here the comments by Clark Wissler (1940:62,63) on the powwow for their suggestiveness:

Whenever a community of Indians in New England was confronted by a problem, they gathered around a large fire, prepared some food and deliberated. Yet they went somewhat further than a white community

would, since they called upon the medicine men and women to do what they could to solve their difficulties. Somewhat after the fashion of a religious community of whites, prayers might be offered and certain sacred songs might be sung, accompanied by drumming and the shaking of rattles. Every now and then a pipe would be filled, lighted and smoked, with the idea that it was offered to the unseen powers who were thus invited to smoke with the older Indians who were the leaders of their people. Some of the Indians in New England called such a gathering a powwow. The word soon found a place in the English language, not only as a noun but as a verb: to powwow meant to participate in such a gathering. Such gatherings were common to Indians generally, and since songs were the important part of their rituals, some tribes called them "sings," others named them dances, and so on. But in colonial times powwow was used as synonymous with "making medicine," or the practice of magic.

A powwow, then, refers to an Indian community in action, trying to solve its current problems. During the periods of friction with the whites, the sound of drumming and singing in an Indian camp aroused fear lest the Indians were discussing war. Whenever a peace proposal was made to a village, a powwow was called. There would be speaking and discussion interspersed with praying, dancing and singing. These might be continued for days before a decision was reached.

A food shortage was a serious matter and would lead to a powwow. The details of the situation would be scrutinized and cold logic applied to them, but if that failed, the medicine men would be called upon, prayers offered to the gods, and so on. In the end, however, some course of action would be decided upon. If an epidemic broke out, there would be such a conference. Any crisis or any major difficulty would be met in the same way. Sometimes this procedure was called a council, but whatever its name, it was always basic in Indian government.

APPENDIX D-61

Homily-like exhortations. (See Appendix D-43.)

One of the phenomena associated with the charismatic leaders of revitalization movements is that they address themselves to their adherents sometimes in a homily-like manner. In the text we have indicated that this is true of [46] sometimes when addressing his fellow Indians, when he is attempting to build into them certain behavioral patterns, when attempting to instill certain values, and when attempting to lead them on to greater heights of achievement. While other virtues are extolled, the primary ones as we see them are truth, honesty, integrity, honor, the proper rearing of one's children, pride in being Indian, Indian symbolism, etc. All are set in the context of the former, and still viable, "true" or correct Indian way. To validate our suggestion that [46] can be validly described as rightfully occupying a status and role which will admit him as a proper leader of a revitalistic movement wherein he leads his people through a deliberate, conscious, organized effort to achieve a more satisfying way of life, we offer a few illustrations. While we might offer more, most such appeals are set in contexts and/or contain data specific enough to make for a breach of professional ethics or the betrayal of confidence. Those which are given below are abstract enough, while at the same time conveying the concepts desired, to be above such a breach.

- a. Missionizing, evangelistic spirit, Pan-Indianness.
"Many Indians do not know that the club is and what it is for. We are an 'Indian' club. We have four planks in our platform. We are civic, political, for fellowship, and for education. The white man does not know nor care who is Chippewa, Ottawa, or whatever tribe. They see us as Indians. We have to act for them as Indians, not as one tribe or another. Here in the city there are Indians wanting fellowship. They have no group. We can offer to them membership in a bonafide 'Indian' group. For every one Indian that leaves the city five new ones move in. Each of us should be a missionary. We should, each one, be committees of one to recruit new members. A lot of Indians say they can dance with the group whenever they want, therefore, 'Why bother to join?' They do not realize what the planks in our platform are."

- b. Indian integrity. "We Indians do not need to hold our heads down in shame. Too many Indians in the presence of white man try to hide it. They get ashamed because they think that they are with people better than themselves. This is not so. We can, through this club, offer these Indians a group to identify with so that they will not need to hang their heads and be ashamed. Indians can have integrity. Indians should take their stand and look in the face of the white man and say, 'I am your equal.'"
- c. Truth, honor, "Indian time." "It is not the way of the Indian to lie. Years ago, prior to the coming of white man, Indians did not lie. Their word was their bond! If an Indian promised something, he would do it or die in the attempt! We have got to create an atmosphere where the integrity of the Indian can be restored, where he can hold his head up, so he can feel he is equal. Then, we can again be a people whose word is their bond."
- d. Truth, "Indian time," integrity. "The American Indian is getting to be apathetic. Even American Indians are beginning to make jokes about themselves. We are joking about our own integrity. We talk about this so-called phenomenon of 'Indian time.' There is no such thing as 'Indian time!' It used to be that an Indian had honor. He did not joke about the Indians in derogatory ways. His word was his bond. If he said he would be at a certain place at a certain time, he would be there! If he said, 'I will be there when the sun is half way across the heavens,' he would be there at that time. If he said, 'I will be there at sunrise,' he would be there at that time or die in the attempt. A man is only as good as his bond. He is only as good as his word."

APPENDIX D-62

Code.

Wallace (1963:148,149) suggests that revitalization depends on the successful completion of a number of factors, the first listed being the "formulation of a code." This is not precisely defined but seems to be the message, including the rules which flow from the leader to the disciples, perhaps reworked in time, to the more peripheral members and on to the target population. It is clearly linked to the goal culture and the transition culture and

suggests that if followed the goals can be achieved. The code is basic to revitalism because, being preached to the relevant group (target population), it offers on acceptance, a conversion-like experience, revitalization or a new and highly desirable quality of life to the individual, and, if followed, to the society and culture in question.

We have operationally defined the code as a set of postulates, by which we have reference to our postulates of how we believe these members of the core group think, of what we believe are the basic premises at the heart of their vision of a more satisfactory way of life for Indians and their message to others, Indians whom they wish to win to their point of view and non-Indians, of what they wish them to know about Indians. We have used our own postulates because of the very great difficulty of tabulating and statistically treating the data which we have in a manner which would afford greater precision in definition and analysis. We may err in omission but we feel that our statements in the text are faithful to the evidence and not overdrawn. So that our readers can replicate our analysis and/or carry the work further, we used only data presented in this study the sources of which we here indicate:

- a. Statements of leaders: (cf. analysis in Chapter II)
 1. 1942 -- Text
 2. 1948, 1948 -- Appendices D-14, D-15
 3. 1964-1968 -- Appendix D-43
 4. 1964-1968 -- Text, Chapter II, also Appendix D-61 for homilies to the members on "Indian values"
- b. Missionizing by emissary members. Verbatim accounts:
 1. Walpole Island -- Appendices D-2d, D-18
 2. Mantoulin Island -- Appendices D-18, D-30
- c. Reflections in the current constitutions, adopted 1952:
 - Text, Chapter II
- d. Pow wow:
 1. Code of dedicated free labor -- Text, Chapter II
 2. Symbolism of the Grand March -- Appendix D-16
 3. Symbolism of the Lord's Prayer in Sign Language -- Appendix D-18
- e. The Parade:
 1. Data -- Appendix C, Table 2.15
 2. Reconstituted "Message of the Parade" -- Text, Chapter II

We set the code for 1948 to correspond with the missionizing mentioned above. We do not believe it has changed substantially since then.

APPENDIX D-63

Goals.

Areas in the generalized Indian culture needing considerable change or complete alteration are those which are seen by the members of the Association as warped, atrophied, or distorted--all unlike the true Indian way and as unsatisfactory in the present. Usually these are viewed as the result of contact with, and unsatisfactory relationships with, the larger, more powerful, non-Indian and predominantly white society. Areas which are incipient, needing development, are those which relate more precisely to the projected goal culture, the vision of what Indians should be or become in the future, e.g., the "new Indian." The unsatisfactory, or distorted, aspects needing change are perhaps most easily seen as the antithesis of the goal culture, using as indicators the interests, discussions, and activities of the Association. Accordingly, all those areas of Indian life which it seeks to rectify and/or improve, and those in the dominant society which it seeks to alter, are here taken to be unsatisfactory and/or distorted in the minds of its members. Being Pan-Indian, the concern and activities of the Association extend to all Indians, both contemporary and future. Goals for the future are intrinsic in the present. These relate to all Indians, although more immediately to those in Michigan and particularly to those in Metropolitan Detroit, these being viewed as the Association's special responsibility. Also, the members themselves need not be personally involved in particular issues, excepting that their Pan-Indian ethnicity and sense of Indian worth (Aberle, 1966:326), a part of their ethnic self-image, makes it so.

- a. At the national and state levels the treatment of Indians with respect to land, treaties, the reservation system, and the payment of taxes appear to be for them unsatisfactory. The North American continent still seems to be viewed as rightfully theirs, something which cannot be altered now. Generally speaking, the federal and state governments are blamed most for not having kept the treaties made in good faith with the tribes. Most appear to reason, "Why should the government keep any of its treaties elsewhere in the world until it first keeps those closest home--those with the Indian tribes or nations, whose members are some of its most loyal citizens?" It is also related to the fair payment of lands ceded by the treaties to the government and to the associated question, "Why, if the government is 'honorable' should Indians

have to bring legal suit in the first place for that which was promised in good faith?" This takes on added significance in the context of its continued or threatened seizure of Indian lands, and its failure to return or grant equity for lands which in the past have sometimes been taken but not paid for by whites. Its greatest significance appears to be related to the whole question of the termination of the tribes and/or reservations, with the withdrawal of federal services to the same running a close second. Although loyal citizens, these treaties, from which their special Indian status stems, appear to create tension and to generate distrust and sometimes alienation toward the government(s) under which they live and the society of which they are now a part. Termination poses the end of the treaties and possibly of the tribes, of which the members are well aware, but the goal culture is the converse--they desire the continuation of the treaties for "as long as the grass shall grow, the rivers flow, and the sun shines."

- b. Much attention is focused on the conditions under which reservation and rural Indians are living. Life in these areas appears to be viewed as nearly unbearable, primarily because of poverty, lack of occupational and economic opportunities, and prejudice and discrimination toward Indians by whites on or adjacent to the areas. In addition, improper Indian agents, governmental mismanagement, and paternalism are seen as destructive of the former, once satisfying, cultures, and as having left in their wake groups of people often bound together by poverty, backwardness, without necessary skills to cope with life in the dominant society, and by feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. The goal culture does not envision the end of the reservation but rather the reversal of those factors which are unsatisfactory. It comprehends the selection of qualified Indian agents, chosen largely by the Indians themselves; viable and meaningful self-government, which places management in the hands of the Indians themselves; adequate funds, which obviate paternalism and dependence; and remodeled living conditions which feature adequate economic opportunities, educational facilities, modern housing, sanitation, and medical facilities (Appendix D-43).
- c. In the metropolis the goals of the Association are most easily seen in its activities toward and on behalf of Indians. Generalizing, it seems fair to suggest that the overarching principle is successful and meaningful

adaptation to the contemporary U.S. society as Indians. Conversely, from the perspective of revitalism, the relevant distortions in that larger U.S. society and culture appear to be those areas and/or circumstances which render adaptation precarious or difficult for Indians [e.g., disadvantageous because of immigration without adequate skills, poverty or economic hardships, inadequate education, inequity before the law, isolation from other Indians, incorrect information among non-Indians as a whole about Indians, prejudice and negative stereotypes toward Indians, discrimination of various sorts toward Indians, and the tendency toward the loss of Indian status, Indianness, or Indian identity in the metropolis--i.e., Howard (1955) and Newcomb's (1955 and 1956) "becoming nondistinctive members of the larger society"]. (NOTE: Since goals and means are interrelated we refer our readers to Appendix D-64b.)

APPENDIX D-64

Means.

Outsiders, Indian and/or White, are apt to view the North American Indian Association as a single-purpose club, organized around recreation. Such a perspective probably results from a knowledge of the social activities which it sponsors for Indians and from superficial observation and consideration of the pow wow. The perspectives, therefore, of occasional and outside observers may lead to certain conclusions which are quite different from those reached by persons who have participated within the group throughout the course of several years and who have considered it through the course of time, using the perspectives and data which we have employed.

A consideration of the data indicates that the Association has passed far beyond being simply a dance group or social club, or a single-purpose organization. Its members are well adjusted to the metropolis themselves and most efforts do not concern them directly. They have come to focus their efforts on a "deliberate organized effort" to alter many areas in the American society and culture, both the non-Indian and the generalized Indian, so that the "more satisfying way of life for Indians" envisioned can become a reality. Except perhaps for an occasional sending out of a dance group where they know that the financial returns will be very small, we have never known one of its activities, to be mentioned below,

which was used apart from this deliberate attempt to effect change.

- a. In attempting changes in the dominant society the means used are (1) political; (2) legal; (3) the seating of representatives on community-wide organizations, both non-Indian and the Coordinating Council on Indian Affairs, and on pan-Indian organizations at the national level; (4) the delegation of qualified members as speakers to appear before various civic groups, on television, or the radio; (5) the use of newspapers, local and non-local, including pointed articles in protest over some matter pertinent to Indians or to enlighten or stir the public because of some unsatisfactory phase of Indian life, the result of action or inaction by the white society; (6) appeals to large organizations, usually nation-wide, for backing; (7) well planned and advertized open forums on Indian affairs to which the public was invited for enlightenment; (8) the pow wow; and (9) the parade. The political efforts have included letters representing their position to the President, Vice-President, and all members of Congress and all tribes. These have sometimes included nominations for the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, requests for the resignation or impeachment of a member of Congress, or recommendation of the American Indian Point IV Program in lieu of termination. They have also included house to house petitions taken in Detroit and representatives lobbying for them in the State Legislature, and they have included direct efforts to sway votes. They have threatened and nearly brought legal suit on numerous occasions in the years of our attendance when the treaty or civil rights of Indians, in and out of Detroit, were violated. The speakers they delegate are always dynamic, and frequently condemn both non-Indians and the government for injustices done to Indians, while at the same time presenting the "halo" culture of the Indian past. In like manner, some of their television and radio appearances, while well executed, are quite pointed, and so also are their newspaper articles (cf. "The Abandonment of the Indian in Detroit's Red Ghetto," Detroit News, March 5, 1970). Incidentally, true to its Pan-Indian character, this article goes far beyond Detroit and includes out-state Indians and Canadian Indians. Such activity is understandable in the context of revitalization--e.g., "We are representing our people and therefore we must speak of the plight which has fallen on them. An unknowing and lethargic public needs strong words to make it understand."

- b. Means used in attempting to enrich and improve the lives of Indians themselves differ from those used in connection with non-Indians. Here we find the use of the organization itself, pow wows, efforts to raise money, occupational support, social support, recreational activities, and exhortation and/or evangelism. It deliberately advances the Association as the place where Indians help Indians and it becomes, therefore, the place to go when in difficulty of differing sorts. It also becomes a channel through which whites can direct welfare items to Indians in need, and which Indians can use to the same end. By occupational support we refer to aid in securing jobs, and on occasions offering training for the same. By social support we refer to personal assistance and advice in cases where Indians might appear before the law, have domestic problems, in returning bodies to reservations for burial, and in sickness. Mutual aid can be conceptualized under revitalization in this case since it conceivably deals with some of the same problems but in an in-group context.

The Association envisions Indians remaining as Indians in the metropolis. Accordingly, it defends Indian status and their right to cross at will between the United States and Canada, and to reside and be employed where they choose without visa in accordance with the Jay Treaty. The failure of immigration officials or employers to abide by this is viewed as a violation of the legal and tribal rights of Indians. It also provides status for Indians as a group by standing as the true representative of all Indians in the metropolis in the news media, by having its representatives in community organizations, on the Governor's Indian Commission, and on pan-Indian organizations at the national level. Through participation in its activities it provides members status as Indians in the eyes of the non-Indian society and non-member Indians in the metropolis, and assures those elsewhere that he is still acting Indian. It seeks the fellowship and union of Indians by denouncing tribalism and factionalism and arguing cooperation and unity, and by providing a series of diverse recreational activities to which all in the metropolis and neighboring areas are invited. It offers through the pow wows, opportunity to meet and socialize with Indians of many tribes and places. It stands between Indians and the law by providing social and sometimes economic support, and it contends loudly against discrimination toward Indians in housing, employment, education, burial, and accessibility to public places. Prejudice,

negative stereotypes, and misinformation about Indians is viewed as perhaps the most subtly harmful, which it seeks to correct--means vary.

In the area of economics the Association suggests jobs, apprenticeships, and has provided instruction sometimes in certain occupations. It also offers welfare relief to those in need in provisions of clothing, food, and sometimes money. Loans are sometimes available to members or persons felt worthy and reputable. Recently it has set itself to relieving conditions in Detroit's "Red Ghetto" and it has aspirations for developing its own center to serve new immigrants and those in the area more fully. Sometimes its members, or delegates, attempt to mend severed husband-wife ties. It is especially interested in the welfare of Indian children and the adoption of Indian orphans. Its primary, manifest, purpose, and not at all limited to those in the metropolis, is the provision of educational scholarships for Indians. This is handled in a very formal manner and includes funds for both vocational training and higher education. This grew directly out of the struggle over termination and their oft discussions on the plight of Indians in general and came to be viewed as the surest possible way to help individual Indians now and the Indian people as a whole in the future--the means which they as a small group could most effectively employ and which would least likely fail.

A code (Appendix D-62) has emerged which is in keeping with its goals and with Pan-Indianism. This seems to say that Indians are not inferior: they are as good as anyone else, have as much intelligence and ability as others, and a culture to be proud of (see the reconstituted "message of the parade," Ch. II). On a more positive side it apparently declares that the true Indian way is one where personal integrity, honor, truth, and pride in being Indian dominate and rule the personality (Appendix D-61). It seems especially oriented to contemporary Indians, telling them to be proud of their Indian heritage, to retain Indian identity, and to seek the best in the contemporary world. It espouses individuality but urges union, mutual understanding and help. Indians are told that the white society has robbed them of most of their culture and reduced them to poverty so that they have come to feel inferior but that they should return to those "values" rightfully theirs and, in fact, use them to achieve again status in this new age.

Accordingly, a new dignity and meaning to life is believed to await this change in attitude. Beyond this, the Association offers help of diverse types to those changing and a place to be with Indians and retain Indian identity, pride and "values." For those who are members it urges dedicated effort to the cause, without reimbursement financially, and their efforts seem tireless.