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This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ANTHROPOLOGY

CHIPPEWA TOWNSMEN: A STUDY IN  
SMALL-SCALE URBAN ADAPTATION

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CHIPPEWA TOWNSMEN: A STUDY IN  
SMALL-SCALE URBAN ADAPTATION

BY

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B.A., Oglethorpe College, 1961

M.A., University of New Mexico, 1964

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology**

in the Graduate School of  
The University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

**June, 1969**



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**CHIPPEWA TOWNSMEN: A STUDY IN  
SMALL-SCALE URBAN ADAPTATION**

**BY  
J. Anthony Paredes**

**ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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**June, 1969**

CHIPPEWA TOWNSMEN: A STUDY IN  
SMALL-SCALE URBAN ADAPTATION

J. Anthony Paredes, Ph.D.  
Department of Anthropology  
The University of New Mexico, 1969

This is a study of Chippewa Indians living in a small northern Minnesota city which is in close proximity to the reservations from which the majority of the adult Indians have originated. The research deals with two related problems: (1) Identification of determinants for Chippewa relocation to this community; and (2) Specification of the dimensions of adaptation and their inter-relationships in the urban population studied. The total socio-cultural environment is analytically conceived as consisting of four major elements: the American economic system, American mass culture and society, the city, and "Indian culture," which is further subdivided into traditional culture, reservation systems, and Pan-Indian phenomena.

The main portion of the material utilized is comprised of interview data from a random sample of the city Chippewa. Information from other interviews and from direct observation are also used. Data from nearby reservation communities have been used for comparisons with the demographic, economic, and marriage patterns of the urban Indians.

Several general characteristics of these urban Indians have been identified and related to relocation to the city. The economic situation and race relations in the community have been proposed as factors



producing the rural-like demographic structure of the resident Indian population.

A high incidence of reservation out-marriage and unusual occupational histories among these people have been analyzed as contributing to a condition of "social marginality." This condition appears to be a major factor in the eventual relocation of these Indians to this city. The majority of the adults have lived away from their natal home prior to movement to this community.

Major dimensions of urban adaptation have been isolated, operationally defined, and relationships among them have been described statistically. In this study application of the Guttman scaling technique has permitted precise specification of a variety of adaptive dimensions and ranges of variation along them. Ordinal typologies have been developed which array individuals with respect to economic adaptation, mass media exposure, city involvement, native language proficiency, familiarity with traditional customs, and interaction with reservation Indians. Other studies of American Indian urbanization have tended to rely on rather broad typologies of Indian adjustment to urban life and have not dealt systematically with extra-city elements of the overall environment. The rigorous empirical approach of this study has made it possible to quantify inter-relationships among several dimensions of the adaptive process by statistical measurement and by significance testing of associations among scale typologies and other indices.

There is a significant tendency for levels of adaptation to non-Indian components of the environment to vary inversely with measures of



"Indian culture"; however, material styles of life appear to have no direct association, either positive or negative, with participation in certain non-linguistic forms of Indian culture. Similarly, differences in familiarity with traditional customs exhibit no significant relation to most measures of adaptation to non-Indian environmental elements.

Ward H. Goodenough's concept of "private, operating, and public cultures" is employed in an examination of socio-cultural processes underlying the empirical findings. Certain gradients of cultural differences among individuals are shown to correspond with variations in personal social networks.

The analysis has indicated that residence in this small urban community is a strategy by which some Chippewa "maximize" the advantages of disparate elements of their total environment. More importantly, this study has demonstrated the usefulness of the analytical techniques and concepts employed for the study of problems of urbanization, which have become of increasing significance in anthropological research as the interests of investigators have focused on the understanding of phenomena in complex, contemporary cultures.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

An increasing number of anthropologists are conducting field studies in urban settings. Efforts to understand the processes of urbanization and life in cities have been hampered, however, by inadequacies in anthropological concepts for dealing with urban phenomena.<sup>1</sup> Beals early proposed that urbanization could be understood as a special case of acculturation;<sup>2</sup> the rural migrant to a city comes into contact with a culture which is different, to some degree, from that which he had previously known. Anthropological studies of urban life in many areas of the world have examined the adaptations of tribal and rural migrants to life in cities. However various other special problems have also concerned anthropologists studying cities. Africanists have examined such problems as the structure of social relations in cities,<sup>3</sup> urban transformations of native institutions,<sup>4</sup> tribalism and voluntary associations in urban situations,<sup>5</sup> and the relationships between urbanization, westernization, and detribalization.<sup>6</sup> Latin Americanists have tended to turn attention to marginal urban communities, such as barrios and favelas,<sup>7</sup> the relation between the processes of industrialization and urbanization,<sup>8</sup> and the identification of cultural forms in sub-segments of urban populations, e.g., Lewis' "culture of poverty."<sup>9</sup> In both of these areas of the world studies have, generally, viewed



movement to the city and forms of urbanism in relation to events and processes of change in rural areas and national systems as a whole.

In North America the study of urban migration and adaptation has been left largely to sociologists, but, since 1955,<sup>10</sup> studies of American Indian urbanization have begun to appear in the anthropological literature. These studies have tended to focus on the adaptation of individuals to city life. This is understandable, given the circumstances of American Indian urbanization. In many African and Latin American cities large populations of migrants from tribal and peasant societies are territorially concentrated within the city. In contrast, American Indians comprise only minute portions of urban populations, and they tend to be territorially dispersed within cities where they live.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, students of American Indian urbanization have been prone to view the city as an alien environment,<sup>12</sup> and to emphasize the disconformities and discontinuities between the city and the reservations from which the Indians originate.

Hodge, in his study of Albuquerque Navajos,<sup>13</sup> has expanded the conceptual framework of American Indian urban studies. He describes reservation and city as parts of the same system. In general, this kind of conceptualization is not startlingly new--similar schemes are frequently employed by urban anthropologists in other areas of the world--but the idea has not been developed in previous studies of American Indian urbanization. The system consists of two overlapping "orbits,"<sup>14</sup> an urban orbit and a reservation orbit.



Each orbit has its own centripetal and centrifugal forces ("pushes" and "pulls");<sup>15</sup> an individual moves between the two orbits of the "urban-reservation system" depending on the relative strength with which forces in the two parts of the system impinge upon him at any given moment. This is a step toward recognizing the functional relations between city and reservation as parts of a larger, encompassing national system. It might be noted that from the other direction some students of reservation societies have clearly recognized the functional relation between such societies and industrial centers.<sup>16</sup> This view would seem to lead to the recognition that the overall adaptation of the Indian living in the city cannot be judged solely from the perspective of the city, i. e., whether or not he makes "accommodations"<sup>17</sup> to the city, or exhibits "adaptive-like"<sup>18</sup> behavior in the context of the city. The total socio-cultural environment to which an urban Indian must adapt consists of more than the immediate environment of the city in which he resides at the moment.

The Indians studied by Ablon<sup>19</sup> in the San Francisco Bay area are separated from their home reservations by great distances. Consequently, Ablon has concerned herself little with the relation between reservation and city, but she notes that many of the Indians would return to their reservations given certain circumstances.<sup>20</sup> Ablon has shown, though, that these Indians seek a substitute for reservation society by participating in formal Indian organizations and by largely restricting their informal social interaction to other



Indians. Although she mentions some tribal differences, Ablon makes general statements which apply to all Bay area Indians regardless of tribe. For example, "few have aspirations of social mobility,"<sup>21</sup> "those looking for formal social activity turn to Indian organizations,"<sup>22</sup> or "if one cannot be surrounded by members of his home community, at the least, it is more comfortable to associate with Indians of other tribes than with whites."<sup>23</sup> Ablon describes these city Indians as a "neo-Indian type."<sup>24</sup> She is not clear on this, but at least a large proportion, if not all, of the San Francisco Bay area Indians are presumed to be of this type.

Other researchers have constructed typologies of urban American Indians. Hodge<sup>25</sup> and Hurt<sup>26</sup> begin with the observation that not all Indian migrants to cities intend to stay and that reservation life remains a viable alternative for Indians living in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Yankton, South Dakota. Then they proceed to categorize urban Indians into a small number of distinct types. Hodge's scheme consists of (1) "permanent residents" and (2) "non-permanent residents," further subdivided into (a) "traditional" and (b) "anglo-modified,"<sup>27</sup> i.e., more acculturated. Hurt constructs a typology of "adjustment," consisting of five types. The typology is based on two dimensions: (1) the "logical" ways in which an Indian can react to his environment--"selecting," "rejecting," or "accepting," and (2) possible orientations of Indians to their surroundings--"urban oriented," "migratory oriented," or "reservation oriented."<sup>28</sup> While both schemes, like Ablon's concept of the "neo-Indian," have heuristic value, they are subject to methodological weaknesses which detract from their utility



in understanding the adaptive processes of first generation urban Indians.

All of these classificatory schemes do not appear to deal with the inter-relations of city and reservation as parts of the same larger social system, and thereby avoid the issue of the urban Indian's adaptation to his total socio-cultural environment---the city and its many subsystems, other cities, state, nation, reservation, and traditional culture. In addition, these typologies require the imputation of motives and psychological orientations which appear difficult to describe empirically. More importantly, individual differences within types are ignored, and the method for discriminating between types is not clearly specified. These typologies reduce what is in all likelihood a gradient of individual differences along a multitude of cultural and social dimensions to one, three, or five discrete types. Such a procedure seems premature in the early stages of anthropological inquiry into a new and complex problem. These simplistic schemes seem to disregard the fundamental complexity of urban life; as Wirth said long ago, "one major characteristic of the urban dweller is his dissimilarity from his fellows."<sup>29</sup>

#### Statement of the Problem

Mitchell has directed attention to the importance of discovering how urban social systems in African towns actually operate, rather than dealing with abstract terms such as "westernization" or "de-tribalization."<sup>30</sup> He argues that the essential first step in urban studies is to isolate empirically sets of beliefs and patterns of



behavior in towns and discover the linkages between them. Although such an approach will not provide a framework which encompasses the whole of urban life, this base of empirically derived patterns should be the starting point from which larger systems are built.<sup>31</sup> This dissertation is in part an attempt to follow Mitchell's general suggestion by empirically isolating patterns of adaptive behavior among an urban population of Chippewa Indians and discovering some of the linkages among these patterns.

The present study concerns Chippewa Indians living in North City,<sup>32</sup> Minnesota, a small urban center located near the three largest reservations in Minnesota. As in previous American Indian urbanization studies, the adaptation of individuals is the primary focus of the study. The approach will be more limited in scope, but more rigorously empirical in method than that of earlier studies.

This research is oriented around two closely related problems. The first problem is to determine why Chippewa Indians are in North City. Rather than invoking assumptions about individual motives or "intentions"<sup>33</sup> to explain their relocation to North City, analysis will proceed from the proposition that movement to a particular city is, in and of itself, a strategy by which an Indian attempts to adapt to his total environment over time. The core of the problem, then, is to show that the character of North City Indians' relationships to major elements of their total environment are such as to make North City an ecologically advantageous habitat for these Indians.



Given residence in this particular city, the second problem is to describe the forms of adaptation of North City Indians to elements of their environment. This involves a three-fold procedure: (1) identifying dimensions of adaptation, (2) specifying the range of variation along these dimensions, and (3) examining the relationships among these variables.

Of necessity these two problems will be pursued simultaneously, for, in part, the solution to the second problem contributes to understanding factors related to the first. Determining the nature of North City Indians' adaptations to various components of the environment is essential for specifying the adaptive advantages of North City residence.

#### Method and Theory

The forms of analysis employed in this study concentrate on quantifiable behaviors, relationships, and reports of past experiences. Attitudes, orientations, and beliefs receive less consideration, not because they are of less importance, but because the nature of these data makes them more difficult to deal with in the context of the empirical aims of this study. This methodological approach facilitates the behavioral operationalization of the notion of adaptation. An effort has been made to adopt procedures insuring conformity with the scientific canon of replicability. Ideally, specific findings of this research may be re-tested by other researchers using exactly the same procedures in North City or any other urban community.



The method and organization of this study may best be explained by contrasting it to the works of Hodge and Hurt.<sup>34</sup> These researchers first posit a set of logically conceived nominal categories. The characteristics of each category are then described by reference to a number of variables such as education, occupation, and family history. In this study the process will be reversed. Using primarily the Guttman scaling technique,<sup>35</sup> several ordinal typologies of North City Indians will be operationally derived representing a single dimension each. Then these uni-dimensional, ordinal typologies, along with other rankings of individuals, will be compared statistically to determine the degree of relationship among levels of adaptation represented in the several typologies. Thus, it will be possible to make probabilistic statements about the direction and the degree to which adaption to one element of the overall environment is associated with adaptation to other elements.

North City provides an ideal laboratory for studying urban Indian adaptation to a number of environmental elements, in addition to the city itself. The city is small and in close proximity to the home reservations; despite its relatively remote location, North City has numerous direct links to state and national systems. Major characteristics of the regional environmental milieu are described in detail in Chapter II.

Demographic characteristics of the North City Indian population will be examined in Chapter III. Features of North City Indian family histories and explicit reasons for migration will be considered as factors in the adaptive process in Chapter IV. A variety of



aspects of North City Indian adaptation will be discussed in succeeding chapters; it is in these chapters that the series of empirically derived typologies are presented. Topics included in the chapters are economic adaptation, articulation to state and national systems, participation in city life, and "Indian culture." The general character of North City Indian social organization will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

The empirical material is oriented within a theoretical framework which takes the individual as the primary unit for analysis. The individual is seen as adapting to a complex of socio-cultural influences through his personal integration of several systems of behavior.

Specifically, Goodenough's formulations of "private culture," "operating culture," and "public culture"<sup>36</sup> have been employed as theoretical tools. This body of concepts was selected because of its usefulness for understanding integrative processes of individuals in socially and culturally complex situations. In brief, Goodenough regards the individual as the ultimate locus of culture.<sup>37</sup> Each person has his own "private culture," consisting of his conceptions of the standards by which persons in various groups and classes operate; each individual has one such set of conceptions for every group which he recognizes, whether he is a member or not. The individual selects from his private culture one set of conceptions as his actual guide for behavior, "operating culture," depending on the circumstances of any specific situation. "Public culture"



exists to the extent to which people who have regular social dealings mutually attribute similar conceptions to one another.

### Field Techniques

The fieldwork for this study was conducted intermittently during the period from November, 1965, to June, 1968. The quantified data presented in succeeding chapters are derived from structured interviews (see Appendix I for interview schedule) with household heads, or Indian spouses of household heads, in twenty-six North City Indian households.<sup>38</sup> These interviews constitute a random sample<sup>39</sup> including approximately 36% of the Indian households known to exist in North City during early 1966. All but two of these interviews were conducted during the spring and summer of 1966. An additional set of twenty-three "other responses" (not a random sample) to the interview schedule were also obtained during later phases of the research.

Tape recorded life history materials were obtained from ten informants, three women and seven men. These data were collected in sessions of from one to three hours' duration.<sup>40</sup> The minimum number of hours spent recording any one informant was one, the maximum was six. Although these materials have not been directly employed in the analysis, they have contributed to the author's thinking, and they have been drawn upon for some of the illustrative examples presented in this dissertation.

In addition to structured interviews and formal life history interviews, data were collected in informal interviews, casual

conversations, and by direct observation. Notes were dictated into a tape recorder as soon as possible after each conversation or event. On a few occasions some informants were observed in other settings in addition to the city, e.g., at celebrations on reservations.

Other kinds of information obtained, but not utilized here, include questionnaire responses from Indian students in North City junior and senior high schools, adult responses to a community attitude questionnaire, and information in newspapers and official records.

Finally, this research is informed by insights gained during the author's four year residence and employment in North City, first as research coordinator at the local mental health center and, second, as a member of the staff of the local college.



### Notes to Chapter I

1. Cf. A. L. Epstein, "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa," Current Anthropology, VIII, No. 4 (October, 1967), pp. 275-276.
2. Ralph L. Beals, "Urbanism, Urbanization, and Acculturation," American Anthropologist, LIII, No. 1 (January-March, 1951), pp. 5-9.
3. See, for example: Epstein, op. cit.; A. L. Epstein, "The Network and Urban Social Organization," Rhodes Livingstone Journal, XXIX (June 1961), pp. 29-62.
4. See, for example: Mia Brandel, "Urban Lobolo Attitudes," African Studies, XVII, No. 1 (1958), pp. 34-51.
5. See, for example: Kenneth Little, West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Leonard Plotnicov, Strangers to the City: Urban Man in Jos, Nigeria (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967), pp. 49-81.
6. See, for example: Philip Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen (Capetown: Oxford University Press, 1961).; J. Clyde Mitchell, "Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies," The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, ed. Michael Banton ("Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs," No. 4; London: Tavistock, 1966); Ruth P. Simms, Urbanization in West Africa: A Review of Current Literature (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 3-44.
7. See, for example: Richard M. Morse, "Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization; A Selective Survey with Commentary," Latin American Research Review, I, No. 1 (Fall, 1965), pp. 48-59; Jose Mates Mar, "The 'barriadas' of Lima: An Example of Integration into Urban Life," Urbanization in Latin America, ed. Philip M. Hauser (New York: International Documents Service; A Division of Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 170-190; Anthony Leeds, "The Anthropology of Cities: Some Methodological Issues," Urban Anthropology: Research Perspectives and Strategies, ed. Elizabeth M. Eddy ("Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings," No. 2; Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1968, pp. 31-47.
8. Morse, op. cit., pp. 35-48, 63-65.
9. Oscar Lewis, The Children of Sanchez; Autobiography of a Mexican Family (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. xi-xxi. In this connection Redfield's classic contributions to the study of urbanization should also be acknowledged, e.g., Robert Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).



10. Robert E. Ritzenthaler and Mary Sellers, "Indians in an Urban Situation," The Wisconsin Archeologist, n.s. XXXVI, No. 4 (December, 1955), pp. 147-161.
11. Cf. Ritzenthaler and Sellers, op. cit., p. 153; Wesley R. Hurt, Jr., "The Urbanization of the Yankton Indians," Human Organization, XX, No. 4 (Winter, 1961-62), p. 227; Joan Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area: Social Interaction and Indian Identity," Human Organization, XXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1964-65), p. 296; William H. Hodge, The Albuquerque Navajos ("Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona," No. 11; Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1969), p. 1 and facing map.
12. Hutchinson suggests that anthropologists in general have acquired a "rural ethos" and have an "anti-urban point of view." H. W. Hutchinson, "Social Anthropology and Urban Studies," Urban Anthropology: Research Perspectives and Strategies, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
13. Hodge, op. cit.
14. Ibid., pp. 25-33.
15. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
16. See, for example: Philip K. Bock, The Micmac Indians of Restigouche: History and Contemporary Description ("National Museum of Canada," Bul. 213, "Anthropological Series," No. 77; Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), pp. 42-54.
17. Ritzenthaler and Sellers, op. cit., p. 160.
18. H. W. Martin, "Correlates of Adjustment Among American Indians in an Urban Environment," Human Organization, XXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1964-65), p. 294.
19. Ablon, op. cit., pp. 296-304.
20. Ibid., p. 298. Cf. Ritzenthaler and Sellers, op. cit., p. 160; Hurt, op. cit., p. 229; Hodge, op. cit., p. 66.
21. Ablon, op. cit., p. 304.
22. Ibid., p. 301.
23. Ibid., p. 304.
24. Ibid., p. 303.
25. Hodge, op. cit.



26. Hurt, op. cit.
27. Hodge, op. cit., p. 2.
28. Hurt, op. cit., p. 227.
29. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV, No. 1 (July, 1938), p. 20.
30. J. Clyde Mitchell, "The Anthropological Study of Urban Communities," African Studies, XIX, No. 3 (1960), pp. 171-172.
31. Ibid., p. 171.
32. Pseudonyms will be used throughout this dissertation for all people and places within the state of Minnesota.
33. The major basis of Hodge's typology (op. cit.) is whether a Navajo "decides" to stay in the city or intends to return to the reservation, regardless of what he actually does ultimately.
34. Hodge, op. cit.; Hurt, op. cit.
35. Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data," American Sociological Review, IX (1944), pp. 179-190.
36. Ward H. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change: An Anthropological Approach to Community Development (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), pp. 257-281.
37. Ibid., p. 271.
38. "Indian household" was defined as any independent domicile occupied by one or more adults (over 18) of 25% or more Chippewa ancestry or recognized by self or the community as "an Indian." In conjugal households the husband was interviewed, unless he was non-Indian; if so, the Indian wife was interviewed. In consanguineal households (see Chapter III) the eldest female was ordinarily the one interviewed.
39. A household census was compiled from lists of known Indian families and individuals obtained from local schools, churches, department of public welfare, and informants. This census was arranged in random order using a table of random numbers. Interviews were conducted in the order households appeared on the randomized list of approximately seventy households. Proceeding in this manner, five refusals, four cases of families or individuals moving out of town before they could be interviewed, and one death were encountered before the twenty-sixth interview was obtained.



40. Life history informants were paid \$1.00 per hour of recording time. This was the only kind of situation in which informants received any cash payment.



## CHAPTER II

### THE SETTING

When Europeans first explored northern Minnesota in the seventeenth century they found the region populated by Siouian-speaking peoples. Under the impetus of French and British fur companies the Ojibwa, first encountered by Europeans in the area of Sault Ste. Marie, began a southwesterly expansion into northern Minnesota. The expansion of the Ojibwa resulted in a century of warfare with the Eastern Dakota. With the aid of firearms the Chippewa (Ojibwa)<sup>1</sup> succeeded in expelling the Dakota from northern Minnesota by the latter half of the eighteenth century. However, minor skirmishes continued between the two tribal groups. In 1825 the Treaty of Prairie du Chein established a line of demarcation between the tribes, which assigned, roughly, the northern part of the territory to the Chippewa and the southwestern part of what is now Minnesota to the Dakota. Even so minor hostilities continued for another twenty-five years after the 1825 treaty.<sup>2</sup> Hickerson has made the point that this constant threat of military engagement with the Dakota contributed to the maintenance of relatively stable villages among the southwestern Chippewa.<sup>3</sup> Although the Chippewa of Minnesota lived mainly by hunting, fishing, and trapping for the fur traders, they did practice some agriculture. As the fur trade



declined the southwestern Chippewa became increasingly dependent on the collection of wild rice (Zizania aquatica).<sup>4</sup>

White trappers and traders were in the area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but northern Minnesota was not open for White<sup>5</sup> settlement until the second half of the nineteenth century. During the period between 1837 and 1867 the Minnesota bands of Chippewa entered into nine treaties with the United States Government. Under the terms of these treaties the bands ceded virtually all of their lands to the United States in return for annuities, goods, and the establishment of reservations. Only the Deer Lake Band retained title to some of their "aboriginal" lands. Today the Deer Lake Reservation represents the only Minnesota land not ceded to the government.<sup>6</sup> These treaties established the reservation boundaries in the approximate form they have today.

Following the Dawes Act of 1887--and even before in Minnesota--Indian lands were allotted in severality. As an indirect result, the Chippewa of the upper Mississippi lost most of their remaining land to the settlers and timber interests rapidly moving into the region. The Deer Lake Band, however, successfully resisted the allotment plan and to this day continue to hold their lands in common. Under the provisions of an 1889 act all Minnesota Chippewa, with the exception of the Deer Lake Band, were to be induced to move to one reservation, Beaver Pelt, where they were to be given allotments.<sup>7</sup> Many of the people did go to Beaver Pelt but many others elected to remain in their original reservation areas. After 1905 provisions were made for the sale of much of the Beaver Pelt lands to



whites.<sup>8</sup> Consequently most of the lands in the Beaver Pelt reservation area were alienated from Indian ownership as well. Through all this the Deer Lake Band retained its lands, and was rapidly becoming politically distinct from the other Minnesota Chippewa.

Once provision had been made for the acquisition of Indian lands, timber companies and settlers began to establish villages and towns in northern Minnesota. Most of the present day White communities of the region were established in the decades between 1880 and 1910. The early growth of most of these communities was closely linked to the timber industry; a number of them were essentially boom towns. Old timers in the area delight in tales of the days when there were 10,000 lumberjacks in Draketon on a Saturday night; today Draketon has a population of less than 800. As the forests were depleted most of the towns dwindled in population and wealth, and some completely disappeared. But, even today the big timber myth of Paul Bunyan is perpetuated and enthusiastically supported by local citizens, albeit primarily for the benefit of tourists.

Following the lumberjacks and the timber companies, homesteaders came to develop small farms. Homesteading continued in some areas until as late as the 1920's. The population increased and prospects seemed good for the continued development and economic growth of the area. Then came World War II and the technological and social changes that followed.



### Characteristics of the Area in the 1960's

Most of the counties in the research area have been designated as economically depressed areas by state and federal government agencies. Total tax evaluations of the counties are low, partly because of the large acreages under state and federal control: Indian lands, state and national forests, and game refuges. (An outline map of the region is shown in Figure 1.)

Rates of unemployment in the area are high compared to the state as a whole; many workers are "under-employed." Table 1 shows the 1965 average unemployment rates for counties in the region. Unemployment rates fluctuate greatly during the course of the year.

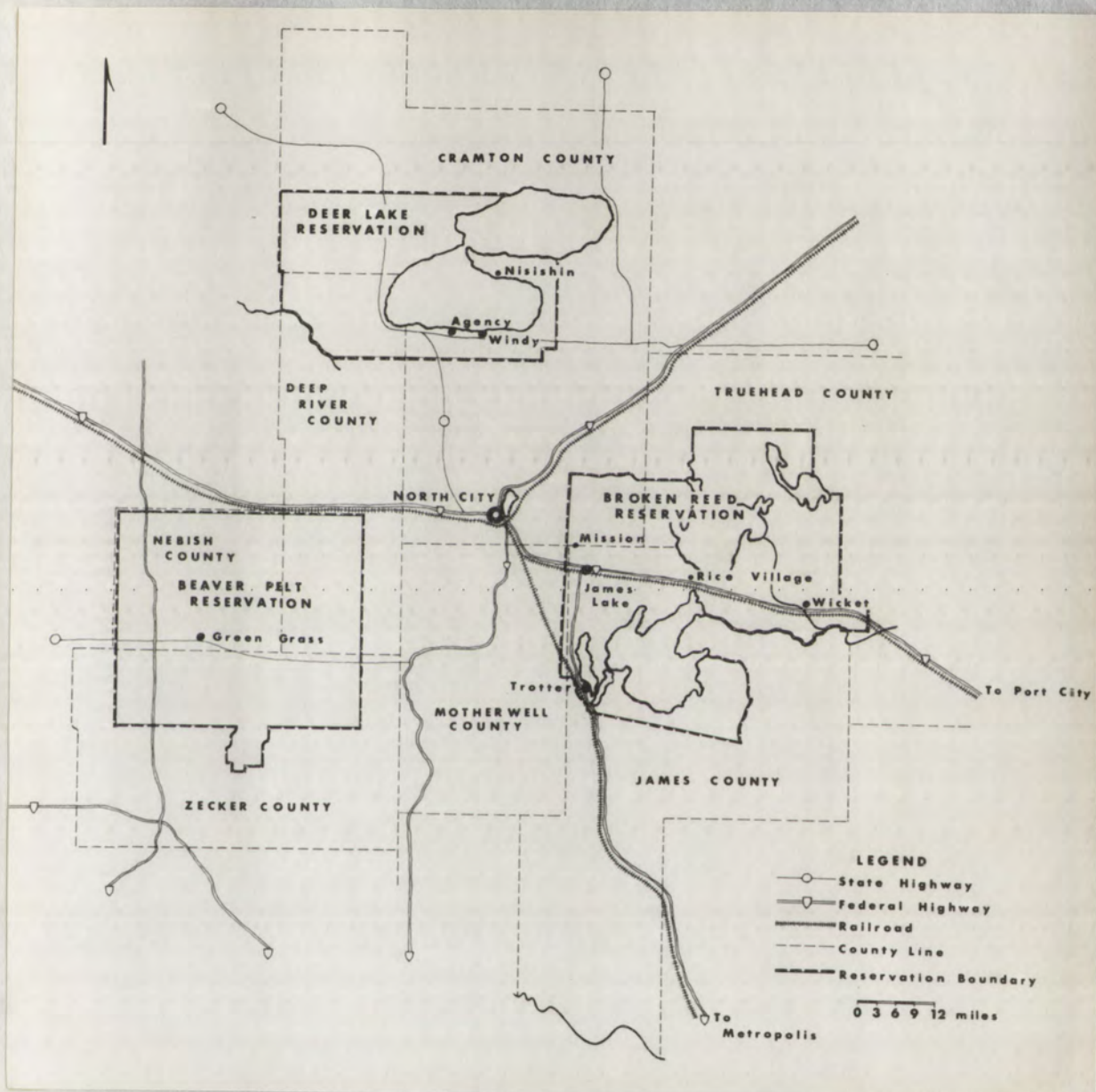
TABLE 1  
COUNTY UNEMPLOYMENT RATES---1965<sup>a</sup>

Cramton	James	Nebish	Deep River	Motherwell	State of Minnesota
8.0	7.4	15.0	11.9	9.3	4.1

<sup>a</sup>Adapted from: A. E. Hunter, "County Work Force Estimates: 1965" (Minnesota Department of Employment Security, St. Paul, March, 1966).

The rates are relatively low during the summer and fall months but high in the winter and spring. During the periods of high employment many workers are actually out of the region working in more prosperous areas to the east, west, and south. Welfare reciprocity is also high in these counties. For example, in 1964 the percentage of the population receiving Aid to Dependent Children was approximately twice that for non-metropolitan Minnesota as a whole.<sup>9</sup>





**FIGURE 1**

**MAP OF NORTH CITY AND SURROUNDING REGION**



The economic situation in northern Minnesota is associated with population trends in the region. Table 2 shows the major demographic trends.

The period of rapid settlement of the area is clearly marked by the sharp rise in population between 1890 and 1910. The major trend shown here is gradual increase in population from 1910 to 1940, then decrease to 1960. Cramton County had experienced a decline between 1920 and 1930, but had partially recovered by 1940. Truehead County is exceptional; prosperous mining towns of the Giant Iron Range are located in the eastern section of the county. On the whole, the decline in population since World War II has been the result of emigration of young adults looking elsewhere for employment and economic opportunity. The resultant population distribution is one of disproportionately large numbers of dependent children and the aged.

The Indian segments of the populations of these counties have followed the same general trends. Only the Cramton County Indian population, which includes almost all of the people living on the Deer Lake Reservation, has continued to increase. Table 3 presents the pertinent data.

Since 1950 Indians have migrated to Metropolis, the state's largest city (population: ca. 500,000), at an increasing rate. In 1950 there were approximately 426 Indians in Metropolis, by 1960 there were 2,077, most of these from Minnesota reservations.<sup>10</sup>

During this period of declining population, North City population grew from 2,183 in 1900 to a 1950 maximum of 10,001. In



TABLE 2

COUNTY POPULATION TRENDS<sup>a</sup>

	Census Years							
	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Cramton County	312	11,030	19,337	27,079	20,707	26,107	24,962	23,425
Deep River County	--- <sup>b</sup>	---	6,870	8,569	9,546	11,153	10,204	8,864
James County	1,247	7,777	11,620	15,897	15,591	20,646	19,468	16,720
Motherwell County	1,412	6,578	9,831	10,136	9,596	11,085	11,085	9,962
Nebish County	---	---	3,249	6,197	6,153	8,054	7,059	6,341
Truehead County	743	4,573	17,208	23,876	27,224	32,996	33,321	38,006
Zecker County	9,401	14,375	18,840	22,851	22,503	26,562	24,836	23,959

<sup>a</sup> Sources: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920. Population, I, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1921), pp. 111-112.

\_\_\_\_\_, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Characteristics of the Population, II, Part 4, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 43-51.

\_\_\_\_\_, U.S. Census of Population: 1950. Characteristics of the Population, Minnesota, II, Part 23, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 43.

\_\_\_\_\_, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25B, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 162-172.

<sup>b</sup> Figures not available since counties non-existent as political units during these census years.



1960 the population of North City was 9,958.<sup>11</sup> This slight decline is perhaps partially accounted for by suburbanization, as affluent people move to the outskirts of the city. Furthermore, some of the citizens of North City have a vested interest in keeping the official population under 10,000; under state law the city can continue its municipal monopoly on liquor sales only if the population is less than 10,000.

TABLE 3  
INDIAN POPULATION TRENDS, BY COUNTY<sup>a</sup>

	Census Years				
	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Cramton County	1,580	1,961	2,521	2,673	2,959
Deepriver County	357	461	399	331	319
James County	1,022	1,304	1,757	1,814	1,542
Nebish County	1,405	1,612	1,414	1,009	789
Truehead County	448	490	666	526	770
Zecker County	1,694	1,880	2,138	1,527	1,236
Totals:	6,506	7,708	8,895	7,880	7,615

<sup>a</sup>Source: State of Minnesota, Governor's Human Rights Commission, Minnesota's Indian Citizens, (1965), p. 42.

Trends in the Indian segment of North City population will be discussed in a later section.



The big timber days were effectively over in the research area by 1920. Agriculture became the major industry. However, agricultural production of the counties has generally declined since World War II, just as has the population.

The originally rich timber resources of the area were rapidly extracted in the early 1900's with little concern for conservation. Since that time the region has often been referred to as the "cut over country." Where once there had been magnificent stands of white and Norway pine, today there are jack pine, birch, aspen, and other second growth trees--and, of course, the many small farms and pastures cleared by the settlers. In recent decades the second growth forests have become of economic value as pulp and pole wood. Harvesting these smaller trees--"cutting pulp" in local parlance--is one of the main occupations of the region. However, for the average operator this is a tenuous and unstable source of income. Nevertheless, extraction of forest resources is still one of the major industries of the region. Reforestation projects are being conducted and there are indications that with proper management saw timber (lumber) could again be a major economic resource for the area.

Aside from agriculture and forestry the only other major industry in the region is tourism and recreation. The region is one of considerable natural beauty with its trees, streams, and thousands of lakes, particularly to people from the prairies and plains. Fish and game are plentiful. In fact, this area is one of the best fishing and deer hunting regions in the nation. The main entrances to North



City are lined with motels and the surrounding countryside is dotted with summer resorts. There are two major recreation areas within a few miles of North City, a national forest and a state park of national prominence. Some indication of the importance of this area in the recreation industry of Minnesota is that 23.17% of all non-resident fishing licenses issued in the state during 1964 were sold in Cramton and the four adjacent counties.<sup>12</sup> In addition, many state residents from the metropolitan centers make weekend and summer excursions to "the north country." Small businessmen in the area are quick to say, "if it wasn't for the tourists I'd be out of business."

The Indians of the region are an attraction for some tourists. Several North City shops sell Indian "curios." Hundreds of tourists view Indian dances at North City, Trotter, and on the Deer Lake Reservation. The Deer Lake Tribal Council has developed some recreation areas on its reservation. In the summer a program jointly sponsored by the Deer Lake Band and state and county agencies provides the services of Deer Lake teenagers as guides for visitors to North City who wish to tour the reservation. Otherwise, tourism is a White man's concern.

The tourist industry has grown considerably since World War II but local leaders are becoming increasingly aware of competition from recreational centers in other parts of the nation. There is a growing attitude that the natural resources of the area are not enough; there must be major investments of capital to fully develop the economic potential of the region's recreation industry. Further-



more, efforts are being made to lengthen the tourist season beyond the short summer and into the winter months. A small ski area has been developed twelve miles north of North City, but it appears unlikely that the slope can compete with slopes in the more hilly areas to the east. Ice fishing has long been a favored winter sport of local people. When the large lakes freeze over they are now a source of attraction for enthusiasts of a new sport, snowmobiling. Increasing numbers of snowmobilers from the southern part of the state make weekend trips to the frozen lakes of the area.

The natural environment of the region also has its economic disadvantages. The terrain is generally rough and wooded. The last glaciation left its mark in the many kames, gravel deposits, and erratic boulders. The southern shore of glacial Lake Agassiz crosses the northern part of Cramton County. These natural conditions place severe limits on the extent to which local farmers can compete with the larger, more mechanized farms of the Great Plains which begin less than 100 miles to the west of North City. Growing seasons and summer tourist seasons are short. Mean annual temperature is only 38°F., and January and July, the extreme months, have mean temperatures of 4.7°F. and 68.2°F., respectively.<sup>13</sup> Average annual precipitation in North City is 21.66.<sup>14</sup> Work in the forests is sometimes slowed by deep snows; in the spring woodsmen are forced to cease their activities for several weeks, as melting snow turns the thawed ground to mud.

Because of its economic difficulties the research area receives relatively large amounts of state and federal aid. Education, public



welfare, and health agencies in the counties of the region receive large proportions of their financial support from the state in order to augment the relatively meager local revenue. Millions of dollars in state and federal money expended to welfare recipients is eventually obtained by local business and professional men as the welfare recipients purchase goods and services. Since 1964 several "poverty" projects in both Indian and White communities have brought in federal funds under the Economic Opportunity Act. In addition to these direct support programs, the area receives income in the form of expenditures by these governments for the maintenance and development of agencies and services such as parks and forests, highways, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service, and a state college.

Clearly the region as a whole is experiencing economic difficulties. The situation for Indians in the area is even worse. According to the U.S. census of 1960 the median family income for Cramton County was \$3,949, compared to \$5,573 for the state as a whole, while the median income for non-White families in the county (almost all are Indian) was \$2,928.<sup>15</sup> Similarly the median family income for the total James County population was \$3,020 compared to \$2,198 for non-White families.<sup>16</sup> But there is evidence that the lower cash income of Indian families is adjusted for by greater reliance on other kinds of income. For example, in the racially mixed community of James Lake (population: ca. 1,600) Indians are significantly more dependent on wild foodstuffs than are Whites.<sup>17</sup>

In general, there is little regular employment available in the area for unskilled and semiskilled workers. For many Indians



the only opportunities are "woods work," in season, and occasional manual labor jobs. Partly for geographical reasons, and partly for social reasons, Indians ordinarily have less access than Whites to the few salaried positions in retail trade, manufacturing, and services. One major exception is in the various government agencies which serve primarily Indians, but even many of these jobs are open only to Indians with advanced formal education.

### The Indian Reservations

North City is centrally located to the three largest Indian reservations in Minnesota (refer to Figure 1). The Broken Reed Reservation is approximately fifteen miles to the east, thirty miles to the north is the Deer Lake Reservation, and twenty-five miles to the west is the Beaver Pelt Reservation. These three reservations are not only the largest in land area, but also account for approximately 50% of the total Indian population of the state.

The Broken Reed Reservation and the Beaver Pelt Reservation are two of the six which comprise the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. The tribe was organized in 1934 under the Wheeler-Howard Act, with a constitution, by-laws, and an elected governing body of twelve Tribal Executive Committeemen. In 1937 the tribe received, at its request, a corporate charter, making it the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, Incorporated. Since 1964, a new constitution has been in effect which gives greater responsibility for tribal business to local reservation governments.<sup>18</sup> These local governments are called "Reservation Business Committees." Each of the member reservations of the tribe



has a committee; committeemen are elected annually by tribal members living in the respective reservation areas. There are also local Indian councils in some of the separate communities within the Broken Reed and Beaver Pelt Reservations. Reservations comprising the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe are widely scattered through the northern half of the state. These reservations, along with three small Sioux communities in the southern part of the state, are administered to by a Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency in North City.

#### Deer Lake Reservation

The Deer Lake Reservation has its own Bureau of Indian Affairs agency and a tribal government separate from that of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. In 1954 the Deer Lake agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was consolidated with that of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe when offices of the latter were moved from James Lake to North City. However, in 1962 the separate Deer Lake Agency was re-established on the reservation. The membership of the Deer Lake Band of Chippewa Indians (as they are technically known) is composed primarily of the descendants of the bands living in the vicinity of Deer Lake during the nineteenth century. The ancestry of some members of the Deer Lake Band may be traced to bands formerly inhabiting the northwestern part of the state. (Other descendants of these northwestern bands live in White communities along the Canadian border, but have no official status as Indians with the United States government.) To reiterate, the Deer Lake people successfully resisted allotment of lands and continue communal ownership of all their lands; thus



Deer Lake is a "closed reservation," to use a local expression.

In response to internal and external pressures for allotment and to claims on Deer Lake resources by other Chippewa groups and timber interests, the Deer Lake people organized a centralized, constitutional government in 1918. Under this constitution the governing body consisted of a tribal council of seven hereditary chiefs, five representatives selected by each chief, and two officers, chairman and secretary-treasurer, selected by the entire council. The prime organizer of this government was a highly educated half-breed who was selected as the first secretary-treasurer and served in that post for thirty-nine years. In time his influence became so great that he assumed almost complete control over the major decisions of the council. When the secretary-treasurer died in 1957 a year of factional disputes for control of the council ensued. The dispute was finally resolved in 1958 with the formation of a new constitutional government which was finally recognized by the Department of the Interior.<sup>19</sup> The new constitution provided for representative government on the reservation for the first time. The new tribal council consists of ten councilmen representing the several districts of the reservation, and a chairman elected at large; the seven hereditary chiefs serve now only as an advisory body. The man who was the main organizer of the government in 1958 was elected as the first chairman and still serves in that capacity.

The Deer Lake Reservation consists of a block of 407,000 acres of land that was never ceded and 157,363 acres of restored land<sup>20</sup> scattered to the north of the main body of the reservation.



There are a small number of farms on the western end of the reservation, but most of the land is heavily forested. In the past there was more gardening and farming by members of the band. Some of the older people attribute the decline of horticulture and animal husbandry to the appeal of commercial fishing in the years following World War I.

Commercial fishing at Deer Lake is controlled by a tribal cooperative, the Deer Lake Fisheries Association. During recent years the 200 member association has averaged \$300,000 per year income.<sup>21</sup> In addition to commercial fishing, members of the band can fish and hunt for their own consumption on a year-round basis, since reservation territory is not subject to state game and fish regulations. Although there are some wild rice beds in the numerous small lakes of the reservation, the collection of wild rice is not an important activity on the reservation. Some Deer Lake Chippewa gather wild rice on lakes outside the reservation boundaries.

There are a few shops on the reservation; some are owned by members of the band, others are operated by Whites under permit. However, prices are generally high, selection limited, and important items of clothing and furniture are not available. Thus, members of the reservation do much of their shopping in nearby White communities, especially North City. Electricity and television reception are available to nearly all parts of the reservation. Fuel, mainly wood, and water still must be hauled to many homes, although in recent years a cooperative housing project has provided many families with running water and gas heat.



Approximately 3,000 people live on this reservation. Most of the population lives below the southern shore of Lower Deer Lake. Homes are generally scattered along the highway and its tributary roads, but there are two main settlements, Agency and Windy, on the south side of the lake.

Agency is the location of the Bureau of Indian Affairs office, a Public Health Service hospital, the tribal office, forest service, state highway department, an elementary school, the high school, the tribal police station, and the headquarters for several recently begun "anti-poverty" programs. Also at Agency are a few stores and filling stations, a post office, a Roman Catholic mission and elementary school, and an Episcopal church. A tribally owned sawmill is located at Windy. The fishery (packing house and office), two small wood products plants, a few stores, a post office, a movie theatre, and churches of several denominations are also at Windy. This community is the only place on the reservation where there are non-Indian owned lands. These holdings are part of Cramton County and were obtained when a half section of land was sold to a railway company in 1906.<sup>22</sup> Much of the tract has been restored to tribal ownership, and the present chairman is interested in re-acquiring more of the alienated land.

A third community, Nisishin, is the center of Chippewa conservatism on the reservation. Located at Nisishin are an elementary school, a post office, two small grocery stores, housing for teachers, and a number of abandoned buildings. A fundamentalist sect maintains a large building in the village, but mission activity has been on the



whole unsuccessful at Nisishin. Most of the 500 or so people at Nisishin are adherents of traditional Chippewa religious belief and practice. It is here that the Grand Medicine Society still operates, and the chief shaman lives and practices his arts. Disposal of the dead is usually with "Indian rites" and grave houses are clearly visible in family yards. Nearly all the people on the south of the lake are at least nominal Christians, mainly Roman Catholic and Episcopalian. However, some elements of traditional supernaturalism can still be found among these people. In recent years the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints has been proselytizing throughout the reservation, but with very little success.

The Deer Lake Reservation has its own tribal courts and police. Although residents of the reservation may vote in Cramton county elections, the county has no jurisdiction over the reservation, except for non-tribal lands at Windy. The tribal police do, however, cooperate with the Cramton County sheriff's office in apprehending persons on the reservation who are suspected of committing crimes while in Cramton County.

The schools on the reservation are not operated by the federal government. As mentioned, there is a Catholic mission school. The other two elementary schools and the high school are operated by an organized independent Minnesota school district. A local school board is elected from among the members of the reservation. Funds for the school system come from state, federal, and tribal sources.

Every summer there are three major celebrations on this reservation. At Agency and Nisishin there are Fourth of July



festivities which last for several days and a tribal fair at Agency during August. The main activity of these celebrations is "pow wow" singing and dancing. These events are festive times at which some members of the Band who have left the reservation return for a visit. Regularly Indians from other reservations in Minnesota, other states, and Canada attend and participate in these celebrations. At Agency on the day of the Fourth of July there are usually scores of White tourists, but otherwise these are primarily Indian events.

#### Broken Reed Reservation

The perimeter of the Broken Reed Reservation transcends the boundaries of four different counties and encompasses hundreds of thousands of acres. However, only 12,320 acres are tribally owned and another 13,922 acres are in individual allotments.<sup>23</sup> The boundaries of the reservation coincide almost exactly with those of the Ojibway National Forest, to which much of the non-Indian land belongs. The majority of those living within the reservation area are Whites. Several villages are within the reservation, and there are concentrations of Chippewas in most of these communities. Trotter, the county seat of James County, is an important shopping community for many Indians in the area but few reside there. Indians also live in small settlements isolated in the forests. One of these, Mission, is located less than fifteen miles from North City. This little settlement appears to be one of the most traditional and conservative on the reservation. At Mission there is a pagan graveyard in which four people have been buried within the past two years.



The reservation is at the heart of the lake country and is an area of intensive tourist activity. Timber work, in the woods and at the several sawmills, provides a major portion of the livelihood of residents in the reservation area. The small towns in the reservation have shops which are adequate for ordinary needs, but many people make fairly frequent trips to nearby larger communities such as North City.

James Lake is the most important "Indian" community on the reservation, although the majority of the residents are White. The Public Health Service Hospital for members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe is located here. The headquarters for the Broken Reed Community Action Program (Office of Economic Opportunity) are located at James Lake. The Reservation Business Committee applied for the funds for the program, but it is supposed to serve low income Whites as well as Indians who reside within the reservation boundaries. James Lake was the scene of Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiries in 1964, following local Indians' charges of discrimination by village police and officials; findings were inconclusive. Nonetheless, James Lake is the location of a federally funded legal services program--the only one of its kind on Minnesota Indian reservations. The project seeks to increase Indian awareness of legal rights and to correct prejudicial treatment in the local village and county courts. Legal services are not necessarily confined to Indians on Broken Reed Reservation.

The religious situation among Indians on this reservation is rather complex. There are enclaves of traditionalists in some areas,



who, incidentally, occasionally enlist the services of the Nishishin shaman. Most of the Broken Reed Indians are Roman Catholics or Episcopalians but as at Deer Lake, there are some distinctly "Indian" elements in their version of Christianity. The Episcopal vicar at James Lake is an Indian from the Beaver Pelt Reservation, but most of his active parishioners are Whites. At James Lake the Mormons have been relatively successful in winning Indian converts and they now have their own meeting hall. Rice Village, several miles east of James Lake, is the one community of Chippewa peyotists in the state. The hamlet consists of only thirty-eight people, who live on the eighty acre allotment of one of the member's forebearers. The community is both geographically and socially isolated from the rest of the Broken Reed population, and misconceptions about their beliefs and practices are common.

At Broken Reed there are no reservation-wide celebrations. Indians generally do not participate in the community celebrations of the predominantly White communities on the reservation. The Indian community, Wicket, sponsors a four-day pow wow celebration in late July of each year. The celebration is ostensibly a wild rice thanksgiving festival. The celebration is a focus of community organization and pride, and draws attention from the many tourists who travel the federal highway passing through the village. Usually there are dancers and singers from several other reservations at the Wicket celebration. The Chamber of Commerce of Trotter sponsors weekly pow wows during the summer, primarily for the benefit of the many tourists in the immediate vicinity. These are well attended by



vacationers. More importantly, the Trotter pow wows are attractive to Indians as well. Chippewas come not only from nearby communities on the Broken Reed Reservation but also from the Deer Lake and Beaver Pelt reservations. The Master of Ceremonies for the pow wows is a local White man, but he executes his duties with dignity and taste---even using a few phrases in Chippewa occasionally. These Indian dances at Trotter are much more successful than comparable ones sponsored by the North City Chamber of Commerce. At one of the Trotter pow wows each summer an Indian Princess is selected. The Deer Lake Reservation selects its own Princess at its tribal fair. Although girls from Deer Lake may enter the Trotter competition, only members of the Band may enter the Deer Lake contest.

#### The Beaver Pelt Reservation

The Beaver Pelt Reservation had been intended as the home for all Chippewas in Minnesota except the Deer Lake Band. Consequently, the present day population of the reservation is composed of the descendants of Chippewa from many parts of the state. This reservation encloses a sizable land area, completely encompassing one county and parts of two others. However, only a small portion of the land is actually Indian owned; 25,382 acres of tribal land and 2,099 acres of allotted lands<sup>24</sup> are widely scattered throughout the reservation area.

The Beaver Pelt Reservation is heavily timbered in some places, but much of the land is suitable for farming, unlike the other two reservations. In the past many of the Indians, particularly the



mixed bloods, were relatively successful in agriculture. Only a few of the Indians operate farms today. Employment is principally in forestry and agricultural labor. The economic conditions of the population are particularly poor. Rates of welfare reciprocity on this reservation are very high. To deal with these problems the present chairman of the Beaver Pelt Business Committee is attempting to attract small industries to the reservation. The tribe owns a plot of land on which there are several buildings suitable for small manufactures; it is these tax exempt properties which the chairman uses as a selling point in his efforts. So far he has had only minor success.

At one of the Beaver Pelt communities, Green Grass, there is a Public Health Service day clinic. Also at Green Grass are the headquarters for the reservation Community Action Program; it has not been as generously supported by federal grants as have similar programs at Deer Lake and Broken Reed. The majority of the people in the Beaver Pelt reservation are non-Indians, and many of those enrolled as Indians have a predominantly Caucasian ancestry.

Most of the Indians on this reservation are either Episcopalian or Roman Catholic. There are no communities of practitioners of traditional Chippewa religion. Nonetheless, elements of Chippewa supernaturalism survive, and certain Christian practices have a distinctly Chippewa quality. One of these practices, which is found on all of the reservations, is the wake for the dead. A wake continues over three to four nights, is usually performed in a private



home, and is characterized by singing songs in Chippewa and eating large amounts of food. In one of the predominantly Indian communities on the Beaver Pelt Reservation there is a fundamentalist church whose minister is a local Indian. The minister is also a school bus driver.

Up until about twenty-five years ago there were large secular celebrations on this reservation which sometimes had Midewiwin<sup>25</sup> ceremonies as adjuncts. Today there are no Indian community celebrations on the reservation. In 1966, the Community Action Program attempted to revive the old Flag Day pow wow at Green Grass. On the whole, the attempt was unsuccessful because there was an insufficient number of singers and dancers present.

#### Other Characteristics of the Three Reservations

Unlike Deer Lake, there are no tribal police or courts on either the Broken Reed or Beaver Pelt Reservations. Law enforcement is the responsibility of village, county, and state governments. Except for about 120 pupils at a mission school in Green Grass, children on the Broken Reed and Beaver Pelt reservations attend public schools; most of these are in predominantly White communities. At Deer Lake, other than children of government service personnel and the few Whites at Windy, student bodies are entirely Indian. Several elementary schools on the Beaver Pelt Reservation are composed mainly of Indian students. These children frequently experience adjustment difficulties when they transfer to the predominantly White high schools.



The collection of wild rice is an important activity on both the Broken Reed and Beaver Pelt reservations. Little of the rice is now gathered by the Indians for their own consumption. Most is sold, unprocessed, to White buyers and dealers. The collection of wild rice is now controlled by the state Conservation Department. The Department prescribes the days and hours on different lakes for legal collection of rice during the few weeks in early fall when the plant ripens. Therefore, Indians no longer establish camps for intensive gathering on one lake; today, with the aid of automobiles, they may go to several different lakes during the season. Even with regulation by the state, an expert pair of rice gatherers—one to pole the boat, one to knock the rice into the boat—can easily earn \$2,000 in a good season, since the price paid for "green" (unprocessed) rice may rise to \$1.75 per pound. The wholesale processing and buying and selling of rice is effectively controlled by White entrepreneurs; some of these wild rice buyers own flotillas of boats, and Indians who have no equipment may rent them. Large numbers of Whites have taken up wild rice gathering, much to the consternation of Indians.

On the Broken Reed reservation there are wild rice beds which, according to nineteenth century treaties, are to be restricted to Indian use. However, since the entire lakes are not controlled by Indians, access to these restricted areas is difficult to control. One relatively large and abundant rice lake in the northeastern corner of the Beaver Pelt Reservation is completely encircled by



tribally owned land and, thus, controlled by the Indians. Only members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe may gather rice on this lake; Whites and members of the Deer Lake Band are excluded. Wild rice gatherers from the Broken Reed Reservation come to this lake, as well as lakes in their own reservation area.

On the Beaver Pelt and Broken Reed reservations members of the tribe are supposed to have treaty guarantees to hunt and fish on tribal lands without being subject to state game and fish laws. In practice, since the tribal lands on these two reservations are tiny patches in the midst of vast areas of non-Indian land, if an Indian takes game or fish on tribal land he usually must cross non-Indian land to get it home. Once outside tribal land he and his bag become subject to the state laws.

On all three of the reservations wild berries and maple sugar are collected. Maple sugar collection is not nearly so common as it was two decades ago, and nowadays both maple sugar and berries are relatively unimportant sources of income on these reservations. In contrast, the traditional staple, wild rice, has been transformed into an important cash crop.<sup>26</sup> But, for many of the Indians, gathering wild rice is more than an economic activity. It is tinged with the nostalgia of "the Indian way of life."

#### North City--A Brief History and Description

North City lies between Lake Izzy and the southwestern shore of Lake Gitchee, as shown in Figure 2. The city extends northward along the west shore of Lake Gitchee and southward around the southern



end of the lake to the east shore. Swampy lands to the west of the city inhibit its expansion in that direction.

In the eighteenth century Canadian and American fur companies had outposts on Lake Gitchee, but little is known of them.<sup>27</sup> The history of North City begins in 1888. In that year a trading post was established by a private businessman on the south shore of Lake Gitchee. Shortly a small settlement developed around the trading post, and very quickly North City became the hub of activity in the heyday of the timber industry. In 1895 the first hotel was built and in 1897 Cramton County was organized with North City as the county seat. In 1904 another community, Melby, was established across the river from North City, but it was later incorporated into the municipality of North City. In 1906 the ten year old weekly newspaper, the North City Pioneer began daily circulation and, in the same year, a high school was established. In 1918 a state normal school was built which eventually became North City State College. In the early days North City was the center of trade and transport for the bustling timber industry of the region. Then, the big timber was gone. The large sawmill at North City closed in 1926.<sup>28</sup> But, the city continued to grow and hold its place as the center of commerce and transportation for Cramton County and several other surrounding counties.

Today North City has a population of approximately 10,000 people and covers fifteen square miles of territory. Population density is slightly more than 650 persons per square mile, which



contrasts with 9.3 per square mile for the county as a whole.

The city is primarily a trade and administrative center for the surrounding area. Manufacturing is only a small part of the economy. There are a few small factories, the largest of which is a plywood plant employing about sixty workers. Less than 20% of the labor force is in manufacturing.<sup>29</sup> The largest percentage of the workers are employed in retail trade.

Weekends and the Christmas holiday season find North City crowded with farmers, loggers, small townsmen, and reservation Indians who come from the countryside to shop. The movie theatre, and in the summer two drive-in theatres, and the many taverns provide recreational attractions for people in the area. There are thirteen grocery stores in the city, nine hardware stores, several clothing stores specializing in either men's or women's clothing and six department stores representing national chains. Automobile dealerships in the city represent all the major United States manufacturers. The city is at the crossroads of several rail, trucking, bus, and airline routes. North City is the only place in the region with daily commercial airline service. In addition, North City is the location of offices for electrical, gas, and telephone utilities. Many people come to North City for the services of one of fourteen physicians and eleven dentists; the community has an eighty-two bed hospital. There are four pharmacies in North City.

Vacationers and tourists are an important source of income for North City. In the summer the streets are lively with tourists



shopping for necessities as well as souvenirs. Many service stations and small cafes in the city receive heavy tourist patronage during this time. A private entrepreneur operates a small amusement park on the shore of Lake Gitchee adjacent to large concrete statues of Paul Bunyan and his blue ox--hallmarks of the city; the amusement park is operated under a franchise from the city. The local Jaycees sponsor a mid-summer water carnival and beauty contest, which attract many tourists as well as people who live in the surrounding communities. The Chamber of Commerce pays a few Indians from Deer Lake to dance by the lake shore several evenings during the summer. An old but fashionable resort on the northern edge of the city is the location of a summer stock theatre, which is managed by a board of local citizens.

North City is an administrative center for a large area of northern Minnesota. The largest building in the city is the four story Federal Building. In addition to the post office, this building houses offices of several federal agencies which serve the people of Cramton County and surrounding counties.<sup>30</sup>

Two blocks from the Federal Building is the Minnesota Building where there are branch offices of the State Health Department and divisions of the State Department of Education, including the Indian Division. Yet another building is occupied completely by an office of the State Employment Service; this office has responsibility for four counties and the Deer Lake Indian Reservation. Offices of the Corrections Department, Bureau of Game and Fish, Division of Lands



and Minerals, and a Deputy Registrar of Motor Vehicles are dispersed among a number of buildings in the business district. The State Highway Department has an office building and garages on the south side of the city. The Cramton County courthouse, at the northwestern corner of the business district contains not only the usual county courts and offices but also the office of the Community Action Program, which serves low-income Whites in Cramton and James Counties. The Cramton County Welfare Department has its own building. Near the courthouse is the North City clinic, where the majority of the city's physicians practice. A few doors from the clinic is a mental health center which serves the people of Cramton and five adjacent counties; the center is staffed by a psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, and assistants, and is supported by funds from the six counties and the State Department of Public Welfare.

Educational institutions are a major part of the North City economy. The city has three public and one parochial elementary schools and public junior and senior high schools. In addition to city children, pupils from the surrounding countryside--including some Indians from Mission--are transported by bus to the North City schools. A vocational school is jointly operated by the city and the state for the benefit of high school graduates in a multi-county area of northern Minnesota. The largest educational institution is North City State College with an enrollment of approximately 3,000 students. The college curriculum includes undergraduate studies in many disciplines and graduate programs leading to the master's degree



in four fields. An elementary school is maintained on the campus as a laboratory school; many of the pupils in this school are children of college staff personnel. Also at North City State College is the University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service area coordinator for six counties in the region. A federally funded technical assistance and training center for all Indian reservations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan was established at the college in the spring of 1968. Almost as many people are employed in education in North City as in retail trade.<sup>31</sup>

North City has two newspapers and a commercial radio broadcasting station; television reception is available on four channels. Three banks and a savings and loan association are in the city. There are seventeen churches in North City. Also in the city is an Episcopal home for "pre-delinquent" teenagers; these youngsters attend city schools. It is the policy of the home that the group under their care should contain both Indians and Whites and the Indians should be kept in the majority. Voluntary organizations in the city include Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Elks, Moose, Lions, Rotary Club, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Masons, Women's auxiliaries of many of the men's clubs, professional associations, garden clubs, a country club, labor unions, League of Women Voters, sports teams, and many religious organizations.

The municipal government is composed of a mayor, city commission, and city manager. City offices, courts, and police station are located



in the City Hall, near the Minnesota Building. One of the principal problems confronting the local government is providing public services, e.g., streets and water, to large areas of the city which are thinly populated.

North City is, of course, affected by the same economic difficulties that beset the surrounding area. However, these problems are generally less severe for the urban population. As stated in an earlier section, median family income for Cramton County in the 1960 census was \$3,467, compared to \$5,573 for the state as a whole. North City median family income was \$4,703, well above the county median, but still considerably below that of the state.

From the foregoing discussion of North City two major characteristics of the community emerge. First, though relatively small, it is in fact a city; it is an urban area. Using Charles Stewart's distinction between urban and rural areas, North City is urban by virtue of its economy based on "spatially intensive industries and occupations," rather than "spatially extensive industries and occupations,"<sup>33</sup> such as agriculture, logging, outdoor recreation, and commercial fishing. To use Wirth's terms, North City is a "relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogenous individuals."<sup>34</sup>

Secondly, there are no major industries in North City to employ large numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers from the countryside. Rather, the community is an administrative and educational center for a large area of northern Minnesota. A large portion of the North City labor force is composed of professional and



managerial people. North City is dependent on the need for its services and goods by people in the villages and countryside.

The ethnic composition of North City is primarily northern European, principally Scandinavian. There are a few people of Italian or French ancestry, a few Slavs, and the high school Spanish teacher is a Latin American. Very few Negroes live in North City. Among the college faculty there are usually four or five Asiatics. A small segment of the population is comprised of persons of Chippewa Indian ancestry.

#### The Indians of North City

The site of North City was apparently an area of Indian occupation prior to White settlement. Evidences of an early burial mound culture were found by early North City settlers but later obliterated.<sup>35</sup> One burial discovered in the course of excavation for the present tourist information and museum building was preserved and is displayed in situ beneath the floor of the museum. Undoubtedly the resources of Gitchee Lake were utilized by early Chippewa from nearby settlements in the Broken Reed area. A footpath along a section of the North City lakeshore is reputed to be an old Indian trail. An old man from the Deer Lake Reservation likes to boast that his father used to camp at what is now a lakeshore city park. An elderly female informant stated that she knew an even older Indian woman who could recall, as a child, having camped at the point where the Mississippi River flows into Gitchee Lake. An elderly male informant retold almost legendary stories he had heard of Indians camping in the North City area.



When the trading post was established in 1888 the locality of the future North City was occupied by a small band of Chippewas led by Sha-na-wish-kung<sup>36</sup> (Walks-with-his-feet-treading-backwards). Early settlers dubbed him Chief Gitchee after the Chippewa name for the lake. One of the original traders is reported to have married one of Sha-na-wish-kung's daughters.<sup>37</sup> The published history of Cramton County includes a photograph of Sha-na-wish-kung<sup>38</sup> and another photograph bearing the caption "Indian Camp at (North City) 1897."<sup>39</sup> Today Sha-na-wish-kung is immortalized in a painted wooden statue of a generalized Indian, which is positioned by the lakeshore each summer (and stored indoors during the winter); the statue is locally known as Chief Gitchee.

Aside from discussion of Sha-na-wish-kung, no further mention of Indians in North City is made in the history of the city until 1954.<sup>40</sup> In that year the Indian agency was moved from James Lake to North City "and since that time the Indian population has grown."<sup>41</sup>

Although the census reports which include North City do not specifically identify American Indians, they do distinguish between "white," "Negro," and "other races" in the city. Since there have never been many Asiatics in the city, the majority of the people in the "other races" category must be Indians. The number of people in this category in North City during the last four censuses are as follows:

1930--24
1940--39
1950--48
1960--224 <sup>42</sup>

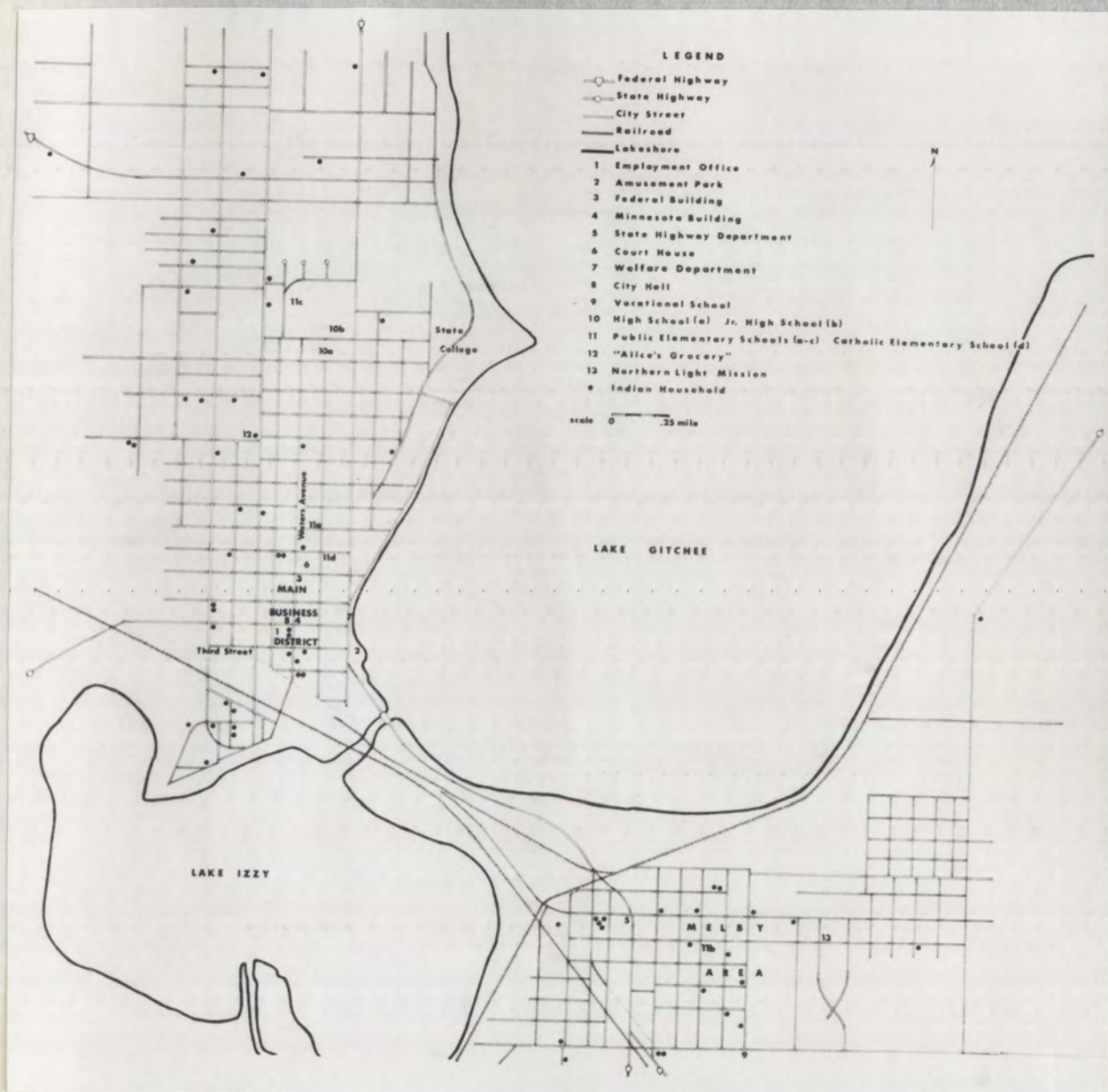


The number of North City Indians slowly increased between 1930 and 1950; there was a sharp increase between 1950 and 1960. In an earlier section, it will be recalled, a similar phenomenon was noted for Metropolis. This rather large increase in North City Indians may be partly accounted for by the censusing procedures used in 1960. In that census, race was by self enumeration; in earlier censuses racial classification had been made by the enumerators--"in many areas the proportion of persons classified as of 'other race' may be somewhat higher because of the procedures first used in 1960."<sup>43</sup> Even so, there was a decided increase in the number of Indians in North City between 1950 and 1960.

There is no place in the city where there are any visible concentrations of Indians. There is no section which could be accurately described as an Indian ghetto, or even an Indian neighborhood. Local people can identify parts of town as places "where quite a few Indians live," but the places mentioned are always neighborhoods where Indians are a small minority in a large majority of Whites. Furthermore, there is no single place so identified, but at least four areas of the city. The largest concentrations of Indians are only clusters of three contiguous households surrounded by White families. There is at least one Indian household in every major residential section of the city.

The spatial distribution of North City Indian households in 1966 is shown in Figure 2. The map clearly demonstrates that there is little territorial concentration of North City Indian dwellings.





**FIGURE 2**

**MAP OF NORTH CITY SHOWING LOCATION  
OF INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS**



However, there appears to be a general tendency for Indians not to live in the northeastern section of the city. The homes of the most affluent Whites are generally in this section and along the lakeshore to the north of the city limits.

Other studies of American Indian urbanization have reported formal voluntary associations among city Indians.<sup>44</sup> Often these associations are of some importance in the social organization and cultural adaptation of these urban Indians. Likewise, there are a number of formal voluntary associations among Indians in the large metropolitan areas of Minnesota. In contrast, there are no formal voluntary associations among North City Indians. One organization might be taken as an exception to this generalization. This possible exception is a small, fundamentalist mission called the Northern Light Chippewa Mission.

The physical structure of the mission is inconspicuous. A remodeled, corrugated tin repair garage serves as a meeting hall. Adjoining the meeting hall is a comfortable frame house in which the missionary resides. The missionary is a small, white-haired woman who served as a missionary for more than twenty years on the Beaver Pelt and Deer Lake Reservations before coming to North City. Her work on these reservations was under the auspices of the same organization which sponsors the North City mission.

The sponsoring organization is non-denominational and fundamentalist; their missions are supported by a variety of churches. The missionary at the North City mission is herself a Mennonite and



sponsored by her home church in southern Minnesota. She states that the North City mission was her idea. Knowing that Indians from reservations had migrated to North City, she felt the mission was needed; in her opinion, the Indians would be reluctant to attend the non-Indian Protestant churches of North City. The mission is intended primarily for North City Indians, but religious meetings are open to anyone. The Northern Light Mission is used as a central meeting place by missionaries from the surrounding reservations.

The missionary is constantly on the alert for new Indian migrants to North City. She keeps informed of new arrivals through Indians she already knows in the city. Her "census" is rather incomplete; most of the names are those of the poorer Indians. The missionary says she makes frequent visits to homes, does favors for North City Indians (but avoids becoming a "soft touch"), takes toys to city Indian children at Christmas time, and holds rummage sales at the mission. The goods for the sales are donated by her sponsoring church people; for a number of reasons she feels that is more advantageous to sell goods at a small price than to give them away. She conducts the rummage sales in order to bring Indians around the mission, since "they like bargains...that gets around more than meetings." In other words, more Indians attend her sales than her religious services.

Despite her efforts, the missionary has poor attendance at her meetings. During an interview she admitted that there had been no Indians at the previous two Sunday meetings; some Whites attend--



mainly as assistants to the missionary. She permitted the author to examine her attendance chart for the period January-September, 1966, which was prominently displayed in the meeting hall. On the chart were listed the names of all those who had attended a meeting and paper stars were affixed to the chart for every Sunday's attendance thereafter. Most of the names were those of children, and of the Indian adults (her White assistants' names were also on the chart) only one old couple and a young woman married to a White man had enough stars to indicate anything like regular attendance. At one meeting attended by the author the old couple were the only Indian adults present; also attending were half a dozen Indian children and about a dozen Whites. All the Indians present had been transported by car to the meeting by the missionary or one of her assistants.

In summary, the mission is poorly attended and has little, if any importance as an organizational focus for North City Indians. At best, the missionary is a communications link among some of the poorer Indians, and the mission serves as an occasional meeting place for some of the small children. North City Indians play no role in the direction or management of the mission; they are merely passive attendees of events planned and executed by the missionary and her White volunteer assistants. Thus, the mission can be dismissed as not really being a North City Indian formal voluntary association.

On the state college campus some of the approximately thirty-five American Indian students, mainly Chippewa, have organized an American Indian students club. The organization is confined to the



college campus; it is not a voluntary association among Indian residents of North City. However, it could possibly become a focus for wider organization among Indians in the city. Aside from the American Indian students club, and the Northern Light Mission, there is not even a suggestion of voluntary associations among North City Indians.

There are many places in North City where Indians tend to congregate informally. One of the municipal liquor stores is known among local Whites as "the Indian bar," in contrast to the other larger municipal bar, "Number one," or alternatively, "the Muny." As a matter of fact Indians patronize both places. It is true that middle class Whites avoid "number two," "the Indian bar"; so it would probably be more accurate to describe "the Muny" as "the White man's bar." One cafe has a local reputation as an Indian hangout, and it is one of the eating places preferred by many Indians. The cafe has rooms for rent on the second floor and these are sometimes used by Indians for short stays in North City. This cafe has been an Indian gathering place for many years, according to some informants. Another cafe, which also serves beer, attracts a large number of Indians, particularly on weekends; however, the main clientele are the many elderly single men who live in apartments in surrounding blocks. A few of these elderly men are Indians.

Indians can often be seen lounging against store fronts at the intersection of Third Street and Waters Avenue (see Figure 2). One younger informant reported that he had often heard Waters Avenue



referred to by his peers as "Indian Avenue." The discount and used goods stores along Third Street appeal to many Indians. Indians patronize most of the taverns and cafes in the city; many attend weekend bingo games at the Elks and VFW clubs. The main lakefront with the amusement park, tourist center, and occasional Indian dances, is a gathering place for Indians as well as Whites during the summer months.

All these businesses and locations might be labeled "Indian places," but they are patronized by Whites as well as Indians; in most, Indians are usually in the minority. Furthermore, most of the Indians encountered in these places live in nearby reservation communities and come to North City for shopping and recreation.

Most of the Indian customers of small neighborhood grocery stores are usually residents of North City. Reservation Indians restrict their shopping to the large supermarkets. Because of the dispersion of Indian households, no one of the small groceries has very many Indian customers and the large majority of customers are Whites. One of these neighborhood groceries is noteworthy.

Alice's Grocery (refer to Figure 2) is operated by a woman of part Indian ancestry who formerly owned and managed a store on the Deer Lake Reservation. She is herself a member of the Beaver Pelt Reservation. She receives considerable patronage from North City Indians who knew her and her business on the reservation. There are several Indian households in the general vicinity of Alice's Grocery, but some of her Indian customers come from distant parts of the city.



Alice has only recently come to North City, so it is possible that her store will become in time a relatively important focus of North City Indian interaction.

In North City, Indians can usually be seen in what have been called "Indian places", in the shops and large supermarkets, at the movies, and on the streets. However, most of these Indians are from communities on the nearby reservations. Automobiles have made trips to North City commonplace. This presence of many reservation Indians contributes to the "invisibility" of the resident urban population of Indians. Furthermore, just as with the reservation Indians, some mixed-blood North City Chippewa cannot be visually identified as Indians. The residential dispersion of Indians in the city further contributes to their invisibility. Spatial dispersion, absence of voluntary associations, relative absence of foci for informal organization, and low visibility are probably all closely inter-related factors among North City Indians. These factors strongly suggest that there is no viable community of Indians residing in North City. There is no community in the sense of a group which has a self conscious social identity and which is recognized by non-members as a distinct entity.



## Notes to Chapter II

1. Although the term "Ojibwa" is more common in the anthropological literature, I shall use the term "Chippewa" throughout, in keeping with local custom.
2. State of Minnesota, Governor's Human Rights Commission, Minnesota's Indian Citizens, (1965), p. 7.
3. Harold Hickerson, The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study ("Memoir 92: American Anthropological Association," Vol. LXIV, No. 3, Part 2, June, 1962), pp. 12-64.
4. George Irving Quimby, Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 157.
5. "White" will be used throughout to refer to European derived peoples and cultures.
6. "Minnesota Indians" (U.S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minnesota Agency, 1965), p. 8 (Mimeographed).
7. Ibid., p. 3.
8. Ibid.
9. "Statistical Summary of Public Assistance." Monthly reports for January through December, 1964 (Research and Statistics Section, Administrative Services, Minnesota Department of Public Welfare, St. Paul, 1964); (Mimeographed).
10. State of Minnesota, Governor's Human Rights Commission, Op. cit., p. 42.
11. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Population, I, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1901), p. 215.  
  , U.S. Census of Population: 1950. Characteristics of the Population, Minnesota, II, Part 23 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 42.  
  , U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 39.
12. Letter from Larry Brown, License Supervisor, Minnesota Department of Conservation, St. Paul, 1964.



13. U.S., Weather Bureau, Climatography of the United States No. 86-17, Decennial Census of United States Climate. Climatic Summary of the United States--Supplement for 1951 through 1960: Minnesota (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964) p. 33.
14. Ibid., p. 3.
15. U.S., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 296, 305, 214.
16. Ibid.
17. Gretel Hoffman Whitaker, "People and Politics in a Chippewa Community" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, 1967), pp. 65-67.
18. "Minnesota Agency" (U.S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minnesota Agency, March 20, 1965), p. 2, (Mimeographed).
19. Frank C. Miller, "Problems of Succession in a Chippewa Council," Political Anthropology, ed. Marc J. Swartz, Victor W. Turner, and Arthur Tuden (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 174-182.
20. "Minnesota Indians," op. cit., p. 7.
21. State of Minnesota, Governor's Human Rights Commission, op. cit., p. 47.
22. Charles W. Vandersluis, A Brief History of Beltrami County (Beltrami County Historical Society, 1963), p. 8.
23. "Minnesota Indians," op. cit., p. 4.
24. Ibid., p. 5.
25. For a recent extensive treatment of Chippewa religion see: Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).
26. Stuart J. Berde, "Wild Ricing: The Transformation of an Aboriginal Subsistence Pattern" (unpublished Honor's thesis, College of Liberal Arts, University of Minnesota, 1966).
27. Vandersluis, op. cit., p. 2.
28. Ibid., p. 16.



29. Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide: 96th Edition  
(Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 250.
30. These offices include:
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  - Bureau of Indian Affairs
  - Deer Lake Band of Chippewa Indians Accounting Office
  - District Director of Internal Revenue
  - Economic Development Administration
  - Farmer's Home Administration
  - Minnesota Chippewa Tribe Business Office
  - Public Health Service Indian Health Field Office
  - Social Security Administration, District Office
  - Soil Conservation Service
  - U.S. Army Recruiting Station
  - U.S. Navy Recruiting Substation
31. Rand McNally..., loc. cit.
32. U.S., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960.  
General Social and Economic Characteristics, Minnesota, op. cit.,  
p. 257.
33. Charles T. Stewart, "The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and  
Uses," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV, No. 2 (September,  
1958), p. 154.
34. Wirth, op. cit., p. 8.
35. Vandersluis, op. cit., p. 2.
36. Ibid., p. 7.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 40.
39. Ibid., p. 29.
40. Ibid., p. 23.
41. Ibid.
42. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United  
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Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 1218.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Sixteenth Census of the United  
States: 1940. Characteristics of the Population, II, Part 4  
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\_\_\_\_\_, U.S. Census of Population: 1960.  
General Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25B  
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### CHAPTER III

#### DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Cities differ demographically from rural areas. In addition to gross differences in size and concentrations of populations, there are significant differences in sex ratios, age structures, and fertility rates. Whereas rural populations have disproportionately large percentages of dependent children, the aged, or both, urban populations tend to have concentrations of people in the productive ages, 20-44.<sup>1</sup> In general fertility measures are lower in cities than in the countryside;<sup>2</sup> in some areas of the world fertility rates have been shown to vary inversely with city size.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, Hammel<sup>4</sup> has demonstrated that even though demographic characteristics of whole cities may differ from rural areas, certain segments of the urban population may more closely resemble rural populations. Specifically, he has shown that while urban slums in Peru do differ from rural villages in having younger populations and an excess of persons in the 20-24 age group, slums also differ from whole cities "...in their greater rate of fertility, a lack of elderly females, and ...occasional departure from the general excess of females in Latin American cities...."<sup>5</sup>

From the foregoing, it might be expected that North City Indians as an urban population will exhibit significant demographic



differences from reservation populations. At the same time, it may be hypothesized that Indians are a demographically distinct segment of the whole city population. Data on age and sex distribution, fertility, and education are presented in this chapter to evaluate these hypotheses. In addition, information on places of birth, tribal enrollment, Indian blood quanta, household size and composition, and length of residence are presented as further demographic background on North City Indians.

#### The Nature of the Data

It should be clearly understood that the data analyzed here are from a random sample of households (see Chapter I), rather than a complete census. In this chapter the random sample consists of twenty-seven rather than twenty-six households as stated in Chapter I. This is because one respondent who refused to complete the entire interview did provide the necessary demographic information.

A total of 106 individuals are included in the sample; however, non-Indian spouses were excluded from the analysis, reducing the total to ninety-nine. Children of inter-racial couples were counted as Indians. Occasionally comparisons are made with data from the non-random sample (see Chapter I).

Most of the comparative reservation data are from random samples of households in three communities on the Broken Reed Reservation. These data were collected by other researchers during 1965-66 using an interview schedule similar to that used in North City. Ideally, comparisons should be made with communities on the



other reservations as well, but comparable data are not available. Comparisons are also made based on data from the 1960 U. S. Census.

It has already been established that Indian migration to North City showed a marked increase between 1950 and 1960. Therefore, it is perhaps best to begin this demographic survey by examining length of residence in North City.

#### Length of Urban Residence

During 1960 an estimated average of 300 Chippewa Indians lived in North City. It is necessary to say "average" since some individuals and families move in and out of the city fairly frequently. In addition, North City Indians occasionally have friends and relatives living with them on a short term basis. At any rate, the figure of 300, which is a conservative estimate, represents approximately a 50% increase over the 218 "other non-whites" of the 1960 U. S. Census.

Information on length of residence in North City was obtained directly for only interviewees, but inferentially for spouses and children as well. Length of residence was computed as length of continuous residence immediately prior to interviewing. One exception was a federal employee who had lived in North City for five years, then spent a one year tour of duty in Metropolis only two years before being interviewed. Five of the interviewees had lived in North City on previous occasions in the past. The range of variation in length of residence is 1.5 to 29 years. Median number of years lived in North City is seven. None of the inter-



viewees nor their Indian spouses had resided continually in the city since childhood. Three women had lived in North City as minor children, but had left the city for a number of years and returned. Only five of the twenty-seven respondents had continuously resided in the city since prior to 1955. Approximately one-third of the sample had moved to North City after the enumeration of the 1960 census.

These data on residence tend to corroborate the estimated 50% increase in North City Indian population. The increased rate of Indian migration to North City begun in the late 1950's continues.

#### Age and Sex

Major age and sex characteristics of the North City sample and comparable information from the three reservation communities are presented in Table 4; figures are also shown for North City as a whole and the U. S. There are few differences between the reservation populations and the city Indian population. The North City Indian figures do, however, exhibit some interesting tendencies.

All the Indian populations except James Lake have an excess of females, but North City Indians have the largest such excess. Of the four Indian populations North City Indians have the second highest fertility ratio. The North City Indian fertility ratio far exceeds the ratio for the city as a whole. The fertility ratio of the total North City population is considerably lower than those of both Indians and Whites in surrounding rural areas (figures not



TABLE 4

## COMPARATIVE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF NORTH CITY INDIANS: RANDOM SAMPLE

	North City Indians	Wicket <sup>a</sup>	James Lake Indians	Rice Village	North City <sup>b</sup>	United States
<u>Sex Ratio--</u> (Females per 1,000 Males)	1178	1130	667	1111	948	1057
<u>Fertility Ratio--<sup>c</sup></u>	1593	1265	1333	2660	549	717
<u>Dependent Children--</u> (under 15)	51.5%	43.5%	53.9%	50.0%	29.6%	26.9%
<u>Active Population--</u> (15-64)	41.4	51.0	38.9	42.0	58.3	61.8
<u>Dependent Aged--</u> (65 and over)	7.1	5.5	7.2	8.0	12.1	8.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

<sup>a</sup>Figures for James Lake Indians, Wicket, Rice Village, and the United States are taken from: Timothy G. Roufs, "Social Structure and Community Development: An Analysis of a Chippewa Case" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, 1967), p. 29.

<sup>b</sup>U.S., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25B, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 111.

<sup>c</sup>Children under five years of age per thousand women aged 20-44



shown).<sup>6</sup> Although the North City Indian fertility ratio is slightly higher than those of the total non-White populations in all but one of the surrounding counties (figures not shown),<sup>7</sup> it differs only slightly from that of other Indian populations in the area.

The age distribution of the North City Indian sample shows only minor variations from that of the reservation communities. When compared to the United States and North City as a whole, all four Indian populations show a deficit of persons in the 15-64 age group and a surfeit of dependent children. In general this situation reflects the overall trend of out-migration from rural areas. To emphasize, the North City Indian population age distribution is very similar to the reservation communities and quite dissimilar from the city as a whole.

Table 5 presents somewhat more detailed age distribution for the North City Indian sample. Compared to the 1960 census data for non-Whites in six surrounding counties (figures not shown)<sup>8</sup> the North City sample shows some curious differences. The major differences are a relative excess in the North City sample of females in the 45-64 category and a deficit in the sample of males in the 15-64 category. As a matter of fact, in the random sample there

TABLE 5

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NORTH CITY INDIAN SAMPLE

	<u>%</u> <u>under 15</u>	<u>%</u> <u>15-44</u>	<u>%</u> <u>45-64</u>	<u>%</u> <u>65 or over</u>
Males	57.8	22.2	11.1	8.9
Females	46.3	31.5	16.6	5.6



are no males or females in the age 20-24 category. However, in the non-random sample there were six females and two males in the 20-24 age group, and generally larger percentages of males and females in the 15-44 category.

Data on Indians living in Metropolis<sup>9</sup> suggest contrasts between North City Indians and metropolitan populations. These Metropolis data were collected from a random sample of 100 Indians (31 men and 69 women); the great majority of these are Chippewa. Unfortunately age data are given only for respondents, and not whole families. Nevertheless, these data show that those in the age group 23-40 comprise 56% of the adult (over age 16) population, while those 65 and over account for only 4% of the adult population. By comparison North City and the reservation communities have relatively small portions of young adults and large portions of the aged.

In summary, the North City Indian sample shows little variation from reservation populations, but does differ considerably from the population of the city as a whole. Available comparative data on fertility and age groups indicate that the North City Indians differ from reservation populations in the opposite direction from what might be expected from previous urbanization studies.

#### Education

Suitable data are not available for direct comparison of the educational levels of North City Indians and reservation Indian communities; 1960 census information must suffice.



In the total sample population the median number of years of formal schooling completed is 6.0 years. The median for those aged 25 and over is 8.5; the range is zero to 14. The median number of years of school completed by interviewees is 8.0.

By comparison, among Cramton and James County non-Whites aged 25 and over the median numbers of years of school completed are 8.8 and 7.8 respectively.<sup>10</sup> The median years of school completed by all persons in North City aged 25 and over is 11.0.<sup>11</sup> In the Metropolis survey 47% of the Indian respondents had completed eleven or more years of school.<sup>12</sup>

Again, the North City sample appears to differ little from reservation populations, but shows greater variance from the city population as a whole. Available data suggest that North City Indians differ in educational levels from Indians in Metropolis.

#### Birth Place and Tribal Enrollment

Tables 6 and 7 present the data on place of birth and tribal enrollment of the North City Indian sample. All of the persons born in North City or Metropolis were dependent children at the time of the study; likewise, most of those born in "other places" were children. Therefore, the bulk of the North City Indian adults, and incidentally, quite a few of the children, were born on one or another of the three surrounding reservations. Although this is a highly expectable finding, it does establish that North City draws most of its Indian population from reservations in the immediate area. A few members of other tribes, e.g., Dakota and Flathead,



TABLE 6

## PLACE OF BIRTH OF NORTH CITY INDIANS; RANDOM SAMPLE

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Deer Lake Reservation (Population: <u>ca.</u> 2,650)	20	20.2%
Broken Reed Reservation (Population: <u>ca.</u> 2,400)	19	19.2
Beaver Pelt Reservation (Population: <u>ca.</u> 2,350)	13	13.1
Other Reservations	3	3.0
North City	24	
Metropolis	8	8.2
Other Places	<u>12</u>	<u>12.1</u>
Total	99	100%

TABLE 7

## TRIBAL ENROLLMENT OF NORTH CITY INDIANS; RANDOM SAMPLE

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Deer Lake Reservation (Population: <u>ca.</u> 2,650)	22	22.2%
Broken Reed Reservation (Population: <u>ca.</u> 2,400)	17	17.2
Beaver Pelt Reservation (Population: <u>ca.</u> 2,350)	20	20.2
Other Reservations	3	3.0
Other Minnesota Chippewa Tribe <sup>a</sup>	10	10.1
Un-enrolled	<u>27</u>	<u>27.3</u>
Total	99	100.0%

<sup>a</sup>Includes all those enrolled from other reservations and interviewees who did not specify the reservation of their enrollment.



are employed by the federal government and live in North City, but they are only a very small minority of the city's Indian population. Even Chippewa born on the other four more distant reservations in Minnesota, constitute only a tiny portion of the North City Indian population. It can be stated, then, that as an urban center North City has little attraction for Indians outside the immediate vicinity.

The percentages of persons born in each of the three nearby reservations are in approximately the same proportions as the populations of those reservations. The largest deviation in the North City sample is for the Beaver Pelt Reservation. This is partially explained by the number of children of Beaver Pelt parents born during recent times at the Public Health Service Hospital in James Lake. In the Metropolis sample 27% of the respondents originate from the Beaver Pelt Reservation, 16% from the Deer Lake Reservation, and only 6% from the Broken Reed Reservation (the remaining 51% come from a variety of places in Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and elsewhere).<sup>13</sup>

Not all persons eligible for enrollment, particularly young children, are in fact enrolled. Respondents enrolled in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe usually reported the reservation from which they and their children were enrolled, but a few gave only the Tribe as their enrollment. The enrollment figures shown in Table 7 correspond even closer than place of birth to the proportions of the three principal reservation populations in their combined total.



To summarize, most adults in the North City Indian sample originate from the three nearest reservations. The populations of these reservations are proportionately, and roughly equally, represented in the total North City Indian sample.

#### Indian Blood Quanta

Interviewees were asked to state the percentage of Indian ancestry (Indian blood quantum) of themselves and other members of the household. The percentages thus obtained were later compared with the official Indian blood quanta recorded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The differences between respondents' statements and the records were minimal, indicating a high degree of reliability of interviewees. Where there were any differences, figures in the official records were used for computation. In a few cases it was necessary to estimate the Indian blood quanta of children for whom there was inadequate information on the biological father.

In the random sample the Indian ancestry of all but six individuals includes only Chippewa ancestry as far as could be determined. Other than Chippewa, only Wisconsin Oneida is represented in the sample. One man is an enrolled Oneida, but he is married to a member of the Deer Lake Band. One woman's mother was an Oneida, but the woman herself and her children are enrolled in the Deer Lake Band.

The percentage of Indian ancestry of the sample population ranges from 18.7% to 100%. The median percent of Indian ancestry is 50.0%. cursory examination of Bureau of Indian Affairs records



suggests that this distribution is fairly representative of all enrollees from the three main reservations.

Among the interviewees, specifically, the median percent of Indian ancestry is 58.9%. In this characteristic North City Indians are quite similar to Metropolis Indians, as reported in the study cited above; "over half of the 100 reported being one-half or more Indian in ancestry."<sup>14</sup>

In the sampled households there are seven individuals with no known Indian ancestry. All of these are spouses (two husbands and five wives) of interviewees.

#### Household Size and Composition

Matters relating to social organization will be discussed in Chapter VIII. However, the reader may find an initial brief description of domestic organization useful.

The range of household size (including non-Indian spouses) in the random sample is one to eight members. Mean size is 3.92, and the median is 3.0. There is little difference between the random and the non-random samples. In the latter the range of household size is one to seven members, the mean is 3.6, and the median is 3.0.

The composition of North City Indian households is quite varied. Only fourteen (51.9%) of the domestic units in the random sample are nuclear family households, but two of these include children who are not the common offspring of the conjugal pair. Five of the households (18.5%) are comprised of single, elderly



people (two females and three males). Eight of the households (29.6%) are the type that has been termed the "consanguineal household,"<sup>15</sup> i.e., members of the household are consanguineally related, but no affinal ties are present. There are two kinds of consanguineal households among North City Indians. One is the three generation household: middleaged or elderly woman with one or more adult children, and children of daughters, but no spouses are present. In the random sample there was in fact only one case of a consanguineal household which also included an adult male (a brother-son to the women). The other type of "consanguineal household" is simply the situation in which a woman without a mate present has some of her children living with her, but none of these children has children of his own. One such family approaches the more typical consanguineal household in that an adult daughter who has children but no mate uses her mother's address for purposes of receiving welfare payments, periodically stays with her mother, and most recently has moved into the upstairs apartment of the two story house where her mother lives.

The composition of the non-random sample of households is much the same as the random sample. Sixty percent of the households are basically conjugal. Three (15.2%) are single individuals living alone. The remainder are consanguineal households.

#### Summary and General Comments

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the demographic survey of North City Indians.



First, the rate of Indian migration to North City increased rapidly in the late 1950's and continues to the present.

Second, the great majority of North City Indians originate from the three closest reservations. The three reservations have approximately proportional representation among the city Indians. Despite political, historical, social, cultural, and economic differences (see Chapter I) there appear to be significant differences among the reservations in production of migrants to North City. However, the little data available suggest that there are differences in the production of migrants to Metropolis. In this larger and more distant city one reservation, Beaver Pelt, appears to be over-represented and one reservation, Broken Reed, is under-represented.

Third, and most important, certain demographic characteristics of North City Indians are very similar to those of reservation populations but unlike those of the city as a whole. Fertility and sex ratios of North City Indians correspond closely to those of selected reservation communities. The educational levels of North City Indians appear to be more similar to those of reservation populations than to either that of the city as a whole or Metropolis Indians. The age structure of the North City Indian population is much like that of reservation populations, in its surfeit of children and its deficit of young adults. In short, North City Indians are demographically more similar to rural than to urban populations. Dowling has found a similar situation among the Wisconsin Oneida.<sup>16</sup>



Even though the Oneida reservation merges with the city of Green Bay (population: 125,000), the age structure of the Oneida population is "rural." Young Oneida migrate to larger and more distant cities, e.g., "Metropolis," for employment, rather than seeking local employment, despite the availability of jobs in Green Bay for which young Oneida have the necessary skills. Dowling attributes this phenomenon to the Oneidas' perception of anti-Indian sentiments among Green Bay Whites; thus, social distance is the functional equivalent of geographical distance in separating the Oneida from economic opportunity in Green Bay. Consequently, an urban<sup>17</sup> population has a rural-like structure. Given the much smaller size and poorer economy of North City, compared to Green Bay, the demographic findings on North City Indians are not so anomalous in view of Dowling's work. This is especially so since, as shall be shown in later chapters, similar factors serve to maintain social distance between Indians and Whites in the North City area. This demographic analysis raises the question, "Why are there any Indians at all in North City?" Apparently there must be special circumstances that lead to the eventual relocation of Chippewa Indians to North City.



### Notes to Chapter III

1. Edmund de S. Brunner and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, American Society: Urban and Rural Patterns (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), pp. 188-209.
2. Ibid., pp. 195-197.
3. Ana Casis and Kingsley Davis, "Traits of the Urban and Rural Populations," Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions, ed. Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), pp. 155-157, cited by Eugene A. Hammel, "Some Characteristics of Rural Villages and Urban Slum Populations on the Coast of Peru," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XX, No. 4 (Winter, 1964), p. 348.
4. Hammel, op. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 356.
6. U.S., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 140-150.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Indians in Minneapolis (Minneapolis: League of Women Voters of Minneapolis, 1968).
10. U.S., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Minnesota. Final Report PC(1)-25C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 304.
11. Ibid., p. 257.
12. Indians in Minneapolis, op. cit., p. 6.
13. Ibid., p. 7.
14. Ibid., p. 4.
15. Nancie L. Solien de González, "The Consanguineal Household and Matrilocality," American Anthropologist, LXVII, No. 6, Part 1 (December, 1965), pp. 1541-1549.



16. John H. Dowling, "A 'Rural' Indian Community in an Urban Setting," Human Organization, XXVIII, No. 3 (Fall, 1968), pp. 236-240.
17. There are, however, some questions about the "urban" status of the Oneida reservation (Harry W. Basehart, Personal communication).



## CHAPTER IV

### MARRIAGE AND "SOCIAL MARGINALITY"

North City Indians cannot be demographically distinguished from reservation populations. Neither age, education, place of birth, nor tribal enrollment are useful for predicting which Indians from the three surrounding reservations are likely to migrate to North City. At best it can be stated that Indians from Deer Lake, Broken Reed, and Beaver Pelt Reservations are much more likely to relocate to North City than are any other American Indians. Perhaps some other general characteristic may be found which will differentiate the North City Indian population from its reservation counterparts.

#### Patterns of Marriage

In their pioneering work on American Indian urbanization Ritzenthaler and Sellers<sup>1</sup> suggested that city Indians exhibited a significantly larger percentage of inter-racial marriages than reservation Indians. It may be hypothesized that North City Indians are more racially exogamous<sup>2</sup> than Indians on nearby reservations. Beyond this, however, the hypothesis may be expanded if it is assumed that (1) inter-racial marriage is only one instance of the more general phenomenon of marriage between members of two ordinarily endogamous categories of persons, and (2) among Indians of the North City region race, tribe, and reservation in that order tend to be



endogamous units. (The reader is reminded that the Deer Lake Band and the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe are two separate "tribes.") The hypothesis may now be rephrased as, North City Indians exhibit a greater degree of reservation out-marriage, including inter-reservational, inter-tribal, and inter-racial marriages, than do Indians living on the reservations.

North City Indians do in fact show a strong tendency to have selected marriage partners from outside their community of origin. Data are available on forty-four present or most recent marital unions of North City Indians; among the forty-four cases there are ten persons who are widowed and eight who are separated or divorced. Only eighteen percent of these unions are between Chippewa originating from the same reservation. In comparison the percentages of reservation-endogamous marriages in the Indian communities of James Lake, Wicket, and Rice Village are 52.6%, 58%, and 76%, respectively.<sup>3</sup> In the three communities combined 80% of the marriages are between members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Similarly, only a small portion of the Indians resident on the Deer Lake Reservation are not members of the Band.

Marriage data for North City Indians are presented in greater detail in Table 8. In five of the eight marriages between members of the same reservation one or both of the partners are themselves offspring of reservation-exogamous marriages. In addition, in twenty-three of the thirty-six cases of reservation out-marriages one or both of the partners are the offspring of Indians who had married outside their home reservation.



TABLE 8

ETHNIC AFFILIATION OF SPOUSES IN NORTH CITY  
INDIAN MARITAL UNIONS

<u>Marital Unions</u> <u>Between</u>	<u>Random Sample</u>	<u>Others</u>
1. Members of same reservation	4	4
2. Members of different reservations in Minnesota Chippewa Tribe	5	1
3. Member of Deer Lake Band and Member of Minnesota Chippewa Tribe	6	5
4. Members of any other combination of Indian groupings <sup>a</sup>	3	1
5. Indians and Whites	9	6
Totals:	27	17

<sup>a</sup>Included here are, for example, a Deer Lake Chippewa married to a Wisconsin Oneida and a Wisconsin Chippewa whose husband was also a Wisconsin Chippewa but from a different reservation than she. In all these cases, at least one of the pair is Chippewa.



The hypothesis is supported; North City Indians do exhibit a high degree of reservation out-marriage compared to reservation populations. This finding by itself does not reveal any linkages between out-marriage and residence in North City. It may be suggested that residence in North City affords greater opportunities for meeting and marrying non-Indians and Indians from other tribes and reservations; thus, North City residence would be a causal factor in producing extra-reservational marital unions. Ritzenthaler and Sellers produce evidence that just this kind of effect takes place in Milwaukee.<sup>4</sup> However, among North City Indians all but three of the forty-four unions were established before relocation to North City. Furthermore, evidence has been presented that the parents of North City Indians also tended to have selected marital partners from outside the home reservation. While it is true that some North City Indians met their spouses in larger cities,<sup>5</sup> many of the partners met while one or both still resided on their respective reservation. In the case of North City Indians the relationship between urban residence and out-marriage is not a simple matter of city residence "causing" selection of outsiders as marital partners. The relationship is more complex.

It is proposed here that once an extra-reservational marriage is contracted, wherever the partners meet, it has important social consequences for the integration of individuals into the bilaterally organized societies of modern Chippewa reservations. First, whereas marriage between two Indians from the same reservation usually mutually



increases their and their offspring's kinship and other ties to that particular reservation, marriage to an outsider fails to produce these additional social ties to the home reservation. Indeed, such an out-marriage establishes a new set of ties away from the home reservation. Secondly, over time a reservation-exogamous marriage may tend to weaken the ties of the partners to their respective communities. Thirdly, if an exogamously married couple resides in the community of one of the partners this may induce social, economic, or psychological strains on one or the other or both of the partners. Finally, while out-marriage may have a profound effect on an individual's status in his own community, it need not weaken his attachment to the general vicinity of the home reservation, particularly if marital partners originate from reservations in close proximity to one another. These points may be clarified by concrete examples of the problems encountered by exogamously married couples who have lived on the reservation of one of the partners.

Unfortunately it is not possible to give a full account of the social consequences in a reservation community of exogamous marriage. Still, informants provided sufficient information to give some insight into the kinds of difficulties imposed by out-marriage.

The Caucasian wife of a man from Mission remembers being frightened and anxious when the couple lived on the reservation many years ago before they moved to North City. A James Lake Indian man married to a White woman from North City stated that he moved to North City in order to be of assistance to the wife's aged mother;



his own mother remains on the reservation, but he manages to see her several times a week.

The problems brought about by reservation out-marriage seem particularly pronounced when the Deer Lake Reservation is involved. This is in part attributable to the "closed" nature of that reservation and to a certain amount of latent hostility between some members of the Deer Lake Band and other Chippewa. Frequently men married to Deer Lake women recounted the difficulties they encountered in seeking employment on the wife's home reservation. A Beaver Pelt man married to a Deer Lake woman said of his experience on her reservation, "You could just feel it--that they didn't like you being there." (As a matter of fact the Deer Lake Tribal Chairman has stated that available jobs on the reservation will be offered to Band members in preference to Indians from other reservations.)

One Broken Reed Reservation woman who had married a Deer Lake man established a consensual union with another on the Deer Lake Reservation after her husband died. Her consensual mate's cousin reported that eventually the couple was admonished to marry or else the woman would have to leave the reservation. She now lives in North City, but the man remains on the reservation and travels to North City to maintain the relationship. Likewise, an informant originally from the Broken Reed Reservation lived on the Deer Lake Reservation for many years with his Deer Lake wife. Apparently he received special consideration from the former secretary-treasurer, who had been a classmate of the informant's father at an eastern boarding school in



the nineteenth century. After the political change of 1958, the informant's trapping and fishing privileges on the reservation were gradually curtailed. When his wife left the reservation to live with her children in Chicago he moved to North City. In 1968, he was removed from the Deer Lake Fourth of July committee, of which he had been a member for many years--even after moving to North City. Perhaps an important aspect of the relationship between out-marriage and North City residence is best summarized by the Broken Reed wife of a Deer Lake man: "He didn't want to live on my reservation, and I didn't want to live on his, so we came to North City--'bout half way in between."

#### Social Marginality

The overall effect of marriage to a reservation outsider may be described as a condition of "social marginality." That is, all things being equal, by contrast to the individual whose consanguineal and affinal kin, childhood friends, and spouse's friends are all members of the same reservation, the out-married person has these ties divided between two different reservations, tribes, or races and is thus not as tightly integrated into either community as are in-married persons in each of the two communities. Midway between the extremes are endogamously married couples in which one of the partners is the child of an exogamously married couple. Describing the effects of reservation out-marriage under the general term, "social marginality," introduces the possibility that there may be



other factors, alone or in concert with reservation exogamy, which contribute to this condition.

The concept of social marginality has much in common with the "marginal man" concept.<sup>6</sup> The difference is a matter of emphasis. Whereas the marginal man concept focuses on such questions as the psychological consequences of conflicting loyalties in complex societies, the phrase "social marginality" directs attention to the structural parameters of marginality. In other words, social marginality, as a concept, does not deal directly with individual behaviors of persons "caught on the boundary of two or more cultures,"<sup>7</sup> but it does contribute to understanding the ways in which individuals become marginal vis-a-vis a particular society, in this case one of the reservations in northern Minnesota.

#### Other Factors in Social Marginality

A surprisingly large number of North City Indians have personal and family occupational histories which include employment which may be considered deviant in terms of the majority of Chippewa Indians. Several of the informants and/or their parents were employed by the Indian Service on reservations as foremen, interpreters, or skilled and semi-skilled workers. Four of the respondents have either owned or had parents who owned entrepreneurial establishments on reservations. Two of these cases are among the few reservation-endogamous marriages in the city. One of these is particularly noteworthy. One old Deer Lake man who migrated to North City after the death of his Deer Lake



wife was the son and part heir of one of the few native grocers on the reservation. His father had worked for the government as an interpreter, and the old man himself had been Deer Lake chief of police for a few years in the 1930's. He says, "Most of what I know I learned from the white man." Two other elderly North City Indian men are the sons of Indian policemen.

Another of the few North City Indians married to a member of his own reservation, again Deer Lake, appears to have been forced into a marginal position by his father's religious conversion. When the informant was still a boy his father was converted from Catholicism to a fundamentalist sect, of which few local Whites and virtually no other Indians are members. In his youth the informant was forced by his father to attend proselytizing meetings in nearby White towns, while at the same time the informant's uncle urged him to continue his Catholic devotion. The informant finally rejected his father's religion, his father's demands that he become a conscientious objector in World War II, and formalized religion in general. Today the informant says of his now deceased father, "People up there [on the reservation] thought he was some kind of kook."

Finally, unique circumstances of some persons' lives have placed them in an anomalous position in reservation society. Accidents of birth and death may leave individuals with weakened ties to the reservation community. Perhaps Mrs. Fish<sup>8</sup> is the best example.

She was born in the nineteenth century of a Caucasian father and a Nisishin mother on the Deer Lake Reservation. Mrs. Fish's mother



died at an early age and her Indian kinsmen who raised her would not allow the Caucasian father to visit his offspring. When still quite young Mrs. Fish established a consensual union and later married Mr. Fish. He took her from Nisishin across the lake to his home at Agency. In those days travel between the two communities was difficult and infrequent. In time the relationship between the young couple deteriorated and Mr. Fish abused his wife by overwork and beatings. But, the husband's chiefly grandfather came to Mrs. Fish's rescue; Mrs. Fish recalls the old man's lecture to her husband:

"You mustn't do that to this girl, although she don't have any relations that would care for her, but that good enough you pick her up...if she had a mother and father why they would get after you if you 'busing [abusing] her or anything like that. But you shouldn't do this to her...." It didn't stop him.

Eventually they were divorced and for a time Mrs. Fish maintained a consensual union with another man. Notice in the quotation above the clear reference to Mrs. Fish's absence of effective protection by consanguineal kin. Out of her troubled past Mrs. Fish has turned her adversity to virtue. She prides herself on her independence and fortitude; even though over seventy years old she goes to Washington State to pick cherries. In recent years she has moved back and forth between North City and the reservation. In the past she has cut posts, fished, brewed illegal whiskey, and performed many other tasks in order to support herself and her children; she says, "I work just like a man."



### Explicit Reasons for Migration

The relocation of Indians to North City may be in part explained by the use of the notion of "social marginality." But before pursuing this idea further, it is worthwhile to consider the explicit reasons for migration given by North City Indians themselves.

All interviewees were asked to state (1) why they initially emigrated from the reservation of their birth and (2) why they eventually came to North City. In many life histories these events are separated by years and even decades. The responses varied greatly. However, the statements may be divided into a relatively small number of categories.

The reason for originally leaving the reservation may be sorted into four general types of responses depending on the factors emphasized: (1) economic, (2) educational, (3) familial, and (4) specific dissatisfaction or misfortune. Some responses included two or more of these four factors; in a general way "dissatisfaction" is implied in most responses in the other three categories. In the economic category responses which emphasize the necessity for emigrating to find work are included. The educational responses were those in which interviewees said they had left the reservation in order to continue formal education; for convenience enlistment in the military service was included in this category. Familial reasons are comprised mainly of statements by persons who were taken from the reservation as dependent children when parents emigrated. The dissatisfaction and misfortune category includes a variety of responses perhaps best explained by examples:



Well, I'll tell you...I and the boss had it out over there in the mill...He tell me do what you want...I took my cant hook...found another job...there's nothing in there anyway...not a thing...drive everybody away, sell wood [for heating] too high....

...my father did farm work and I had no mother. Went to the Indian boarding school. He died while I was there... when I was fifteen.

Welfare people told mother to move into town or they were going to take us kids away....Old man drunk, wouldn't fix house.

1958...broke leg...stayed at [North City] Hospital.

Reasons given for immigration to North City may be grouped into somewhat similar categories. These categories are (1) occupational, (2) kin ties, (3) educational, and (4) intrinsic attraction. Most of those whose statements are included in the occupational category had already obtained employment in North City before immigrating. The kin ties category includes those responses which indicated the presence of a kinsman already in the city as a primary motive for immigration. Educational responses are those in which relocation to the city was explained as a move to facilitate obtaining education for self or children. Intrinsic attractiveness refers to a variety of responses that contrasts North City with other possible residential locations on the basis of cost of living, access to material comforts and services, geographic location, or climate. As would be expected some responses combined several of these factors, e.g.:

Well, 'bout the first reason would be employment...'bout the second would be they have a good school system...then, it's centrally located...not too far from her [wife] folks [at Deer Lake]; not too far from mine on the [Beaver Pelt Reservation].



It is worth noting that this response explicitly and clearly acknowledges one of the adaptive advantages which North City residence affords reservation-exogamously married couples.

A tabulation of reasons for migration is presented in Table 9. The responses were sorted on the basis of what appeared to be the most important reason for migration. Only if more than one factor seemed to have equal weight in a response, was it placed in the "combination of factors" category. An "other" category is included for those responses which could not, justifiably, be included in any of the categories; e.g., "just wanted to roam around...not unsatisfied though."

Despite the variety of reasons for migration some interpretive comments are suggested by the distribution of the types of responses. Only a small portion of the interviewees indicated that they came to North City to find employment. (Forty-seven percent of the respondents in the Metropolis survey gave employment as their reason for going to Metropolis.<sup>9</sup>) The most common kind of response attributes migration to North City to various kinds of intrinsic attractions. Conversely, a sizable portion of the statements of reasons for emigration are in the form of general dissatisfaction or specific misfortune in the home community. In several instances of direct reservation to city migration, the "intrinsic attractiveness" of the city was the alleviation of a misfortune in the home community, e.g., two cases of permanently crippling injuries which were better treated in North City hospital than on the reservation. These statements are



TABLE 9

## EXPLICIT REASONS FOR MIGRATION

<u>Emigration from Home Reservation</u>	<u>Random Sample</u>	<u>Others</u>
Economic	8	3
Educational	3	5
Familial	8	2
Dissatisfaction & Misfortune	6	7
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTALS:	27	20
<u>Immigration to North City</u>		
Occupational	5	5
Kin Ties	6	1
Educational	2	2
Intrinsic Attractiveness	9	9
Combination of factors	3	1
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTALS:	27	20



indicative of the relative unimportance of North City as a place to which Indians migrate in the hope of economic betterment. Residence in North City appears to represent to these Indians an attractive alternative to reservation life, but one which does not require disengagement from the general vicinity of "home territory."

#### Summary Comments

North City Indians are distinguished from reservation populations by the prevalence among the former of reservation out-marriage. The analysis of out-marriage presented in this chapter suggests that the city Indians are socially marginal to reservation societies; however, they are not necessarily disengaged or excluded from reservation society. Other factors such as occupational histories have been taken as evidence of social marginality among North City Indians. The location of North City is such that the Indians who live there are also geographically marginal to their home reservations. In a sense, then, North City Indians may be regarded as not being separated from reservation societies, but rather as representing the outer boundaries of these societies.

North City certainly does not appear to exert any powerful pull on local reservation Indians who are seeking employment. The explicit reasons for immigration given by interviewees support this contention. Yet, this off-reservation community does have some attractions which appear to have most appeal to the socially marginal. The marginal status of North City Indians provides the basis for a conceptual linkage between reservation societies and the urban



Indian population; North City Indians are only loosely integrated into the specific reservation societies surrounding the city, but they are still very much a part of the general Indian "scene" in northern Minnesota.

Social marginality is a key factor in the relationship of the North City Indian to the reservation element of his overall environment. The notion of social marginality, then, provides a basis for generally characterizing Indians who reside in North City; it might also serve to aid in identifying potential migrants to North City among reservation Chippewa.

Certain generalized features of North City Indians' relation to their social environment have been the concern of this chapter. Analysis will now proceed to an examination of differences among North City Indians in adaptation to a number of environmental elements. This part of the analysis is best begun by examining the adaptations of North City Indians to the economic system, for this element of the environment pervades city, state, nation, and reservation alike.



Notes to Chapter IV

1. Ritzenthaler and Sellers, op. cit., p. 155.
2. My usage of "endogamy/exogamy" is meant in only a general sense and is not intended to carry any implication of formal rules for marriage. I have used these terms alternatively with the more neutral and cumbersome ones "in-marriage/out-marriage" primarily for ease of reading.
3. Data provided by Timothy G. Roufs, Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota.
4. Ritzenthaler and Sellers, loc. cit.
5. Oddly enough, in one such case the partners met in Metropolis, but both originated from the same reservation and both had lived in North City prior to migration to Metropolis. After marriage they eventually relocated back to North City.
6. See, for example: Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 574-581.
7. Ibid., p. 577.
8. The reader is reminded that pseudonyms are used throughout.
9. Indians in Minneapolis, op. cit., p. 6.



## CHAPTER V

### ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

North City, the surrounding reservations, and the region as a whole are all influenced by the national economy. The economy may be viewed as an over-riding element of the environment which intervenes between individual North City Indians and the natural environment. An essential aspect of North City Indians' adaptation to their total environment, then, is their access to and utilization of economic resources.

Individual levels of economic adaptation in the cash economy of the United States may be ascertained from the efficiency of production, i.e., amounts of money obtained and the methods for obtaining them, and utilization of the material goods and services associated with the economy. Accordingly, sources of income, annual incomes, and acquisition of goods by North City Indians will be examined in this chapter. Secondly, attention will be given to some activities whereby North City Indians utilize resources directly from the natural environment.

The general aims of this discussion are (1) to relate economic adaptation to the relocation of Chippewa to North City, (2) examine the range of variation in the economic adaptations of these Indians, (3) discriminate among North City Indian households in terms of



economic adaptation. Later, types or levels of economic adaptation may be compared with adaptations to other environmental elements.

#### Sources of Income

The primary data on incomes and sources of income for the twenty-seven random sample households are presented on Table 10. Slightly less than half of the households receive their annual income from the regular employment of the household head, spouse of head, or both. The majority of the others receive the bulk of their income from public welfare payments.

Occupations and sources of income will now be examined in greater detail, utilizing information from both the random sample and other North City Indian households.

#### The Employed

State, federal, and local government agencies, institutions, and programs provide the major source of employment for the North City Indian work force. It has already been observed that a large portion of the total work force of North City is employed by various public institutions (see Chapter II). This general characteristic of North City is also true of the Indian population. Among the thirteen regularly employed Indians represented in the random sample seven persons are employed by some branch of government: a heavy equipment operator for the state highway department and six employees of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)--a tribal relations officer, a forestry technician, a mechanic, a plant manager, a



TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONS AND INCOMES OF NORTH  
CITY INDIAN RANDOM SAMPLE

<u>House-</u> <u>hold</u>	<u>Sex</u> <u>of house-</u> <u>hold head</u>	<u>Occupation of head of</u> <u>household or primary</u> <u>source of income</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>annual</u> <u>income</u>	<u>Occupation</u> <u>of spouse</u>
1.	m	Plant Manager--BIA	\$12,000	Secretary--BIA
2.	f	Tribal Relations Officer--BIA	12,000	(no spouse)
3.	m	Construction Surveyor--BIA	10,000	Telephone Operator <sup>a</sup>
4.	m	Heavy equipment operator-- State Highway Department	9,000	Dental Assistant
5.	m	Forestry Technician--BIA	7,800	Housewife
6.	m	Bricklayer	7,750	Housewife <sup>a</sup>
7.	m	Retired--BIA (Social Se- curity; Federal Retirement)	4,800	Retired--BIA <sup>a</sup>
8.	m	Mechanic--BIA	4,000	Housewife <sup>a</sup>
9.	m	Title V trainee	4,000	Housewife
10.	f	Welfare--ADC	3,204	(No spouse)
11.	m	Veteran's pension	3,000	Nurses' aide <sup>a</sup>
12.	m	Welder <sup>a</sup>	2,880	Housewife
13.	f	Welfare--ADC	2,844	(No spouse)
14.	m	Forest worker	2,000	Welfare--ADC
15.	m	Painter <sup>a</sup>	2,000	Housewife
16.	m	Lumber yard worker	2,000	Housewife
17.	m	Title V trainee	1,548	Housewife
18.	f	Welfare--ADC	1,488	(no spouse)
19.	f	Social Security and Welfare--OAA	1,080	(no spouse)
20.	f	Insurance claim and Welfare--OAA	1,000	(no spouse)
21.	m	Welfare--OAA	912	(no spouse)
22.	m	Welfare--OAA	912	(no spouse)
23.	m	Social Security and Welfare--OAA	800	Housewife
24.	m	Welfare--OAA	650	(no spouse)
25.	f	Social Security and Welfare--OAA	Not re- ported	(no spouse)
26.	f	Welfare--ADC	Not re- ported	(no spouse)
27.	f	Social Security and Veterans Benefits	Not re- ported	(no spouse)

<sup>a</sup>Not of Indian ancestry



secretary, and a surveyor. An elderly man and his non-Indian wife who are both retired "Indian Service" employees are also included in the sample. The Indian Division of the Public Health Service also employs a number of North City Indians, but none of these appear in the random sample. Other North City Indian government employees not represented in the sample include: a drafting instructor at the vocational school, an elementary school teacher (originally from Deer Lake), two women who work in food service at North City State College, the city clerk, a retired school janitor, and several additional Bureau of Indian Affairs employees.

Not all of the Indians who work for government in North City actually reside there; a few live in James Lake and commute daily to their jobs in the city. Conversely some North City Indians who are employed by agencies with headquarters in the city actually do most of their work on reservations. For example, an urban Indian who is employed by the State Employment Service is assigned to the Deer Lake Reservation to which he commutes daily by automobile.

Following the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a "Title V" job retraining program was established in North City. A number of North City Indians are participants in that program. (Participation in the Title V program is regarded here as "employment," as it is so regarded by most of the participants.) Some of the enrollees attend classes which are intended to prepare them to qualify for a high school equivalency certificate. Others receive on-the-job training. Some of the training sites are in North



City and include the city hall, the county court house, the county agent's office, the public library, and the State College. At least two Indians who had originally come to North City to attend high school equivalency classes were subsequently transferred to training sites on the Broken Reed Reservation, but they continue to reside in North City. Several urban Indian enrollees in this program had lived in North City prior to participation in the program. Many of the female participants in the Title V program formerly had been public welfare recipients; much of the recruitment for the program had been conducted through county welfare departments.

In contrast to those who relocated to North City to be in the retraining program, some relatively long term Indian residents of North City have moved away from the city after completion of training. For example, one man, aged 28, had periodically lived in North City with or near his parents since completing his military service in 1959. He had had a series of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and from time to time received welfare benefits for his own family. His experience in the Title V program provided him with a high school equivalency certificate and aspirations to pursue further study at North City State College. Because of his age and the size of his family (six dependents) he was unsuccessful in obtaining sufficient financial support for his ambitions. He declined to accept the Bureau of Indian Affairs plan to train him in Metropolis as an x-ray technician, but after some difficulties finally obtained a semi-professional post with the legal aid program in James Lake. For a



while he commuted from North City to James Lake; however, after serious marital difficulties and eventual divorce, he moved to James Lake, near his original reservation home, Mission.

A relatively small number of North City Indians are regularly employed in private enterprise. There are a variety of reasons for this. First, there is no major industry in North City which has a pressing need for large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. It will be recalled that in general there is a high rate of unemployment in the research area (see Chapter II). Second, the jobs for which most male Indians are usually best suited by experience, namely "woods work," and manual labor, are ordinarily more accessible in reservation areas. Finally, Indians are usually unsuccessful in competing with Whites for the available jobs in North City.

By virtue of physical location long term White residents of North City have greater geographical and informational access to job openings in North City than do Indians living on reservations. There appears to be no major pattern of Indians migrating from reservation homes to North City in search of employment. Neither is there a very large labor pool of unemployed Indians living in North City who have access to jobs equal to that of Whites. Indians usually do not move to North City in order to seek employment; rather, they characteristically change their residence to North City only after they have secured a position there. This is as true of those employed by government as those in private business.



The White stereotype of the "typical" Indian contributes to the difficulty of Indians finding employment in North City. Chippewa Indians are seen by many Whites as being unreliable--if not lazy--employees, who are likely to quit without notice or fail to appear for work for a day or more without notifying the employer. For a variety of reasons, Indians exhibit these kinds of behaviors with sufficient frequency to reinforce the stereotype. On the other hand, some Whites behave in a patronizing manner toward Indians by, for example, extending small loans for which they feel there is little prospect for repayment. A similar pattern of "reciprocal exploitation" has been noted among the Cree by Braroe.<sup>1</sup> From the point of view of most Indians, Whites are often suspected of subtle discriminatory, if not prejudicial, treatment of Indians, particularly those who are readily identified by their physical appearance. This view is exemplified in the following account by a North City Indian woman who migrated from the Broken Reed Reservation:

Before I came to [North City] I didn't know whether to move here or not. It seemed like they [Whites] disliked the Indians. [She said that she wished some of the local Whites would spend some time in the South in order to become acquainted with the volatile racial situation there] ...let 'em have a taste of that and maybe they'd think different. [She went on to say that once her cousin's Caucasian appearing daughter who worked at the now defunct shirt factory in North City had suggested that she and her cousin, the girls' mother, apply for work at the factory. When the two women applied] they just took one look at us and said, "We don't need no help." So we just left...[the cousin's daughter] said that it was a lie. They were crying for help. But we couldn't go back down there.

In a more analytical manner a North City woman who is married to a White posed the question: "I wonder if I really wanted to work



some place, they'd hire me. That question always comes to mind... you wonder if they didn't hire you, it was because you were Indian or didn't come up to the job." Similarly, a North City man entertains the suspicion, without clear evidence, that his supervisor at work is prejudiced towards Indians and that is why "the boss" will not promote him to foreman after twenty years of service.

At meetings of the local Human Relations Commission<sup>2</sup> one issue that is often discussed is job discrimination against Indians in North City and other nearby White communities. At one meeting the manager of the local telephone office, who was also the mayor of North City at the time, stated that his door has always been open to Indian applicants for consideration, but none ever applied. To this the superintendent of the Deer Lake Reservation, who is a Stockbridge-Munsee from Wisconsin, replied that Indians characteristically are uncertain as to how hard they are going to have to push that door in order to get in and that employers have an obligation to make it known that they will welcome Indian applicants. The Chippewas present at the meeting reacted favorably to the superintendent's remarks. At the same meeting representatives of the North City State Employment Office proudly reported on their new policy of placing employment counselors, who are themselves Indians, on local Indian reservations in order to insure that Indians have equal access to new job openings in the area, including North City. There are indications, then, that with the newly formed Human Relations Commission and the special efforts of the employment service, more Indians will be seeking em-



ployment in the private businesses of North City; at the very least, both Indians and Whites will have a greater awareness of the relative lack of Indian employees in North City businesses.

Despite all the factors that militate against the employment of Indians in private businesses of North City, there are some who are so employed. One of the longest term Indian residents of North City, twenty-three years, moved to North City with his White wife and their children from Mission. Before relocating to the city he had worked in a number of places, including James Lake, as a telephone cable splicer. For a few years after coming to North City he worked in a local hardware store. Later he acquired a new position in telephone work, but one which required him to spend many months out of the year in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa. He continues this occupational arrangement, leaving his family in North City, to which he returns only a few weeks out of the year. (It is this man's son who is mentioned above as the Employment Service representative who commutes to Deer Lake.)

An Indian woman who has lived in North City since childhood, because her mother did not want her children to grow up in a reservation environment, is a respected employee in a local dress shop. The wife of one of the government employees in the sample is an assistant to a local dentist. (Recent communication from the husband informs me that she no longer works for the dentist, but is now working for the Public Health Service on their home reservation. She commutes to work from North City.)



A Beaver Pelt Reservation man married to a White woman works for a local construction firm. He was trained as a bricklayer in a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school, briefly "went on relocation" to Denver, and worked in many parts of the country before settling in North City. Like the telephone cable splicer, he frequently works out of town, but usually, in this case, within daily commuting distance.

Aside from these and a few similar cases, the North City Indians employed in private enterprise work primarily as common laborers (including working as woodsmen) or as truck drivers, but there are few of these. One of the most successful of this type is a man who drives semi-trailer trucks between Port City and the West, but even he must tolerate occasional periods of unemployment during the slack seasons.

#### Welfare Recipients and Others

In the random sample 40.7% of the households were receiving some form of public welfare payments at the time of interviewing. Aid to dependent children (ADC), old age assistance (OAA), and occasional, short-term "general relief" payments account for the majority of the public welfare assistance received by North City Indians.

Dependence on public welfare has been indirectly responsible for some Indians migrating to North City. This is most likely to occur with welfare recipients on the Deer Lake Reservation or in the western portion of the Mission community on the Broken Reed Reserva-



tion, because these areas are within the jurisdiction of the Cramton County Welfare Department.

The adult daughter of a Mission woman migrant to North City stated, "Our house [at Mission] wasn't good...welfare people told mother to move into town or they were going to take us kids away." The mother added that her "old man" was a drunk and wouldn't fix the house. Similarly, a young welfare mother who had been living with her own mother at Deer Lake was encouraged to move to North City after her mother's house burned down. The older woman accompanied her daughter to North City. According to the younger woman's sister, a college student, her caseworker saw the move as therapeutic for the young woman's multiple social and psychological problems. In the sister's opinion the easier access to beer taverns and the relative anonymity of the city intensified rather than alleviated the young woman's drinking and sexual problems.

The elderly man from the Broken Reed Reservation who had lived with his wife on the Deer Lake Reservation (see Chapter III) came to North City when his wife began to spend most of the year living with adult children in Chicago. His selection of North City as an alternative residence is partly attributable to his dependence on public welfare:

You know, I came to find out about welfare office...if I get a raise if I live here. They said yeah. Otherwise, I go to [Trotter], I get nothing. I got a house there.

The same man also illustrates the shrewd thrift with which elderly welfare recipients manage their small income. When the welfare



department encouraged him to participate in a food stamp program rather than receiving his whole monthly allowance of \$87 in cash, he refused, stating that he would be restricted to only certain stores which accepted the stamps and he could not use them for such money-saving devices as buying stale bread. Furthermore, the stamps could not be used for tobacco, which he says he cannot do without. Similarly, another elderly man purchases only that issue of the local newspaper that carries the weekly grocery sales advertisements. Also, he keeps all his money in a cigar box and returns to the box any change he may receive from a purchase in order to prevent himself from careless spending and lending among his acquaintances.

In addition to welfare recipients there are a few non-working Indians in the city who derive their income from social security and/or veterans benefits.

#### Other Sources of Income

In addition to regular sources of income North City Indian households augment their incomes through a variety of minor economic activities. A number of individuals earn extra money through the sale of craft items. Several women braid rugs, another edges wool yard goods to make blankets, a few women make bead work or other "Indian crafts."<sup>3</sup> Some women do occasional babysitting in return for cash, goods, or services. One retired man makes wooden bird-houses for sale. The middle-aged son of one of the elderly women living in North City does a variety of things to augment his meager welfare income. This man merits further discussion.



He is in his early 50's and has been crippled by polio since childhood. Although he often is away from North City, when he is there (sometimes for several months at a time) he resides with his mother in a low rent apartment house. While staying in the apartment house this man does small repairs on electrical appliances and clothing and cuts hair for other tenants in the building. In addition he has a modest reputation as a woodworker, and at one time worked in a shop near James Lake that produced totempoles and other souvenirs. He derives some income from the sale of craft items.

One elderly man earns extra cash by singing for pow wows at Deer Lake and in Chicago, when he visits his children. Another man, in his eighties, works part time as an agricultural laborer on nearby potatoe farms.

The total cash incomes of a few households are also augmented by the wage labor of children. For example, teenaged girls in two households have worked as part time waitresses at small cafes in North City. One girl's income should probably not be counted since her family is receiving welfare payments and the girl's earnings are, except for unreported tips, deducted from the family's stipend. This sixteen year old girl lives with her mother and younger siblings and her own illegitimate child. The girl says she is working just to have something to do. She works at one of the "Indian places" in the city, where her older sister is also employed.

Five of the households in the random sample received cash income from collecting wild rice during the season immediately pre-



ceding interviewing. The amounts of money earned in this way ranged from fifty dollars to three hundred dollars for the season. An additional four respondents in the random sample reported that they had earned some money from wild rice collection since migrating to North City, but not during the immediately preceding season. In both the random sample and the non-random sample together only two individuals stated that they had kept wild rice for their own use.

Although most wild rice collection done by North City Indians is in reservation areas, three men reported that they had collected rice from a small bed in Lake Izzy, which bounds the city to the southwest. One of these men said that his one collecting trip on Lake Izzy was the only time he had gathered rice. Another of the Lake Izzy rice collectors said that he wanted to show his young urban sons how to gather rice; he collected approximately twenty pounds in his one day out and kept all of it. At the time of the initial interview the rice was still "green" (unprocessed), since neither he nor his wife wanted to do the necessary work to remove the chaff.

#### Annual Incomes and "Material Style of Life"

The annual incomes of North City Indian households vary from \$650 at one extreme to \$12,000 at the other. Those with the lowest incomes are single, elderly welfare recipients; those with the highest are couples in which both husband and wife are fully employed (see Table 10). In the random sample, median annual household income is \$2,862. This figure may be compared with comparable medians from Wicket, James Lake, and Rice Village Indians: \$3,500, \$1,950, and



\$1,584, respectively.<sup>4</sup> Clearly North City Indians as a whole are more prosperous than James Lake and Rice Village Indians. However, despite high salaries of some North City Indians, the population is not as affluent as the Indians of Wicket. This is attributable to the high rate of employment of Wicket men, particularly on the nearby Iron Range.

The North City Indian median annual income is well below that for the city as a whole (see Chapter II). About half the city Indian households must survive on meager incomes from public welfare.

Although cash is the primary consideration in economic adaptation, budgeting, buying patterns, perceived utility of specific goods, and available housing also affect North City Indian modes of adaptation to American material culture. For purposes of analysis it is useful to assess directly differences in North City Indian economic adaptation which reflect patterns of consumption (of goods) as well as production (of money). This approach permits a more systematic description of variation in "standard of living" among North City Indian households.

Interviewees were asked about the presence or possession of certain items of American material culture. The resulting data may be manipulated in a number of ways, such as calculating percentages of households possessing each item. However, for present purposes standard of living would be best measured by some technique which systematically ranks the households into an ordered series of types. Furthermore, a device which could demonstrate any pattern of ranking



of the items themselves would serve to indicate regularities in the acquisition of material goods. The Guttman scaling technique accomplishes both purposes, ranking of households and ranking of items.

Goodenough has commented on the general usefulness to social anthropology of Guttman scaling.<sup>5</sup> Kay<sup>6</sup> has applied the Guttman technique to Tahitian consumer behavior. He has emphasized that the technique demonstrates regularities in behavior (acquisition of certain goods) and that "objects" (households) may be ranked into a series of types with reference to the behavior, but the scalability of a body of data is not a "theory" explaining the regularities. He suggests that his data may be explained by a combination of two major factors, cost and utility. Kay makes an interesting point in his discussion of the way in which "scale errors" (deviations from the ideal model) may be produced by unique circumstances in some Tahitian households. The data on North City Indian consumer goods were treated in essentially the same manner as that of Kay for Tahitian consumer goods.

Table 11 presents a Guttman scale based on the presence or absence of fifteen material items among the (twenty-six) households in the random sample. A number of items were eliminated from the scale since they (1) had an identical frequency distribution to that of another, and thus did not discriminate a separate scale type, or (2) there were too many errors in the items. The second reason appears inadmissible, but the scale was not being constructed to test



TABLE 11

## SCALOGRAM OF "MATERIAL STYLE OF LIFE"; RANDOM SAMPLE

Scale Types	Households	Items														
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15*
A	4.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	12.	X	O	X	X	O	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
B	1.		X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	2.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	7.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
C	6.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
D	5.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	8.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
E	3.					X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	18.					X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
F	20.						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
G	11.							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
H	25.								X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X
I	26.									X	O	X	X	X	X	X
J	10.							(X)			X	X	X	X	X	X
	22.										X	O	X	O	X	X
K	14.											X	X	X	X	X
	19.											X	X	X	X	X
L	9.									(X)			X	X	X	X
	15.												X	X	X	X
	17.												X	X	X	X
M	13.													X	X	X
N	21.														X	O
O	16.															X
P	23.													(X)		
	24.										(X)		(X)			

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .959

## \*Key to Items:

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. More than one bathroom    | 9. Telephone   |
| 2. Automatic clothes washer  | 10. Hot running water  |
| 3. Food Freezer              | 11. Indoor toilet (excluding communal toilet in apartment buildings) |
| 4. Power Lawn Mower          | 12. Running water  |
| 5. Life Insurance            | 13. Range  |
| 6. Automobile, 1960 or newer | 14. Radio  |
| 7. Clothes washer, any type  | 15. Refrigerator   |
| 8. Bathtub or shower         |  |



any specific hypothesis, in which case all items would have to be included.<sup>7</sup> Arguments for the legitimacy of similar procedures have been advanced by Carneiro.<sup>8</sup> These items which did not "scale" are probably confounded by variables other than those which produce the regularities in the scalable items. What is most important for our purposes is that the scale produces a systematic typological ranking of the households along a single dimension. This scale is presented as a measure of an aspect of economic adaptation which, following Schensul,<sup>9</sup> might best be labelled "material style of life."

Households are assigned the same number in Table 11 as in Table 10. By comparing the positions of households on the two tables it can be clearly seen that cash income and possession of material goods are generally related, but certainly not identical. Ownership of a house, as opposed to renting, closely corresponds to the higher types on the material style of life scale.

This scale is regarded as an index of adaptation to the American material culture element of the environment. No assumptions are made about individual values or aspirations in reference to material goods, nor is it assumed that position on the scale is the result of the operation of a single variable. Rather, whatever variables may be involved, scale type may be taken as a measure of the success of each "household," as it were, in the myriad of necessary activities and conditions antecedent to the acquisition of each item.

Other researchers in northern Minnesota have constructed similar "material style of life" scales for other populations.



Whitaker<sup>10</sup> has done so for a random sample of Whites and Indians in James Lake and Schachter<sup>11</sup> for North City Whites. The Schachter scale is based on two random samples of Whites, one from a lower class and one from an upper middle class neighborhood; thus an approximation of the total range of variation in material style of life among North City Whites is covered. Since information about the items in the Whitaker and Schachter scales was also obtained from North City Indians it is possible to determine if the city Indians will "fit" into either or both these scales. In fact, the North City Indians' possession of material goods is scalable with acceptable coefficients of reproducibility on both scales. (The scales are not shown.)

Whitaker has found that James Lake Whites tend to occupy higher types on her scale than do Indians in James Lake. When North City Indians are compared to James Lake Indians on this same scale, there is a significant tendency ( $p < .02$ ) for the city Indians to cluster in the top half of the scale, as do James Lake Whites; the James Lake Indians tend to be in the bottom half of the scale. When North City Indians are placed on the North City Whites scale there is a strong tendency, but not at an acceptable level of significance ( $p < .20$ ), for the Indian households to be in the bottom half of the scale. These findings are evidence that North City Indians as a whole have material styles of life much like those of Whites in a racially mixed reservation town, which is in turn higher than that of Indians in the same community. However, there is strong but inconclusive



evidence that the North City Indian population is in about the same position relative to Whites in their own community as Indians in James Lake are to the Whites in their community.

This situation is similar to that described by Grindstaff<sup>12</sup> among southern Negroes. Grindstaff has demonstrated that although Negroes in certain southern cities experience absolute gains over rural Negroes in education, income, and occupation, urban Negroes are further below urban Whites in these measures than rural Negroes are below rural Whites. It appears that while North City Indians may have an economic adaptive advantage over Indians in at least one reservation community, as a total population their relative position to Whites in their own community is not much different.

#### Traditional Economic Activities

Chippewa residents of North City engage in a number of traditional economic activities. One of these activities, wild rice collection, has already been discussed. Most rice collection is for cash return, but some North City Indians "go ricing" primarily as a recreational activity. Other traditional Chippewa economic activities which North City Indians pursue are hunting, fishing, and wild berry collecting. With an occasional exception for berry collection, these activities provide families not with extra money, but with a direct dietary supplement. In many families the wild foods provide little more than occasional variety in the menu. However, several pounds of fish, a whole deer, several game birds, and two or more gallons of berries are a sizable supplement to the



food needs of many families. Perhaps, much of the hunting and fishing is done more for sport than economic gain; nonetheless, for poorer families a deer or two is an important income increment.

One Beaver Pelt migrant reported having brought in a total of nine deer in the course of the year, explaining that on his wife's reservation, Deer Lake, he could hunt summer and winter; apparently he is oblivious to the illegality of bringing game off the reservation. A recent migrant from the Broken Reed reservation responded to the question, "how often do you go hunting?" with the response, "whenever I need meat on the table." On the whole interviewees appeared reluctant to discuss at length the amount of game they had taken, probably because of their awareness of strict game laws.

Extensive taking of game is not necessarily an activity of low income families. One of the most affluent families in the sample reported having taken and consumed two deer, seven pheasant and large amounts of fresh fish the previous year. The head of the family recalls from childhood on the Deer Lake Reservation his father's attitude toward hunting:

...it got too much like work. After a while, my father would say, "we've got to kill at least twelve deer this fall so we have enough for winter, and we're going to start hunting now." And he'd take two, three weeks off from work, and we would hunt every day until we got the quota--till we got what was set out.

A few individuals and families derive small amounts of cash from the sale of wild berries. Berries are collected primarily as an excuse for an outing and to provide an occasional "treat" in the form of pies or "sauce." Much of the North City Indians' berry collecting



is done within short distance of the city, and not nearly so often on reservations as hunting, fishing, and wild rice collecting.

Indians who migrate from the nearby reservations to North City continue to hunt, fish, and collect wild foods in their home areas. Even those who cannot hunt or fish, e.g., elderly single women, are given small amounts of game or fish by friends and relatives. These traditional Chippewa activities may be pursued for cash profits, for consumption, for recreation, or a combination of all three motives. The point is that these activities are much more accessible for Indians in North City than for those in larger and more distant cities. All these activities may be pursued by North City Indians without loss of time from jobs and with only small costs of time and money for travel. As noted earlier, wild rice is collected virtually within the city limits by some North City Chippewa.

#### Summary

Because of the nature of the North City economy and the character of inter-ethnic relations, few Indians are fully employed in North City in other than government services, programs and institutions. Unique circumstances surround the cases of the few North City Indians who are fully employed in private enterprise. A sizeable portion of the population is supported by public welfare payments. Relocation to the city usually follows establishment of a direct economic tie to the city rather than the reverse.



North City Indians augment their incomes from a variety of sources. The location of the city affords the Indian residents the opportunity to fish, hunt, and collect wild rice with relative ease.

In addition to gross differences in income and occupation the economic adaptations of North City households have been systematically differentiated by reference to a series of ranked types of "material style of life." Available evidence indicates that the economic position of the urban population is superior to that of some reservation Indian populations, but compared to Whites in the same community the relative economic level of the urban Indians may differ little from that of reservation counterparts in a racially mixed town.

The next chapter will turn to a broader examination of North City Indians' interaction with national, state, and city components of their environment.



## Notes for Chapter V

1. Neils W. Braroe, "Reciprocal Exploitation in an Indian-White Community," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XXI, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), pp. 166-177.
2. The Human Relations Commission was established as part of the resolution to conflicts between North City leaders and reservation leaders stemming from an editorial by a North City radio commentator which the Indians regarded as "slandorous and inflammatory."
3. One one occasion I interrupted Mrs. Fish as she was scraping deer hide for buckskin. She was working indoors in her small cabin in North City. One end of a basswood log was resting on her thigh, the other end wedged under a chest of drawers and the hide was spread over the log as she scraped away hair and fat with a large butcher knife.
4. Timothy G. Roufs, "Social Structure and Community Development: An Analysis of a Chippewa Case" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, 1967).
5. Ward H. Goodenough, "Some Applications of Guttman Scale Analysis to Ethnography and Culture Theory," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), pp. 235-250.
6. Paul Kay, "A Guttman Scale Model of Tahitian Consumer Behavior," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XX, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 160-169.
7. Cf., Goodenough, "Some Applications of Guttman Scale....," pp. 240-241.
8. Robert L. Carneiro, "Scale Analysis as an Instrument for the Study of Cultural Evolution," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), pp. 161-162.
9. Stephen L. Schensul, "Lakewood: An Ethnographic Analysis of a Northern Minnesota Community" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, 1965), p. 115.
10. Whitaker, op. cit., pp. 53-57.
11. Jay Kliman Schachter, "Family Interaction Patterns in Two Neighborhoods of North City," Paper read before the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, Chicago, April 27-29, 1967.



12. Carl F. Grindstaff, "The Negro, Urbanization, and Relative Deprivation in the Deep South," Social Problems, XV, No. 3 (Winter, 1968), pp. 342-352.



## CHAPTER VI

### INTERACTION WITH NATIONAL, STATE, AND CITY SYSTEMS

North City Indian adaptations to the ubiquitous money economy have now been discussed. The economic adaptations of North City Indians are certainly a major consideration in their interaction with national, state, and city socio-cultural systems, but relations to these components of the environment may be investigated in much broader terms. Specifically, data on North City Indians may be analyzed so as to demonstrate inferentially the saliency of these elements of the environment and to assess extent of participation in them. The term "interaction" is used to indicate the phenomena explored in this chapter. Here interaction refers to the variety of ways in which individuals participate in or receive information about the ever broader and more diffuse social and cultural systems which encompass them.

#### National and State Systems

An examination of the interaction of North City Indians with the socio-cultural systems of Minnesota and the United States requires a knowledge of the number of contexts in which these people have experienced the larger socio-cultural systems. One approach to this problem is to determine the number of different places in which individuals have lived. To what extent do these small city



Chippewa have first-hand experience with manifestations of state and national culture outside northern Minnesota? Since the national society is overwhelmingly urban, a person's knowledge of the national system may be partially gauged by his experience in city living. Thus, the following discussion begins with an examination of the prior metropolitan living experiences of North City Indians.

### Geographic Mobility

The Indians of North City have, in general, been surprisingly mobile. Interviewees were asked to identify all the communities in which they had resided. Including original reservation, North City, and boarding schools, but excluding military assignments, the mean number of places of residence is 5.5. Coding each interviewee once for the most distant city in which he had lived, the distribution for the random sample is displayed in Table 12. "Other Minnesota-Dakota metropolitan areas" includes, for example, Port City; "other metropolitan areas of Midwest" includes such cities as Milwaukee and Indianapolis; "metropolitan areas of Far West" includes Los Angeles and Denver; "other metropolitan area" refers to eastern cities. A number of those listed as having lived in the more distant metropolitan areas have also lived in Metropolis or Chicago. Half of the respondents have resided in a metropolitan area at least as far away as Port City or Fargo, North Dakota. In some cases the residence has been for only a year or two, but some individuals have spent nearly half of their lifetimes in one metropolitan area or another. Apparently North City is not simply an initial off-reservation



TABLE 12

PREVIOUS PLACES OF RESIDENCE OF NORTH CITY  
INDIANS; RANDOM SAMPLE

Has lived in Metropolis	3
Has lived in other Minnesota-Dakota metropolitan area	1
Has lived in other metropolitan area of Midwest	2
Has lived in metropolitan area of Far West	7
Has lived in other metropolitan areas	1
Has <u>never</u> lived in metropolitan area	13
	<hr/>
Total	27



residence for Chippewa who eventually migrate to larger and more distant cities; for about half the resident Indian population, North City is a return point from more distant urban areas.

Even though approximately half of the sample respondents never resided in a metropolitan area, very few migrated directly from the reservation of their birth without having lived elsewhere. Only one interviewee, a middle aged woman, moved directly to North City from her natal reservation without prior residence in other communities. Two men who migrated directly from reservations to North City had served abroad in the military. One of these men originally came to North City in order to attend the state college and after establishing residence in the city served four years in the Navy. The other joined the service while living on the reservation and returned to his home reservation after completion of his tour of duty. He moved to North City several years later, after being hospitalized in the city following a severe automobile accident; he married a White employee of the hospital. Two women came to North City at a very young age--one with her mother, another with her adult sister--and later married Whites, lived in a variety of places outside the state, and ultimately returned to North City. One of these women, though, attended an Indian boarding school in Wisconsin for three years prior to her relocation to North City. Yet another woman had been moved from her original reservation, Beaver Pelt, at age eight to the Broken Reed reservation, from which she migrated directly to North City as an adult. Two elderly men from Deer Lake Reservation had only minimal off-reservation



residential experience before relocating to North City.

The smallness of the number of persons migrating from reservation to North City without living elsewhere tends to support the contention that North City is not primarily a first destination of reservation Chippewa who eventually migrate to more distant cities. Certainly, there are Chippewa who move on to, say, Metropolis after an initial period in North City; many more migrate to Metropolis, Chicago, or Los Angeles directly from reservations.

When places outside of northern Minnesota, regardless of size, are counted, eleven individuals have never actually resided outside the region surrounding North City. All but two of those in the sample without prior metropolitan residences have never lived outside of the region as well. Nevertheless, the majority of North City Indian adults have had at least minimal experience as members of communities other than their original home; in almost all cases this experience preceded migration to North City. It would be slightly misleading, however, to ignore the fact that in the final move to North City, slightly over half of the respondents came from one or another of the three reservations in the vicinity, though not necessarily from their home reservation. In other words, many of those who have lived away from their natal reservation (including prior periods of residence in North City) had "returned" to one of the three Chippewa reservations before the move which brought them to North City at the time of this study.



Many North City Indian men have had the opportunity to view the larger national system within the institutional context of military service. Nine of the sixteen male respondents had been in the military; seven of these had served overseas in World War II or aboard ship in peace time. The place of service of two of the men was not determined. Six of these veterans are among the interviewees who had never resided in a metropolitan area, but their military experience may be taken as a kind of functional equivalent to metropolitan residence. It is equivalence in the sense that this experience provided them with a broader view of American life than they might have had if they had never lived outside their home region. Three men have had both military and the metropolitan residence experience.

#### Travel and Personal Communications in the Wider Society

In addition to prior residence in large metropolitan areas beyond North City, Indians of North City make short-term trips to larger cities. Respondents were asked to state the frequency of trips to Metropolis, since it is the state's largest city, can be reached by automobile in less than five hours, and has the largest Indian population of any of the nearby metropolises. The answers were coded for relevant frequency spans, producing the distribution shown in Table 13.

Only two of the thirteen interviewees who have never lived in a metropolitan area also visit Metropolis less than once every three years. Thus, even though some individuals may have never resided



in a metropolitan area, most visit the nearest large metropolitan center at least once every three years. Typically, North City Indians visiting Metropolis stay for a period of a few days to a week (some for a month or more). The stay in Metropolis is usually spent visiting relatives who live there, shopping, perhaps attending a professional baseball game, and in the case of some government employees, handling business affairs. It is important to keep in mind that large numbers of Minnesota Indians have migrated to Metropolis (see Chapter II), so that North City Indians frequently have relatives who can accommodate them with food and lodging.

TABLE 13  
FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO METROPOLIS; RANDOM SAMPLE<sup>a</sup>

Trips to Metropolis:

More than once every year	7
Once every year	12
Once every two or three years	5
Less than once every three years	<u>3</u>
Total	27

<sup>a</sup>Information from partially completed interview included (see Chapter III).

In addition to relatives living in Metropolis, North City Indians have kinsmen in a variety of other American cities and towns. The adults in the random sample have a total of seventy children not living in the household. The interviewees in the random sample have a total of 110 living siblings (two of the respondents are full



siblings so their other siblings were only counted once). These children and siblings are widely scattered over the United States. Table 14 presents data on the location of siblings and children not living in the North City household.

In general, North City Indians' visits to kinsmen living beyond the range of Chicago are infrequent, although not entirely absent. However, the geographically more distant relatives return to northern Minnesota for visits somewhat more frequently. In addition, the Chippewa of North City exchange letters and telephone calls with their children and siblings living in distant places. Besides own siblings and children, North City Indians maintain fairly regular communication with more distant consanguineal relatives and with affines.

The data in Table 14 permit important generalizations about the geographic location of North City Indians' siblings and adult children. First, most of the adult children of North City Indians do not live on reservations; they reside even further from reservations than do their parents. After having relocated to North City with their parents, many children migrate still further when they reach maturity. (In this connection it should be pointed out that the category, "ten children in North City" shown in Table 14 includes five minor children in foster homes.) Not all the children have resided in North City, as some migrated directly from reservations to more distant communities without first accompanying their parents to North City. Secondly, North City Indians are not unique among their



TABLE 14

LOCATION OF SIBLINGS AND CHILDREN NOT LIVING  
IN HOUSEHOLD; RANDOM SAMPLE

	<u>Children</u>	<u>Siblings</u>
1. North City	10	10
2. Home reservation of either interviewee or spouse	10	33
3. Metropolis	18	23
4. Other Minnesota areas, e.g., Port City, other small cities, and rural towns	6	8
5. Chicago	7	2
6. Other metropolitan areas of mid and Far West, e.g., Cleveland, Dallas, and Los Angeles	10	18
7. In military service	2	3
8. Other areas, e.g., eastern cities and small western cities and towns	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>
TOTALS	70	110



siblings in having moved away from the reservation; less than a third of the total population of siblings resides on the home reservations. Indeed, nearly twice as many siblings have migrated beyond North City as have remained on the reservations. Only three of the city Indians had all of their siblings residing on reservations. This is in striking contrast to Ablon's information for San Francisco Indians; the "majority" of Bay Area Indians' close relatives live on reservations.<sup>1</sup>

In summary, most North City Indian adults have had the experience of learning to live in at least two communities before coming to North City. Half have experienced the difficulties of attempting to adapt to urban complexes far from home. Most of the men have served in the armed forces. Even while living in North City, Indians renew their first-hand experiences with the larger system by periodic trips to Metropolis or other cities. The majority of the siblings and adult children of North City Indians live away from reservations, oftentimes in larger and more distant cities than North City. Communications with these and other kinsmen serve to inform North City Indians of people and places in many parts of the state and nation.

#### Exposure to Mass Media

In addition to direct contacts with national and state systems, Indians in North City are exposed to "vicarious encounters" with state and national phenomena through the mass media. Some, principally those in government employment, receive information



concerning the larger systems by virtue of their occupational roles. On the whole this is specialized information peculiar to a particular segment of the more encompassing systems, e.g., information pertaining to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But all North City Indians are exposed, to one degree or another, to the cultural influences of mass media.

Within the random sample 74% of the households have television sets and 88% possess at least one radio. North City Indians' preferences in television programming tend toward game shows, westerns, variety programs, and sports.

In addition to television and radio ownership, interviewees were asked about their attendance at motion pictures and the reading material they utilized. The response to these inquiries were found to be amenable to Guttman scaling. Thus, it is possible to type and rank North City Indians according to their exposure to the media of print and film. In Table 15 individuals have been assigned the same numbers as in Table 11 (Chapter V). A word is in order concerning the scale items themselves.

The items will be discussed in order of their frequencies, from most to least frequent. The local newspaper, North City Pioneer, is published every day except Sunday; it emphasizes stories of local interest, but also carries national and state news from the wire services and syndicated columns and features. The paper may be bought at local stands and is also distributed to homes by subscription. Morning, evening, and Sunday newspapers from Metropolis and Port City



TABLE 15

## SCALOGRAM OF EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA; RANDOM SAMPLE

Scale Types	Interviewees	Items								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9*
A	2.	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
	7.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	12.	X	X	0	X	X	0	X	X	X
B	3.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	5.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
C	1.			X	X	0	X	X	X	X
	4.			X	0	X	X	X	X	0
	6.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	8.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	20.			X	X	0	X	X	X	0
D	9.				X	X	X	X	0	X
E	13.					X	0	X	X	X
	14.	(X)	(X)			X	0	X	X	0
F	11.						X	X	X	X
	15.						X	X	0	X
	18.						X	X	X	X
	19.						X	X	X	0
G	25.							X	X	X
H	10.				(X)				X	X
	24.								X	X
I	17.					(X)				X
	21.									X
J	16.									
	22.									
	23.							(X)		
	26.									

Coefficient of reproducibility = .924

## \*Key to items:

1. Goes to movies more than 3 times per year
2. Goes to movies more than 1 time per year
3. Subscribes to more than one magazine
4. Subscribes to local newspaper
5. Goes to movies at least once per year
6. Reads more than one magazine regularly
7. Reads at least one magazine regularly
8. Reads a metropolitan newspaper regularly
9. Reads local newspaper regularly



may be obtained by North City residents through subscription or purchase at news stands. As anywhere else in the United States, residents of North City have a variety of magazines available to them either by subscription or purchase of individual issues in groceries, drug stores, and news stands. North City has one movie house and two drive-in movie theatres. (Motion pictures are shown in North City within a year or so of their release.)

Interviewees were asked to name magazines and newspapers to which they subscribe and others which they "read regularly." Respondents were also asked to state the frequency of their attendance at both indoor and "drive-in" movies. In constructing the scale in Table 15 "regularly" was liberally interpreted to include such responses as "once a week" and "as often as I can." Magazines and newspapers which are "read regularly" but not obtained by subscription, are either purchased by single issue or received as gifts from subscribing friends and neighbors, who "pass on" newspapers and magazines once they have finished reading them.<sup>2</sup> Frequencies of attendance at indoor and outdoor theatres were combined for the movie attendance items.

The distribution of some items that were expected to scale was too irregular to include those items. Subscription to metropolitan newspapers as a possible scale item rather than mere regular reading, was apparently affected by the fact that several individuals subscribed to only the Sunday editions. Average amounts of television viewing time would not scale for a variety of reasons. Television



watching requires the presence of a television set; the purchase of a set is contingent upon a variety of factors related to available cash and personal priorities in expenditure. Most importantly, this item was confounded by the number of persons, particularly women, who do little reading but spend many hours per week before a television set. In at least one kin-linked set of three North City Indian households only one had a television receiver, but individuals in other households frequently viewed programs on their kinsman's set. Although the movie attendance items scale well in the random sample, inspection of the non-random collection of responses reveals a large number of scale errors in these items. These errors can perhaps be accounted for by the high frequency of attendance at drive-in movies by some of the young adults who had recently migrated to the city and who did not subscribe to magazines or the local newspaper.

It is difficult to determine what variables might be responsible for the mass media scalogram. Probably income, reading ability, recreational interests, inter-ethnic relations, "public awareness," and the diligence of neighborhood newsboys all play a part. Whatever the variables which produce the scale may be, it may be taken as one measure of North City Indians' informational articulation to city, state, and national systems.

#### City Involvement

Previous sections have dealt in a general way with North City Indians' interaction with state and national components of the



overall environment, but little attention has been given to specific kinds of participation in these systems. This is in part the result of the difficulty in obtaining systematic and representative data on these problems. Participation in the life of the city is another matter.

It is easier to deal with the city, analytically, than with any such broad category as "American mass culture." The city has distinct political and social boundaries, but national and state systems overlap and intersect that of the city. In a sense the city is a local, microcosmic manifestation of widespread national culture patterns. Politically North City is functionally inter-related with larger structures; economically the production and consumption of the city is intricately linked in chains of exchange that stretch far beyond its limits. Even its religious, social, and recreational institutions are enmeshed in larger state, national, and even world organizations. It has already been stated that the local newspaper is a medium of communication about both city and national affairs. However, there are behaviors that clearly indicate degrees of social involvement in North City rather than other sociopolitical units.

North City Indians conduct most of their economic transactions within that city. Indeed, the point has already been made that many reservation Chippewa (and rural Whites as well) do much of their shopping in North City. However not all North City Indian purchasing is done within the city. Some obtain children's clothing through



direct mail order to companies such as Montgomery Ward; this is not too unexpected. It was somewhat surprising to find that eleven of the twenty-seven in the random sample buy automobiles outside North City and two interviewees reported purchasing furniture and appliances outside the city. These non-local purchases are made in Metropolis, racially mixed reservation towns, and predominantly White towns in the vicinity of North City. Comments from informants indicate that "finding the best deal" and personal ties to sellers largely account for these divergencies in buying patterns.

Inquiries were also made concerning non-economic forms of participation in city life. Again the Guttman scaling technique was applied and interviewees were ranked into a series of types along a dimension which may be labelled "city involvement." This scale is presented in Table 16. It should be noted that some of these items are derived from open ended questions and not simply tallied from a series of "yes-no" questions. Analysis was necessary to determine the items as well as their ordering and the ranking of individuals with reference to them. This scale provides a means for a systematic sorting of North City Indians in terms of overt participation in several elements of urban life. The variation among North City Indians ranges from those who do not even utilize medical services in the city to those who have multiple memberships in the city's White-dominated voluntary associations. Although technically ineligible for Public Health Service treatment after one year of off-reservation residence, some North City Chippewa stated that they



TABLE 16

## SCALOGRAM OF CITY INVOLVEMENT; RANDOM SAMPLE

Scale Types	Interviewees	1	2	3	Items 4	5	6	7*
A	3.	X	X	O	O	X	X	X
	4.	X	X	O	X	X	O	X
	8.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
B	1.		X	X	X	X	X	X
	6.		X	O	X	O	X	X
	7.		X	X	O	X	X	X
C	2.			X	X	X	X	X
	5.			X	X	X	X	X
	13.			X	X	X	X	X
	15.			X	X	X	X	X
	18.			X	X	X	X	X
	19.			X	O	X	X	X
	25.			X	X	O	X	X
D	14.				X	X	O	X
E	11.					X	X	X
F	12.						X	X
	16.						X	X
	24.						X	X
G	9.							X
	10.							X
	17.							X
	20.							X
	26.							X
H	21.			(X)				
	22.							
	23.							

Coefficient of reproducibility = .940

## \*Key to items:

1. Belongs to more than one voluntary association in the city
2. Belongs to at least one voluntary association in the city
3. Has voted in a city election
4. Attends or in the past attended school activities, e.g., PTA and ball games
5. Has current voter registration in the city
6. Considers self to be member of some church in the city
7. Seeks medical service in the city



return to their reservation when in need of medical attention. On the other hand, more than half of those in the random sample named a specific North City physician (not all named the same physician) whose services they utilize. Similarly, some interviewees consider their church membership to be on their home reservation; the majority are members of some congregation in North City.

This analysis of city involvement is of critical importance to the overall design of this study. The Guttman scaling technique has permitted systematic description of North City Indians' levels of adaptation to the urban component of the environment as a "stepped" series of types. The typology is based on a single dimension defined by seven discrete items representing recreational, political, educational, religious, and health aspects of participation in city life. While other typologies based on other items could probably be constructed, and the relative positions of individuals might thereby be changed, the scale that has been developed here clearly specifies the bases for discriminating among types of individuals. Furthermore, the scale items represent such a variety of activities that it is unlikely that positions would be appreciably altered on related "city involvement" scales.

It should be recognized that the scale does not explain itself. Identification of the variables which produce the scale is an additional problem for research, but one which need not be undertaken here. Clear and systematic specification of individual differences along a dimension of adaptation is in itself an accomplish-



ment. (Beyond this, however, relationships among dimensions will be explored in the last chapter of this dissertation.) Levels of adaptation to the city may be operationally defined as the behaviors characterizing each scale type on the city involvement scalogram.

Obviously many of the statements made about the city involvement scale could be made generally about all the other Guttman scale typologies presented in this dissertation. These statements have been made at this point because the city involvement scale represents a pivotal departure from the way in which others have dealt with "adaptation to the city."

In the popular view and implicit in the formulations of most urbanologists, particularly in American Indian studies, is the notion that the city is an alien and stressful environment for the newcomer. Adaptation to the city is then seen as a process of "adjustment" or "accommodation," and judgements may be made about the relative success of the adjustments which individuals make. Consequently there is a concern with the psychological orientations and reactions of urban in-migrants. There appears to be less interest in describing simple behavioral differences among immigrants to the city. In this connection, it appears to the author that Hurt's<sup>3</sup> and Hodge's<sup>4</sup> usage of such terms as "urban oriented" or "permanent resident" are really statements intended to explain differences which the investigators have not verified empirically in the first place.

In the approach to city adaptation taken in this study it has not been necessary to make assumptions about the "success" of Indians'



adaptations to the city in order to discriminate rather finely among them. Nothing would seem to be gained by gross categorizations which appear to be based on psychological orientations or degrees of commitment to city life. This is not to deny the importance of investigating the psychology of urban adaptation, but such studies should rest on a firm foundation of systematic description of differences in levels of adaptation to the city. For present purposes it is sufficient to state that, in terms of a cumulative series of items the North City Indian random sample is distributed in a ranked series of types of "city involvement." While the method utilized does not deal with some fascinating problems in the psychodynamics of individual adaptation, it does provide a solid, empirical basis for rigorous specification of relationships between urban adaptation and other dimensions of the adaptation of individuals to the total environment.



Notes to Chapter VI

1. Ablon, op. cit., p. 297.
2. In the field I was struck with the **interest on the** part of some Indians, both in the city and on the reservations, in expose type newspapers. Occasionally I was asked to read a sensational article in one of these papers, and then my opinion was sought on the veracity of the article, with what I felt was a desire to have me affirm the judgement that it was true.
3. Hurt, op. cit.
4. Hodge, op. cit.



## CHAPTER VII

### "INDIAN CULTURE"

Thus far, little has been said of the distinctly Chippewa or Indian characteristics of North City Indians. Individual Chippewa of North City do have in their cultural repertoire standards for behavior which can loosely be labelled "Indian." In fact, Indian culture may dominate a person's self image and tend to obliterate awareness of other equally important conceptions which are frequently employed as "operating cultures" (see Chapter I). For example, in the course of a year North City Indians will make many purchases in shops, fulfill duties as employees (or deal with public welfare personnel), travel to Metropolis, observe national holidays, watch children take part in some school activity, attend a city church, and engage in other activities which require conceptions about expected behavior. It is difficult to see how these kinds of perceived expectations could be construed as distinctly "Indian." As a matter of fact, most of the behavior of North City Indians is guided by conceptions which have little relationship to traditional Chippewa culture.

Of course, to Indians and Whites alike such routine activities as buying groceries or playing bingo at the V.F.W. hall are not ordinarily thought of as being "culture". By contrast other



activities and ways of doing things are explicitly conceptualized as "Indian culture," in the language of Whites or educated Indians, or "Indian way" or "that's the way Indians do that," in the language of less educated Indians.

For both Indians and non-Indians, "Indian culture" represents a set of beliefs and ways of doing things which are peculiar to persons of American Indian descent. Belief in traditional Chippewa myths and supernatural cures and the manufacture of certain artifacts are readily identified as elements of "Indian culture" by both Indians and Whites. However, in the general realm of attitudes and values there is less agreement as to what is "Indian culture" and what is laziness, flaws in character, and stupidity. On the whole, Whites attribute less of an Indian's behavior to his "Indian culture" than do other Indians. Whereas a White might perceive an elderly Chippewa woman's drab clothing as an expression of slovenliness, the Indian woman might say, "I've never fixed myself up to look like White people."

A fairly common attitude of northern Minnesota Whites about modern Indians is that they are culture-less, unlike the colorful Indians of fifty or sixty years ago who displayed many overt traits of traditional culture.<sup>1</sup> A recent modification of the rather blatant "Indians have no culture" view is the notion of "cultural deprivation." This conception is particularly popular with school teachers and social workers; perhaps, as the Waxses<sup>2</sup> have argued, it provides them with an acceptable rationalization for failing



to effect the cultural changes with which they are charged.

Indians also have their own conceptions of Indians in general and how one should behave toward them. However, the conceptions of Indians are very different from those of Whites. It is the difference between conceptions derived from intensive interaction with other Indians since birth and conceptions based on interaction with Indians in specialized and restricted contexts. For many Whites face-to-face interaction with Indians is almost non-existent; their conceptions are derived from conversational routines with Whites about Indians, rather than extended interaction with Indians. The Indian who successfully functions in the "white world" is usually regarded by Whites as an exception, but his Indian ancestry is still a crucial element in perceptions of him by Whites--if for no other reason than to contrast him to other Indians.

Indians execute thousands of behaviors--waiting for the traffic light to change, selecting a pair of shoes, reading the newspaper, asking for a particular brand of beer--which imply detailed knowledge of "non-Indian" culture and exemplify the identical cultures of Indians and Whites in certain situations. The cultural difference between Indians and Whites is based on the extent to which each meets the criteria for acceptance into specific communities and social groups, and the degree to which each manifests appropriate behavior in different contexts. Thus, in North City, Indians and Whites may share a number of similar cultures



associated with a variety of groups, e.g., voluntary associations, church congregations, employees of such-and-such, North City citizens, and citizenry of the United States. There will be other sub-cultures which Indians and Whites cannot share, as for example, those associated with childhood friendship groups in their respective home towns. In transitory groups to which both may be admitted, such as a PTA meeting or the audience at a reservation pow wow, Indians and Whites frequently exhibit differential performances of roles. Such differences are the consequence of the extent to which conceptions about performance in the specific situation are well-formed and "match" the conceptions of the majority of others in the group; Whites in the case of the PTA, Indians in the case of the pow wow.

The term "Indian" rather than "Chippewa" has been used advisedly. Among local Whites the term "Chippewa" is seldom employed except in formal politico-legal contexts or to contrast Chippewa with members of other tribal groups. In most situations the word "Indian" suffices to refer to the local Chippewa population. If finer distinctions are necessary, some phrase indicative of the person's home reservation is used, e.g., "he's a Deer Lake Indian." Among the Indians themselves the English terminology employed is much the same, e.g., "my mother talks Indian real good" or "they had an Indian wake when the old man died." Local Indians also use "Chippewa" for precise political identification, for instance when they boast, good-naturedly, about how their ancestors "beat the hell



out of the Sioux" and drove them from Minnesota. Another usage of the term sometimes encountered is in the braggadocio of inebriated men, for example, in a prelude to asking for a hand-out, "I'm a Chippewa Indian...you got a dollar?"<sup>3</sup>

Chippewa speakers have a variety of racial and ethnic identification terms which they use in their own language, and which may be interjected into English conversations. Caucasians are known as chimúkama,<sup>4</sup> which some speakers delight in informing their listener means "big knife" but cannot be analyzed as such in the Chippewa vocabulary. Negroes are referred to as makadewias (black meat). There are also Chippewa terms for various American Indian tribes; one of the most commonly heard is pwan (Sioux). The suffix -ish may be added to these terms, as in chimukamanish to make the term derogatory, i.e., one who embodies all of the negative qualities which his group is presumed to have. This form is sometimes used simply to tease those who have some familiarity with the language.

For themselves some Chippewa speakers use the word ochípwé (ochípwemwen--meaning the language of the Chippewa); more commonly anishanabe is used. Sometimes, particularly when speaking in English, the form is shortened to shanabe or even shnáb. In some contexts the shortened form shanabe appears to carry the connotation of "any American Indian regardless of tribal affiliation." So, even in the native language there is some indication that the conceptual boundaries between "Chippewa" and "Indian" are blurred. One



particularly colorful usage of the term shanábe, which by implication restricts its meaning to Chippewa Indians, is in a parody of the song "Wabash Cannonball." The song is in English, but the refrain is "on the shanábe cannonball" and the verse recounts the anonymous composer's travels through reservations of northern Minnesota and his experiences in Metropolis.

At any rate, an understanding of North City Indians' adaptations to their total environment requires an examination of their acquaintance with what may be called "Indian culture." There are three general objectives to be met in the analysis of North City Indians' interaction with this component of the overall environment: (1) to determine some of the major elements of Indian culture which are effective parts of their phenomenological world, (2) to sort these Indians on the basis of their knowledge of Indian culture<sup>4</sup> and their participation in it, and (3) to assess the significance of Indian culture for understanding the behavior of various types of city Indians.

For analytical purposes, Indian culture may be considered to comprise three inter-locking systems. The first system is that of traditional Chippewa culture as described in the ethnographic literature.<sup>5</sup> Second, there are the modern reservation cultures containing some elements of traditional culture, but which are unique systems developed over time by the interplay of Indian societies with the larger American society. Finally, the emergent



intertribal culture which has been called "Pan-Indianism" constitutes a third system of "Indian culture."

### Traditional Culture

Frederica de Laguna has remarked: "Even for the bewildered individual who hesitates between two worlds, the past of his fathers must be understood as part of him, though he tries to reject it."<sup>6</sup> North City Indians stand midway between the world of the reservation and the urban world of modern America. Though often only a nostalgic memory, Chippewa traditions are elements of most North City Indians' environment just as are the many facets of city, state, and national life. Further, some do try to reject the "Indian" part of themselves; one affluent North City man said, "The Indian part of me is something I usually try to keep in some dark corner of my mind."

Many bits and fragments of traditional Chippewa culture survive in the lives of North City Indians. The language is known to some extent by nearly all adults. Characters of mythology can be recollected from stories heard in childhood and, for some, the power of dreams and malevolent witchcraft continue to have an unsettling reality. Though fragmented, traditional forms of social organization and behavior persist in joking relationships, and in fictive kinship ties to wiyen or namesakes; a few recall the earlier importance of the dódem or "clan." Most have participated in at least a Christianized Chippewa wake; some have witnessed "pagan"



wakes, and are familiar with the Grand Medicine Society or its adherents. North City Indians recall pleasant memories of "camping out" along rice lakes or in maple sugar groves when the traditional annual cycle came once again to "making rice" or "making sugar."

### Language

All North City Indians encountered could speak English. Even in the most conservative Chippewa communities of the area there are only a few old people who understand only their native language. In North City there are elderly Chippewa whose knowledge of English is quite limited, but even these have at least some reading as well as speaking knowledge of English. An anecdote told by one old North City Indian, Bill, about another, Tom, illustrates the kinds of difficulties some have with English. Bill is a "quarter blood" who worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for many years and is an amateur scholar of American Indian ethnology. One day his distant cousin, Tom, came to visit him. Bill wanted to show Tom his prized copy of an antique Chippewa grammar.<sup>7</sup> While looking for the book, Bill said to his kinsman, "I want to show you this Chippewa grammar I have." His cousin queried in Chippewa, "Nikomís?" thinking Bill had said, "grammaw" (grandmother) in English. Interviews with Tom reaffirmed that he had difficulty in understanding anything but the simplest English.

Many of the older people learned English as a second language in school; some recall vividly the punishments meted out at boarding



schools if they were discovered "talking Indian." Not all the elderly people learned English as a second language; some spoke English first and then learned Chippewa or were truly bilingual from the time they began to speak. Nor are all native Chippewa speakers in North City elderly. One young man in his early thirties, who was orphaned at an early age and placed in the care of his grandmother, recalled having been told by his boarding school teachers that when he first arrived at the school he could speak no English. Another man in his early forties manifests complex anxieties over his knowledge of Chippewa. He recalls that as a child his family spoke a "mixture" of English and Chippewa and he understood both. However, his family laughed at him when he spoke Chippewa: "I don't know why...my pronunciation or something, but it always seemed to come out funny." His father sent him to stay with his aunt during the summers in order that his Chippewa might improve. Despite his difficulties with the native language, the man remembers once being sick at school and frantically trying to think of the word "vomit," but he could remember only the Chippewa equivalent. Today, he says, he likes to go to Indian gatherings and "eavesdrop" on Chippewa conversations in order to "test myself."

At the extreme from those fluent in Chippewa many North City Indians are native English speakers, with less proficiency in Chippewa. Interviewees were asked to rate their own ability and that of others in the household in speaking and understanding



Chippewa. Excluding White members of households and infants under three years of age, the Chippewa proficiency of the total random sample population is displayed in Table 17. As might be expected, most of those in the "speaks none, understands none" category are children; however, not all small children are in this category, and the category does include some adults.

TABLE 17

PROFICIENCY IN CHIPPEWA; RANDOM SAMPLE POPULATION<sup>a</sup>

<u>Speaks</u>	<u>Understands</u>	
None	None	37
None	Some	15
Some	Some	9
Some	Well	5
Well	Well	20
Miscellaneous undecodable response		<u>4</u>
	Total	90

<sup>a</sup>See accompanying text for types of persons who have been excluded.

Interviewees' assessments of their own Chippewa proficiency plus the item "native speaker" permits construction of a nearly perfect Guttman scale (Table 18). The order of the scale items has such a high level of "common sense" predictability, that one might



TABLE 18

## SCALOGRAM OF CHIPPEWA LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY; RANDOM SAMPLE

Scale Types	Interviewees	Items				
		1	2	3	4	5*
A	11.	X	X	X	X	X
	16.	X	X	X	X	X
	17.	X	X	X	X	X
	20.	X	X	X	X	X
	21.	X	X	X	X	X
	22.	X	X	X	X	X
	23.	X	X	X	X	X
	24.	X	X	X	X	X
	26.	X	X	X	X	X
B	3.		X	X	X	X
	4.		X	X	X	X
	7.		X	X	X	X
	9.		X	X	X	X
	10.		X	X	X	X
	18.		X	X	X	X
	25.		X	X	X	X
C	2.			X	X	X
	14.			X	0 a	X
D	6.				X	X
	12.				X	X
	13.				X	X
	15.				X	X
E	5.					X
	8.					X
F	1.					
	19.					

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .9924

## \*Key to items:

1. Native speaker of Chippewa
2. Speaks Chippewa fluently
3. Understands Chippewa well
4. Speaks at least a little Chippewa
5. Understands at least a little Chippewa

<sup>a</sup>While this scale error appears suspicious it must be included to be consistent with the general "rule" of taking interviewees' assessments of their language ability at face value.



question the necessity for constructing a scale. There are two reasons: (1) The scale is empirical demonstration of the validity of the common sense ranking of the items; (2) More importantly, it is a convenient method for showing the ranking of cases (interviewees) on this dimension.

Respondents were asked when they would be "most likely to talk Chippewa."<sup>8</sup> As might be expected, the older, fluent speakers gave responses that indicated a preference for the native language. Chippewa is used by them whenever encountering someone else who can speak it, especially their contemporaries. Slightly younger fluent speakers frequently mentioned specific relatives with whom they converse in Chippewa, and like the older interviewees used Chippewa in speaking to "old people." Still others who understand the language well but are less fluent speakers, stated that they are most likely to speak the language for humorous effect, e.g., "Just goofing around...just in a humorous mood, I guess is the best way to say it;" or, "I don't know...probably just when I'm being silly."

#### Folklore and Religion

Of the many elements of Chippewa folklore and religion, only a few were selected for systematic inquiries. Individuals were asked if they had ever heard Nanabushu, Windigo, or other Indian stories. Questions were asked about attendance, and participation by interviewees and their parents in Grand Medicine Society and other shamanistic performances. Finally, individuals were asked



about attendance at wakes "where Indian songs were sung."

Since migrating to North City 45% of the respondents had returned to a reservation in order to attend an "Indian style" wake. Recently a wake was conducted for a North City Indian couple who perished in a house fire; several other North City families attended the wake at Mission. The couple were buried in "pagan" style in the Mission graveyard, but their graves serve as a neat example of Chippewa religious syncretism. The grave houses were constructed of commercial lumber painted with white and turquoise commercial paint. In addition to the traditional grave post and food shelf attached under a small hole in the front of the house, the graves were adorned with plastic flowers and were marked by bronze plaques from the North City funeral parlor which prepared the bodies for interment.

Only one instance of a wake actually performed in North City was encountered. When the aged father of three middle-aged North City Indians died, his body was placed in a North City funeral parlor. His children and other relatives gathered together from distant places across the nation, and met for four(?) nights in the North City home of the old man's only daughter. There they sang Christian songs in Chippewa from native language hymnals, as the old man had requested. The daughter implied that they would have had his body present but, in the casket "it wouldn't fit through the door." This one case is important in that it dramatically demonstrates that North City Indians can and do continue traditional



practices within North City. The fact that three of the old man's children and several of his grandchildren live in North City (none of his six children live on his original reservation) is probably an important circumstance in explaining why the wake was held in the city rather than on the reservation. Wakes, then, are a viable element of both traditional and "reservation" Chippewa culture; they serve as an important mechanism for renewing North City Indians' involvement with "Indian culture."

Nanabúshu or Winibúshu,<sup>9</sup> and windigo are important personages in Chippewa folklore. Nanabúshu continues to be an important symbol of traditional cultural identity among contemporary Chippewa. ("Bill" hypothesizes that the Chippewa greeting bazhu is not a borrowing from French, bonjour, but is a shortened form of Winibúshu and carries the message, "we are fellow Chippewas.") Among North City Indians there is considerable variation in the reverence with which these legendary beings are regarded. At one extreme is Mrs. Fish (see Chapter IV) who, as a girl, was deeply troubled by dreams of windigo, and who regards Nanabúshu's behavior as a prototypic explanation of such aberrations as father-daughter incest. In contrast are those to whom windigo is simply "some kind of bogey man," or even a buffoon, and Nanabúshu merely an entertaining character to tell stories about.

The tales of Nanabúshu have been subject to much borrowing from European culture. For example, "Bill" reported that Chippewa workmen used to exchange tales in which Nanabúshu was involved in



pranks around lumber camps. One such story ends when Nanabúshu is revealed as the one who stole sugar from the camp kitchen because he has sugar on his whiskers; to this story a listener is supposed to respond, "but Nanabúshu doesn't have a beard," since he is an Indian. In the tales of one North City Indian man, windigo and Winibúshu have become confused; both are tricksters and the characters seem interchangeable in stories explaining the markings of wild animals. In these accounts both characters are sometimes equipped with such artifacts as motorcycles and cigarette lighters. In one story windigo is playing baseball!

Nanabúshu is sometimes compared to figures in Euro-American folklore, as for example, "he's the Indian Paul Bunyan," or "when I was little I used to think he was the Indian Santa Claus." Even those who regard Nanabúshu with reverence may make such comparisons. Mrs. Fish reported that one of her contemporaries thought that "maybe he's Jesus." Mrs. Fish's grandchildren, who attend the Indian mission in North City, objected to this interpretation by referring to some of the obscene acts of Nanabúshu and saying, "Jesus would never do anything like that." Besides those who "believe in" these beings and those who regard them as merely fictional characters in folklore, there are a few disbelievers, like the elderly man who said, "they told me [as a child] I didn't believe 'em."

An attempt was made to determine the extent to which these elements of traditional culture had been transmitted to children.



Only a few older respondents reported having told Nanabúshu or other Indian legends to their children, although some said their children heard the stories from grandparents. Frequently, the reason given for not telling the tales to contemporary North City Indian children is the inability of the children to comprehend the Chippewa language, since there is a prevailing attitude that these stories can be appreciated only in the native language. Much of the humor in Nanabúshu stories is thought to be lost in translation. The head of one consanguineal family stated that she does tell her grandchildren that windigo will "get them" if they don't behave. However, North City Indians do not typically transmit these elements of traditional Chippewa culture to their offspring.

The Indians of North City are, with very few exceptions, Christians. Roman Catholics and Episcopalians predominate, with the former comprising 53% of the total random sample population and the latter accounting for 14%. Even so, a portion of the adults have witnessed traditional forms of supernaturalism such as tent shaking and Midewiwin initiations or funeral rites. Some are able to recount experiences of close relatives who have been "grand medicined," i.e., suffered from the effects of malevolent witchcraft. For example, one woman from a Catholic family described her husband's affliction soon after they were married in the early 1900's:

...he said he was going to play cards. I didn't really know what he went for, but when he got back he said what he was doing [selling bootleg whiskey]. He must have been



gone three days, and when he left he left on a horse and returned the same way. As soon as he walked in the house he fell, so we, my Ma and I, put him on the bed...and my mother sent for an old lady...to have the old lady come over to see what was wrong with him. She knew what it was right away; he was grand medicined. So, she went and got some medicine and he drank it. He was really out, he was sick, out of his head. He could talk but he didn't know anything. I really got scared. My goodness, I heard what they can do, it can kill you. So my mother brought out the candles, put up the rosaries, and sprinkled holy water on him...that is powerful for Catholics.

Finally, members of the family successfully warded off the medium of magical injury, a "fireball," by shooting at it with firearms. Again, the use of Euro-American culture traits in conjunction with traditional belief should be noted. The informant surmised that her husband was bewitched because he had offended a shaman by not selling him any more whiskey. Similarly a forty-one year old man recalled the mysterious conversations of his parents when, as was revealed to him later in life, his father was bewitched by his hunting partners because of his consistent success in hunting, seemingly at the expense of his partners' luck.

Aside from the more formalized elements of Chippewa supernaturalism, a few North City Indians maintain their belief in the efficacy of spirit helpers. An elderly man says that he was "born a Catholic and will die a Catholic," yet he feels that as a young man he must have had "somebody back of me helping me," otherwise he would not have won so much money at poker and at the moccasin game. The same man keeps a crucifix on his bed post to ward off "bad dreams" and sadly recalls that his failure to follow dream instructions caused a son's death. Mrs. Fish recounted the



miraculous manner in which she used the telephone for the first time, without instructions, during a dire emergency--"somebody must have been helping me." Even young adults are willing to accept the possible efficacy of magical phenomena. A college graduate related an incident in which his grandmother successfully divined a death on the basis of omens, then he added, "you'd like to think it was coincidence but...."

It is in the area of medical treatment that North City Chippewa seem most likely to accept the efficacy of traditional Chippewa practice. This is true both of herbal and magical cures. Among those who have employed native medicine the attitude is one of pragmatism. "I wouldn't have believed it myself, but he helped me," said a devout Catholic woman about an "Indian doctor's" successful treatment of her laryngitis. Although there are few real shamans remaining in the area, herbal cures can still be obtained from knowledgeable old people. One informant keeps a buckskin pouch of "bearfoot" (botanical name not determined) in his room for treatment of heart palpitations.

The term jibik is sometimes used for a variety of herbal concoctions presumed to have magical properties; however, most commonly the reference is to "love medicine." Love medicine may be used to obtain sexual partners, or by a spurned suitor to exact vengeance. Familiarity with jibik appears to be fairly widespread among modern Chippewa,<sup>10</sup> including those of North City. Parenthetically, a statement by an elderly North City woman illustrates the



integration of traditional belief with values of modern American society; jokingly she said: "If I had some [iibik], I'd get me a banker."

Among those who are not "believers" in traditional supernaturalism, native medical treatment is often regarded as a last resort, but not necessarily inconsistent with belief in Christianity and modern science. In essence, the attitude is pragmatic: "If it works, it's true; those old Indians probably knew things which we don't understand today."

#### Miscellaneous Traditional Traits

As noted elsewhere, a number of North City women continue the manufacture of traditional (though not necessarily aboriginal) crafts, e.g., beadwork, buckskin, and braided rugs. (One young woman braids rugs from the plastic bags in which bread is packaged for sale in grocery stores.) In the same general category as the manufacture of traditional crafts is the collection and care for Chippewa artifacts, or even books, photographs, and newspaper clippings describing traditional material culture. A North City man who has kept his grandfather's Catlinite pipe for many years chuckles about the many times his several children have taken it to North City schools to show to their classmates.

Some older women reported that the elder of their children were kept in a dikanagan or cradleboard. Today, even in the most remote areas of the reservations, cradleboards are not used. How-



ever, in North City itself the use of rope and blanket hammocks for infants was observed in two Indian households. In both cases the houses were small and crowded and the young parents explained the use of the hammocks as a matter of practicality. In one of the houses the child was suspended in his hammock directly over his parents' bed.

Modern northern Minnesota Chippewa are generally known by their Christian names or by nicknames. The nicknames are sometimes derived from the native language, such as "Win" from Winibuzhu; often they are derived from English, as in "Chuckie" or "Shitty"; occasionally the nicknames are not readily assigned to either language, as in "Beep" or "Bim." In addition quite a few Chippewa possess seldom used "Indian names." These names are given to individuals in infancy by adults outside the nuclear family who either request or are asked by the parents "to have the child" as a namesake. Traditionally, the naming is accompanied by ceremony and the giving of tobacco to invited witnesses. In recent times it appears that the name is often bestowed on the child with little ceremony beyond simply the parents' agreement to "give the child" to an older person as a namesake. Sometimes frequently used Indian nicknames are acquired in a similar manner. Ideally, a person has a special interest in his namesake or wiyen (the term is self-reciprocal), oversees his socialization, and gives him presents from time to time.



Interviewees in the random sample were asked whether they or any of their children had Indian names. Six stated that they had Indian names, although some were uncertain of the proper pronunciation or meaning. Three respondents reported that one or more of their children had Indian names. One person responded by stating that he had an Indian nickname.

Traditional economic activities (hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild rice and berries) have been discussed in Chapter V; these activities are pursued by most North City Indians at least sporadically. Unlike the other traits discussed in this section, these are also characteristic of a great many non-Indians as well. Nonetheless, sometimes Indians make contrasts between their skill and that of Whites in the pursuit of these activities, particularly rice collection.

#### A Scale of Familiarity with Chippewa Customs

North City Indians' knowledge and practice of traditional religion, folklore, and other non-linguistic traits presents a much more erratic distribution than does knowledge of the native language. Some of these items were, however, sufficiently regular to permit the construction of a Guttman scale of "familiarity with Chippewa customs," Table 19. Although the scale has a respectable coefficient of reproducibility, it is in some ways the least acceptable of all the scales presented. The principal problems seem to stem from the anxiety some interviewees exhibited concerning the religious items,



TABLE 19

SCALOGRAM OF FAMILIARITY WITH CHIPPEWA CUSTOMS;  
RANDOM SAMPLE

Scale Types	Interviewees	Items					
		1	2	3	4	5	6*
A	18.	X	X	X	X.	X	X
	25.	X	X	X	X	X	X
	26.	X	X	O	O	X	X
B	10.		X	X	X	O	X
	11.		X	X	X	X	X
	15.		X	X	X	O	X
C	2.			X	X	O	X
	3.			X	X	X	X
	8.			X	X	X	X
	9.			X	X	X	X
	12.			X	X	X	O
	17.			X	X	X	X
	23.			X	X	X	X
	24.			X	X	X	X
D	4.				X	X	X
	5.					X	X
E	6.					X	X
	14.					X	X
	16.					X	X
	22.		(X)			X	X
F	7.						X
	13.						X
	21.						X
G	1.				(X)		
	19.						
	20.						

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .949

## \*Key to Items:

1. Has employed services of native medical practitioner
2. Has witnessed some form of "pagan" supernaturalism
3. Has heard windigo tales
4. Has heard Nanahushu tales
5. Has collected wild rice at some time in the past
6. Has attended a wake where songs were sung in Chippewa



possible prevarication, and some language difficulties. The scalogram is presented as an approximation of the typological ranking of North City Indians in terms of one dimension of "traditionality."

Table 19 shows that the typical North City Indian adult has been a participant in at least a Christianized wake and has collected wild rice at some time in his life. More than half heard Nanabushu tales as children. Over a fourth of the interviewees have at least witnessed some Chippewa shamanistic performance.

#### Summary Comments

Chippewa Indians bring to North City a wide variety of knowledge and experience with native language, folklore, supernaturalism, and other practices. The Indians of North City can be sorted into a number of types in terms of these elements of traditional culture, as shown by the scales in Tables 18 and 19. Although a few instances of behavioral manifestations of traditional culture within the urban setting have been cited, on the whole the Indians do not perpetuate traditional practices within the city. Instead, they are dependent on the continued viability of these traits in reservation societies. It is through participation in reservation life that the North City Indian maintains and reinforces his identification with "the past of his fathers." Often the Chippewa child of North City would have no direct exposure to traditional culture, were it not for interaction with those still living on the reservation.



### Modern Reservation Culture

The description by Bernard James<sup>11</sup> of a contemporary Wisconsin Chippewa reservation as a "'poor white type'" subculture is generally applicable to the reservations in the North City area. The "socio-economic status differential"<sup>12</sup> vis-a-vis the larger White society, which James sees as a crucial requirement for the existence of such cultures, is present to some extent on all of the reservations in the North City area. Some of the behaviors James regards as the psychological consequence of this situation are matched almost point for point by northern Minnesota Chippewa. However, with the possible exception of Beaver Pelt, the reservations surrounding North City have not experienced as extensive "deculturation,"<sup>13</sup> i.e., loss of traditional traits, as reported for the reservation described by James. Evidence for this difference is provided by even the materials from city Chippewa presented in the preceding section.

In the absence of unique culture traits by which differences in North City Indians' knowledge of reservation culture may be identified, the social relations of the city Indians to the "reservation culture" component of their environment will be examined. Data were collected from interviewees concerning the frequency and location of interaction with relatives living on reservations; other data on return trips to reservations were also obtained. These data have permitted the ranking of individuals into types along a dimension of "reservation contacts," Table 20.



TABLE 20

## SCALOGRAM OF RESERVATION CONTACTS; RANDOM SAMPLE

Scale Types	Interviewees	Items										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11*
A	9.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	14.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
B	16.		X	O	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X
	18.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	26.		X	? <sup>a</sup>	X	?	X	X	X	X	X	X
C	4.			X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	17.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	22.			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
D	3.				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
E	6.					X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	10.			?		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
F	21.						X	X	X	X	X	X
G	11.		(X)		(X)			X	X	X	X	X
	23.							X	X	X	X	X
H	15.								X	X	X	X
I	20.									X	X	X
	25.									X	X	X
J	5.	(X)		(X)		(X)					X	X
	8.										X	X
K	2.											X
	7.						(X)					X
	12.											X
	24.											X
L	1.											
	13.											
	19.											

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .958

## \*Key to Items:

1. Visits some kinsman living on a reservation once per week
2. Is visited by a reservation kinsman once per week
3. Visits some reservation kinsman more than once per month
4. Is visited by a reservation kinsman more than once per month
5. Visits a reservation kinsman more than once every two months
6. Hunts, fishes, or collects wild rice or berries on a reservation
7. Is visited by some reservation kinsman more than once every two months
8. Is visited by some reservation kinsman at least once every two months
9. Is visited by some reservation kinsman more than once per year
10. Visits a reservation more than once per year
11. Regularly visits some reservation in the region at least once per year

<sup>a</sup>Uncertainty in interpretation of data; counted as error



Item six, "hunts, fishes, etc.," appears inconsistent with the others. It is not, however, when it is recognized that it too is a "frequency" item; by inference, it is a return trip at least once per year in the specialized context of carrying out one or more of the activities listed. An attempt was made to incorporate into the scale participation in a wake on reservation subsequent to moving to North City, but this item is contingent on special factors such as death. Thus, wake participation since relocation to North City does not fit empirically or logically into this scale.

According to this scale, then, the minimal level of social articulation to reservations is that of at least one visit per year to some reservation in the region. Two of the three individuals who fail to meet even this minimal level are the aged daughter of a non-reservation Chippewa from northwestern Minnesota, and the one adult in the sample who was brought to North City as a pre-school aged child. The presence of these rather unusual individuals in type "L" supports the general validity of the scale. At the opposite end of the scale are those who have weekly contact with members of reservation communities. It is perhaps significant that all the individuals in types "A" and "B" have kinsmen living at Mission, the geographically closest reservation community. The large number of errors for interviewee number "5" may be accounted for by the fact that his job with the Bureau of Indian Affairs requires him to make almost daily trips to James Lake; his mother resides there, when she is not staying in North City with her son.



In order to provide substantive documentation of the nature of contacts between North City Indians and reservation kinsmen, one directly observed instance will be cited at length. This case also serves to illustrate (1) the importance of articulation to the reservation for the maintenance of traditional culture and (2) the effects of acculturation on Chippewa ritual.

Ben came to North City from an isolated community on the Broken Reed Reservation, in order to participate in the Title V training program. His wife is from Deer Lake and he has several young children. Traditionally, his kinsmen have gathered at the grave sites of their immediate ancestors on Memorial Day; there they remove the accumulated weeds, place flowers on the graves, partake of a "picnic" lunch, and place gifts of food and tobacco on the graves. The second year that Ben lived in North City I asked to accompany him to this annual ritual. On Memorial Day morning he telephoned to inform me when we should depart. He said that he was uncertain when the group would gather, and had telephoned an aunt in the community the night before in order to ascertain this information. As we were about to leave his home, some of his collateral kinsmen arrived. Ben conversed with them briefly and stated, "I'll see you out there"; they drove away.

Ben's children, but not his Deer Lake wife, accompanied us on the trip. We saw no one when we reached the site of Ben's mother's grave and those of her close kinsmen. The informant directed me to another location where his paternal relatives were buried. Later we



returned to his mother's grave, and this time found a group of about six people busily attending the graves. Ben was quickly instructed by one of his senior kinsmen to "brush" his mother's grave. When the cleaning was completed prayers were offered in Chippewa by one of the elderly women present, and offerings of food and tobacco were placed on the graves. (Ben stated that if the deceased used tobacco in life, one should try to place on the grave the same brand of tobacco that he used in life.) Ben put an offering of bread in the earth over his mother's grave. When these duties were attended to, the group seated themselves on blankets spread in the midst of the graves and ate the various foods contributed by each family. Actually, some of the younger men who had arrived later than we sat on top of grave houses. During the meal there was a considerable amount of jovial conversation, almost all of which was in Chippewa. When all had finished eating, the dishes were packed away; the senior woman poured remaining "Kool-Aid" at the head of three graves, and placed the margarine tin from which she had drunk upside down on one of the graves. Several of the graves were marked with cups, plates, and glasses from previous "picnics." Soon afterwards we left, taking with us a large box of leftover food. The relatives whom Ben had spoken to in North City never arrived. When asked about them by one of his attending kinsmen, Ben stated that they were at the burial site of some of their other kinsmen.

All but two of the participants in this Memorial Day celebration were Christians, yet all were involved in the "pagan" ritual.



Ben felt compelled to remark on this seeming paradox. In his opinion, the ritual would no longer be conducted when "these old people die." To this I inquired if he would not still return to care for his mother's grave even after the old ones were gone. He replied, "Yeah, I suppose so," as though he had never thought of the matter in these terms.

Ben was back at his North City home a scant five hours from the time he had departed earlier in the day. During these few hours he and his children had briefly reentered a society in which Chippewa is the common language, and old people still lead the young in traditional ritual. The next day Ben returned to his training as an electrician, and his older children were with their White classmates in a North City public school.

The scale in Table 20 actually understates the frequency of contacts with reservation Chippewa. Bureau of Indian Affairs employees obviously have frequent contact with members of reservation communities, but this is a special case which involves a number of problems in role relationships. North City Indians also interact socially with acquaintances and kinsmen for which data were not systematically elicited. Frequently these encounters may be rather casual, such as a momentary conversation on the streets of North City, where both urban and reservation Indians meet. According to informants' estimates of lengths of visits, even when a North City Chippewa is visited in his home by a reservation Indian, it may be



for only a few minutes, e.g., "He stops in for a few minutes whenever he's in town."

Whatever the "true" frequency of interaction between North City and reservation Chippewa may be, the data at hand are sufficient to demonstrate that the Indians of North City continue to maintain social ties with the reservations.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted in examining Table 20 that the initiative in maintaining these ties is roughly equally divided between the urban and the reservation Indians. That is, the "visits" and "is visited" items are about the same in number.

The reservations serve as a kind of "ecological reservoir" for North City Indians. The urban Indians engage in traditional economic, as well as social and religious, activities on reservations. This is understandable since the reservations are the nearest fish, game, and wild rice areas with which North City Indians are familiar. Migrants from the Deer Lake Reservation have the additional attraction on their reservation of the absence of legal restrictions on the taking of game and fish by members of the Band.

North City Indians might be expected to maintain contacts with reservation life through political participation, e.g., voting in tribal elections. In fact, only a third (nine) of the North City random sample interviewees reported voting in a tribal, band, or village election at any time in their lives. All but three of those who have voted are members of the Deer Lake Band; stated another way, all Deer Lake respondents reported that they had voted in a tribal



election in recent years. The three non-Deer Lake voters were: a Wisconsin Chippewa who voted in the early 1960's; a former officer of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe who voted in a tribal election in 1964; and one Beaver Pelt enrollee who said she had voted once "about twenty-five years ago." Clearly, then, urban members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, with but a few exceptions, are not and have never been politically active in tribal affairs. Information from other sources indicates that even on the Minnesota Chippewa reservations participation in political affairs is limited to a small number; the percentage of members who vote is usually small.

Members of the Deer Lake Band are strikingly different. Even migrants to North City continue to maintain sufficient political interest in their reservation to vote in tribal elections. (As a matter of fact, in the Deer Lake election of 1966, a young man residing in Metropolis was the chief opponent of the incumbent tribal chairman.) This difference in political participation between Deer Lake and Minnesota Chippewa clearly reflects the very different history and legal status of the two groups. Deer Lake Indians have much more to gain or lose by political decisions;<sup>15</sup> also, recent power struggles (see Chapter II) have probably served to increase the interest of Deer Lake Chippewa in their political affairs.

One other major activity serves to reinforce the cultural and social ties of North City Indians to reservation life, namely,



attendance and participation in pow wows. However, these events also provide an important bridge between modern reservation society and the phenomenon of "Pan-Indianism."

### Pan-Indianism

One of the best treatments of Pan-Indianism to date is that of James H. Howard,<sup>16</sup> who describes Pan-Indianism as representing "...a sort of generalized intertribal 'Indian' culture."<sup>17</sup> He states that it is composed of elements derived from Plains, Woodland, and Southwest culture areas as well as some "that appear to be peculiar to Pan-Indianism and to have no roots in Indian past."<sup>18</sup> Howard argues that the pow wow is the secular counterpart of the Peyote religion in the Pan-Indian "movement."<sup>19</sup>

### Pow wow Attendance

Although Pan-Indianism in northern Minnesota is far less developed than in Oklahoma, where Howard worked, there are aspects of modern reservation life that can best be described as "Pan-Indian." The major manifestations of Pan-Indianism in northern Minnesota are the pow wows and celebrations conducted during the summer months. These events bring together dancers, singers, and spectators from reservations in the Dakotas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Ontario, and Montana, as well as from all the reservations in Minnesota. In addition, Indian migrants to Chicago and Metropolis frequently return for these events.



In North City and Trotter White businessmen sponsor short pow wows for the benefit of tourists. Unlike celebrations in Indian communities, which last for several days, the tourist pow wows are seldom more than one hour in length and attract Indian participants only from the nearby Chippewa reservations.

Distinctive tribal styles of pow wow singing, dancing, and dress may be identified, but pow wows are also the medium for intertribal diffusion of songs, dances, and paraphernalia. For example, in recent years Chippewa singers have begun to wear straw cowboy hats in the manner of northern Plains tribes and Chippewa beadworkers fashion typically Oklahoman dance suspenders--but beaded in the traditional floral motifs of Chippewa. Part of the impetus for this acculturation comes from returning Chippewa who have migrated to large cities and participated in intertribal activities through urban Indian clubs.

Although these celebrations retain some distinctly Chippewa elements and have the function of strengthening the integration of local reservation communities,<sup>20</sup> Chippewa oldsters clearly contrast pow wows with traditional religious and, even, social dances. Nonetheless, there have been cases of Chippewa receiving visionary instruction to sponsor a secular pow wow in order to recover from illness or insure continued good fortune.

Many modern day Chippewa seem to regard pow wows as a traditional part of reservation life. (Indeed, there is evidence that the "pow wow" was introduced to Deer Lake Chippewa by Dakota



Indians in the mid-nineteenth century.) One the whole, northern Minnesota Chippewa do not appear to fully appreciate the Pan-Indian significance of these events. Some informants have commented on their interest in "seeing how other tribes dance and what kind of outfits they have," and the opportunities which pow wows provide for meeting Indians from other tribes. However, Chippewa who participate in pow wows only as spectators generally emphasize social interaction with old friends and acquaintances as a principal function of pow wow celebrations. They also provide many Chippewa with aesthetic and emotional gratification. Pow wow type celebrations are an important symbol of Indian identity; through pow wows Indian communities and individuals may reassert their cultural distinctiveness in a manner which has positive, or at least neutral, value in the greater "White" society.<sup>21</sup> A North City Indian may partake of the social and psychic benefits of pow wows with little disruption to his daily living schedule. Unlike the long distance migrant who must make a costly trip and arrange for absence from his employment, the North City Indian has only to travel a few miles and need be absent from his employment little, if at all.

In order to gauge the extent of pow wow attendance by North City Indians, interviewees were asked to name the different places where they attend pow wows. Surprisingly, the commercial "Indian dances" at the North City waterfront were frequently mentioned, albeit sometimes with the rejoinder, "I don't really call that a pow wow." Table 21 shows the distribution of the random sample



TABLE 21

POW WOW ATTENDANCE; RANDOM SAMPLE<sup>a</sup>

Does not attend	4
Attends only North City "pow wows"	5
Attends pow wows at North City and Deer Lake <sup>b</sup>	8
Attends pow wows at Deer Lake and elsewhere (Trotter, Wicket, Nisishin)	3
Attends pow wows at Deer Lake, North City and "elsewhere"	2
Attends pow wows only at Deer Lake	3
Other responses	<u>2</u>
Total	27

<sup>a</sup>Information from partially completed interview included (see Chapter III).

<sup>b</sup>An interviewee's inclusion in a category is not meant to imply necessarily that he annually attends pow wows in all the places listed for that category, although most do. Responses were coded for this table simply on the basis of locations mentioned by each interviewee as places where he had attended pow wows in recent years.



responses. Deer Lake, with the most elaborate celebrations, receives the greatest popularity. Prior to conducting the interviews it was not expected that the North City "pow wows" would be so well attended by Indians in the city (fifteen interviewees mentioned them). However, despite crass commercialism, since these dances are the only organized expression of "Indian-ness" within the city, their attractiveness is somewhat more understandable.

The data on pow wow attendance, then, show that almost all North City Indians have sufficient interest in this aspect of Pan-Indianism to attend, at least, Indian dance performances in the city. As a matter of fact, the majority participate in pow wows conducted in reservation communities. (Participation is meant in a broad sense; very few of the North City Indians have actually danced or sung at a pow wow, most of these have danced only as children.) Since even the North City dances are fairly well attended and many who attend the Deer Lake celebrations are not "Deer Lakers," pow wow attendance appears to represent something more than merely a desire to return to the home community. Possible explanations for this interest in pow wows are the emotional gratification derived from witnessing the performances and the opportunities provided for associating with other Indians.

There is ample evidence that the Indians of North City are party to whatever secular manifestations of Pan-Indianism may be found in Northern Minnesota. The sacred aspects of Pan-Indianism are quite another matter.



### Knowledge of Peyote

Northern Minnesota represents a hiatus in the distribution of the peyote cult. To the west are the cultists of the great Plains, and to the east, in Wisconsin, are the adherents to the eastern version of peyotism. In northern Minnesota there is only the one small settlement of peyotists on the Broken Reed Reservation. With this in mind, informants were asked a series of questions about peyote in order to ascertain the extent of their knowledge of the sacred aspect of the Pan-Indian movement.

Approximately half of the respondents in the random sample admitted some knowledge of peyote itself. Most of these said that they had simply "heard of it" and disclaimed detailed knowledge. Only two persons said they had actually seen the buttons of peyote --one at Deer Lake and one at James Lake. In reality probably more of the interviewees are familiar with the plant than actually admitted it. The reasons for this are probably (1) lack of immediate recall of the name of the plant (several pronunciations of "peyote" were used in questioning in an effort to correct for this problem), (2) negative feelings about the plant (some informants refer to the plant as "dope"), and (3) uncertainty as to the possible legal consequences of claiming knowledge of the plant. An interviewee who stated that he had never heard of peyote, in a subsequent conversation discussed a drink made from a thing "like a dried peach, with, like, cotton inside," which some Indians use. "It makes them crazy," he said, but "that's a religion, too." The



informant stated that he had never been to a meeting, but had heard the singing. His knowledge of the cult was sufficiently detailed that he was able to describe the passing of the drum, and he had a fairly accurate idea of where peyote buttons were obtained.

Apparently most of his knowledge of peyote was based on his familiarity with Rice Village, the peyote settlement on the Broken Reed Reservation.

In general, non-peyote Chippewa who know about the religious practices of Rice Village are suspicious of them, and, in turn, the peyotists are secretive about their activities. One North City respondent's mother's sister is a married-in member of Rice Village, but he claimed to have only heard of peyote. When I revealed to him that his aunt's community was composed of peyotists, he seemed surprised and said that she had never said anything about it. In later interviews the man reported that he had asked his aunt about their religion, and she had told him, "a little bit at a time."

The peyotists of Rice Village think of themselves as belonging to the Native American Church. The young man mentioned above had learned this phrase from the ethnographer and was able to use it in questioning his aunt. Only one interviewee in the random sample responded affirmatively when asked, "Do you know what the Native American Church is?" This one respondent is a Wisconsin Chippewa. No one had ever personally known a member of the Native American Church.



It would appear then that North City Indians are only peripherally acquainted with the sacred aspects of Pan-Indianism. Although many know of peyote, its use is poorly understood and often viewed with suspicion.

#### Another Pan-Indian Form

There is another and, to the author's knowledge, previously unreported secular aspect of Pan-Indianism. This aspect of the movement is in large part derived from federal government programs designed to "help the Indian," particularly the Office of Economic Opportunity. More and more Indians are being drawn to North City as a center for federal programs. Of particular importance in this respect is the technical assistance center established at North City State College during the final phase of the fieldwork for this study. This center is directed by a Chippewa originally from the Beaver Pelt Reservation, and other Indians have been directly employed in the center. One of these was previously the executive secretary of a state commission on Indian affairs. Many men and women in such positions, including some Bureau of Indian Affairs employees, are developing a keen sensitivity to the need for co-operation among reservations and tribes in order to deal with government bureaucracy. They are becoming more and more outspoken on "the Indian problem." There exists in North City the possibility of the emergence of a kind of Indian administrative elite, the highly educated Indians who manage these government programs. This group



could well make North City a regional focus of political Pan-Indianism, albeit with government support, just as the city has been an administrative and trade center for Indians during recent decades.

#### Summary

In this chapter the "Indian" characteristics of North City Chippewa have been examined. Examination of the data suggests that two major conclusions may now be reached about North City Indians (specifically Indian adults). First, they typically have some measure of knowledge and experience in traditional Chippewa culture. Furthermore, the Indians of North City remain articulated to reservation societies through relatively frequent interaction with reservation Chippewa in a variety of settings. North City Indians typically participate in secular forms of Pan-Indianism, although they may have little understanding of the movement at the national level. Secondly, the extent of individual experience and involvement in the several sub-systems of "Indian culture" shows a wide range of variation among these people. Empirically, the population may be ranked into series of types along several dimensions of "Indian culture." Generally there are minimal levels of Indian cultural experience which are typical of North City Indians, but individual North City Chippewa exhibit degrees of "Indian-ness" which may exceed considerably the minimal level.



## Notes to Chapter VII

1. Cf. Bernard J. James, "Social-Psychological Dimensions of Ojibwa Acculturation," American Anthropologist, LXIII, No. 4 (August, 1961), p. 731.
2. Murray and Rosalie Wax, "Cultural Deprivation as an Educational Ideology," Journal of American Indian Education, III, No. 2 (January, 1964), pp. 15-18.
3. James, op. cit., pp. 737 and 741.
4. Characters used in spelling native terms have approximately the same phonetic value as they ordinarily do in English words, with the following specifications:

ch is as in English "church"  
sh is as in English "shoe"  
zh is as in English "garage"  
a in an unstressed syllable represents a shwa  
i in an unstressed syllable represents ɪ
5. See, for example: Frances Densmore, Chippewa Customs ("Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin," No. 86 [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929]); Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Sociology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937); Inez Hilger, Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background ("Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin," No. 146 [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951]).
6. Frederica de Laguna, "Presidential Address--1967," American Anthropologist, LXX, No. 3 (June, 1968), p. 470.
7. Friedrich Baraga, A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Explained in English (Cincinnati: J. A. Hemann, 1853).
8. Ervin-Tripp has drawn attention to a number of factors related to differential use of several linguistic variants available to a speaker: Susan Ervin-Tripp, "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listener," The Ethnography of Communication, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes ("American Anthropologist Special Publication," LXVI, No. 6, Part 2; December, 1964), pp. 86-102.
9. Nanabushu is the preferred usage in the Deer Lake dialect; Winibuzhu appears to be preferred in the Broken Reed, and probably the Beaver Pelt, dialect.



10. Although life-long White residents of the area may have a vague, and usually incorrect, notion of Indian "medicine," it is doubtful that many know the term ibik.
11. James, op. cit.,
12. Ibid., p. 744.
13. Ibid., p. 728.
14. Cf., John Gulick, Charles E. Bowerman, and Kurt W. Back, "New-comer Enculturation in the City: Attitudes and Participation," Urban Growth Dynamics in a Regional Cluster of Cities, ed. E. Stuart Chapin, Jr. and Shirley R. Weise (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 315-358.
15. There is some evidence that there is still a faction at Deer Lake favoring allotment; other kinds of political factions exist as well.
16. James H. Howard, The Ponca Tribe ("Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin," No. 195 [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965]).
17. Ibid., p. viii.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., pp. 159-161.
20. Michael Rynkiewich, "Elaboration of Chippewa Powwows," Paper read before the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, Chicago, April 27-29, 1967.
21. Cf., James, op. cit., pp. 741-742.



## CHAPTER VIII

### HOUSEHOLDS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Dimensions of North City Indian adaptation to various components of their socio-cultural environment have now been described. A random sample of North City Indians has been typological ranked along a number of these dimensions of adaptation. Before discussing the relationships among the levels of adaptation of individuals, it is useful to examine the social ecology of North City Indians from a broader perspective. The following is intended as a general outline of the parameters of North City Indian social relations; detailed analysis of the social organization of Indians living in North City is beyond the scope of the study.

#### Households

Households are the only social groups which may be clearly identified among North City Indians. The composition of these households has been discussed (see Chapter III) and shown to vary considerably. In addition, the membership of some households may change considerably through relatively short periods of time. These alterations usually occur among low-income, welfare families, but are not restricted to them.

Changes in household composition may be illustrated by the following extreme case. Mrs. Fish, age 75, left the Deer Lake



Reservation and rented one of a cluster of about twenty cabins (owned by a local White businessman) located behind the highway department building (see Figure 2). Within a few weeks after her arrival in North City, she was left with the care of five grandchildren when her daughter, who had been living in James Lake, was hospitalized after a severe beating received from her husband. (The husband is a member of the Broken Reed Reservation.) When Mrs. Fish's daughter was released from the hospital she joined her mother in North City. Eventually the daughter and her husband were reconciled and they occupied Mrs. Fish's cabin, and the old lady moved to a smaller cabin next door. For several months this arrangement continued. Among the cabins was that of Mr. LeJon, originally of the Beaver Pelt reservation; his cabin was more spacious than most of the others. (For some time LeJon had had a young friend from Beaver Pelt staying with him.) When Mr. LeJon suddenly died, Mrs. Fish's daughter and family moved into his place. In the meantime, Mrs. Fish's friend, Mrs. Blackdown, moved from the Deer Lake Reservation and rented a cabin in the same area. Mrs. Fish left for the summer to stay with one of her sons in Washington State. When Mrs. Fish returned, she rented the cabin next door to Mrs. Blackdown. Within about two months Mrs. Fish's youngest son returned from Metropolis in order to seek a job in the area, hunt deer, and collect wild rice. He brought with him his three children and his legal wife's sister, with whom he had established a conjugal union. These relatives stayed with Mrs. Fish



for several days, until the son found a suitable house to rent on the northeast side of town. Mrs. Fish was left alone again. Mrs. Fish's daughter gave birth to her third child by her present mate (she had four children with her from a former marriage), the father was enrolled in the Title V program, and the family was able to rent a larger and more substantial house several blocks away. At about the same time Mrs. Fish moved back to Deer Lake, after a brief eighteen months absence and after playing a key role in the establishment of at least two new Chippewa households in North City. Presumably, Mrs. Fish at last found solitude and the "time to do my beading."

This case is not offered as typical of North City Indians. Rather it is illustrative of the dynamics of the formation of household units among at least one segment of the North City Chippewa population.

The flow of Indian "traffic" through North City contributes to the complexity of North City Indian households. Indian households may frequently acquire new members on a temporary basis because of the central location of the city to the reservations, and its intermediary status between reservations and larger, more distant cities. The presence of Indian relatives and friends in North City serves an important "way station" function for both Chippewa living on reservations and those who have migrated beyond North City. This "way station" function is fulfilled at the minimal level by the overnight accommodations which North City Indian households may



provide for reservation friends and relatives who come to North City. One directly observed incident of an overnight visit serves to illustrate the phenomenon. At about 10:00 A.M. I called on a young North City Indian couple to conduct an interview. The wife had arisen and prepared breakfast for her two pre-school daughters. The apartment in which the couple lived had two small rooms. In the back bedroom the husband and his sister from the reservation were sleeping in a double bed; in the kitchen the husband's brother, who is a regular member of the household, and their "cousin" from the reservation were sleeping on a narrow bed. Apparently the wife and children had slept along with the husband and his sister in the double bed during the previous night.

Overnight "visits" by reservation Indians are not always welcomed by North City Indians, particularly in the case of inebriated persons stranded in North City without money. An elderly man vividly described leaping from his bed one night to bolt the door of his small room to prevent a transient Indian from spending the night. The informant also commented on the trouble one has with "sleepers" if he is not vigilant.

In addition to overnight visitors North City Indian households may acquire relatively long-term, temporary members. The "way station" metaphor is perhaps most appropriate for these kinds of additional household members, for they are usually in transition to or from one of the local reservations. Mr. LeJon's son is a good example. The son had married a Deer Lake woman and the couple



lived on the wife's reservation in a small cabin owned by her parents. There were occasional instances of friction between the man and his parents-in-law. When the wife was killed in an automobile accident, major hostilities erupted between the younger Mr. LeJon and his late wife's parents. Ultimately, he was pressured into leaving the Deer Lake Reservation. Having nowhere else to go, he lived with his father in North City several weeks before re-establishing himself on the Broken Reed Reservation, where he had lived prior to his marriage to the Deer Lake woman. Similarly, a Deer Lake man who had been working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the West returned to Minnesota after marital difficulties and stayed for two weeks with a North City Indian friend before re-entry to his home reservation, Deer Lake.

Occasionally a North City Indian household may be a brief stopping-off point for reservation Indians who eventually migrate to larger cities. Four interviewees in the random sample reported that in the preceding year they had friends or relatives living with them for periods of a week and a half to three months who at the present were living in Metropolis or Chicago. Conversely, five respondents reported that there had been other people living in the household during the preceding year who were currently residing on one of the reservations. (One of these cases is that of the elderly mother of a North City Indian man who regularly lives with her son during the winter months, and returns to the reservation during spring and summer.)



### Relations among Households

The Indian households of North City do not constitute a community (see Chapter II). This is not to say, however, that each household is a totally isolated Indian unit within the city. North City, after all, is a small city, and it is conceivable that every North City Indian could be personally acquainted with every other. But this is not the case. The majority of the Indians of North City cannot even provide an accurate estimate of the number of Indian households in the city. Territorial dispersion, the absence of voluntary associations, and the type of "invisibility" described in Chapter II are largely responsible for the situation. Furthermore, differences in reservation of origin may tend to impose social barriers between North City Indians.

Occasionally, informants who were asked to identify other Indians in the city would provide a name with the comment, "He's from another reservation." Informants who were asked to name all the North City Indians whom they knew, named primarily Indians originating from the same reservation as themselves. One informant originally from Mission stated that members of the Deer Lake Band were generally "conceited," and if one of them asks him, "'where you from,'" he evades possible friction by simply saying, "I live in North City." Yet, several of his close friends and relatives in North City are married to Deer Lake women. Indeed, the general North City Indian characteristics of reservation exogamy (see Chapter IV) necessitates considerable social contact between North City Indians originating



from different reservations, despite cleavages which may exist along those lines.

Finally, differences in socio-economic status among North City Indian families circumscribe social boundaries around various types of households. For example, territorial separation between the affluent and the poor is often--but not always--greater than that between Indians of the same economic status.

Regardless of these limitations on social relations among members of different North City Indian households, there are series of social ties by which the majority of the households are linked together. These links are provided by the interconnections of personal social networks. The concept of social network has been successfully used by other researchers in urban situations<sup>1</sup> to give order to what might otherwise appear to be random social interaction. Social networks are essentially egocentric; a network takes its form from the separate ties of a specific individual to a particular ego. In this sense, no North City Indian's personal social network includes members of all other Indian households in the city. However, personal networks overlap and inter-mesh, thereby connecting far greater numbers of persons than those in any single personal network into an extensive loose net of social relations.

Boissevain<sup>2</sup> describes personal networks as comprised of three principal ranges or zones; (1) "the intimate network," (2) the effective network," and (3) "the extended network." Ego is on closest terms with those friends and relatives in his "intimate"



network, and on less familiar terms with those in his "effective network." "The third zone is made up of persons whom ego does not know personally but of whom he knows and whom he very easily can get to know. These are for the most part members of the intimate networks of the persons in his own intimate network."<sup>3</sup> Boissevain goes further to describe a more distant range of persons on the edge of ego's network:

These are the members of the extended networks of the persons in ego's effective network. These are unknown to ego, although he is aware of or suspects their presence. Should he require it he can come into personal contact with them via the links in his network. I, for example, have a small intimate network and a fairly large (circa 300) effective network in Malta. Yet although Malta has a population of 314,000, I estimate that I could, within twenty-four hours and using no more than three intermediary links, arrange a personal introduction to any Maltese adult selected at random. I propose to include this fourth zone as partly within and partly without ego's extended network.<sup>4</sup>

Thus social networks may be said to be "open-ended."<sup>5</sup> It is by tracing out a series of links through the "third" and "fourth zones" of North City Indian personal networks that virtually all the households may be shown to be connected.

Each North City Indian adult is at least casually acknowledged socially by some other city Indian, and thereby connected to a series of face-to-face interactions, based on friendship, kinship, or neighborhood, which ultimately connect the individual to virtually every other North City Indian. Furthermore, new links are constantly being formed as newcomers to the city make contacts through city Indian networks which extend into reservations. New social relation-



ships are established as urban Indians interact at work, in training programs, in taverns, in school, along the lakeshore, and in neighborhoods where there are relative concentrations of Indian households, e.g., the cluster of cabins behind the highway department (see Figure 2). Thus, much of the North City Indian population is woven into an intricate web of relationships encompassing representatives of several reservations and many socio-economic levels.

The effect is somewhat like that described by Basehart<sup>6</sup> for nineteenth century Mescalero. In quite a different context, that Indian population was in part socially integrated by the intermeshing of intricate, bilateral, flexible social networks. However, there are some very important differences between the two populations.

Unlike the Mescalero, North City Indians do not have the "opportunity for direct social interaction among a majority"<sup>7</sup> of the members. Certain individual North City Chippewa have only tenuous social links to the larger network of North City Indian social relations. On the other hand, some individuals have numerous ties to other households in the city and, in fact, much of their direct social interaction is with a small number of other North City Indians. It almost goes without saying that, unlike the Mescalero, North City Indians do not have a set of resources to which they exclusively hold communal rights.

The interconnecting personal networks of Mescalero were to some extent enmeshed in larger networks by marriages to members of other Apachean groups, but the system was relatively closed. It is



at this point that the networks which interconnect North City Indians differ most markedly from the Mescalero situation. The city Chippewa have direct social interaction with local Whites, with Indians on reservations, and with kinsmen and friends living in more remote locations. The social networks of North City Indians ramify in the direction of reservation, Metropolis, and the non-Indians of North City and beyond, a fundamental consequence of their membership in an urban society rather than an isolated rural or tribal one. For some North City Indians links to these other social fields comprise, by far, the greatest portion of individual networks.

#### Visiting Choices

The social ecology of the North City Indian population is such that these urban Indians have both intimate and effective network relations in three major social fields: (1) other North City Indians, (2) North City Whites, (3) Indians who live outside of North City. In order to obtain systematic data on the shape of the individual's intimate and effective networks, interviewees were asked to name the "three people you visit most," and to provide pertinent information about the persons named.

Some respondents passively refused to name anyone, stating that they seldom visit, or that they have few real friends other than immediate family members. Others named only one or two persons, while some did not want to limit their response and named an additional one or two persons.



Figure 3 is a diagrammatic representation of the result of inquiries into visiting choices among the random sample.

Eighteen of the persons named by interviewees as most frequently visited are North City Indians; six of these persons were also included in the random sample. Of the eighteen, seven had no kinship link to the interviewee naming them. Visiting patterns, then, link North City Indians to both kinsmen and non-kinsmen in about equal proportions.

A total of eleven reservation Indians were named among persons most frequently visited. All but one of these has some kinship connection to the respondent. The single exception is a Chippewa federal employee at Deer Lake who is a friend of a Wisconsin Chippewa employed in the North City offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Two women named close relatives living in Metropolis. One of the two is confined to a wheelchair and can only receive visits, mainly her metropolitan siblings. The other woman is partially crippled; she spends several weeks every summer with her daughter in Metropolis.

The largest category of "most visited" in Figure 3 is comprised of Whites. This may reflect a tendency for those to whom "formal" visiting has the most saliency to be those, who by reason of employment, education, and recreational interest, are most likely to interact with Whites. However, when all Indian choices in Figure 3 are combined they exceed the number of White choices, and only five of the interviewees chose Whites exclusively. Furthermore those who named Whites generally chose more persons,



# NORTH CITY INDIANS

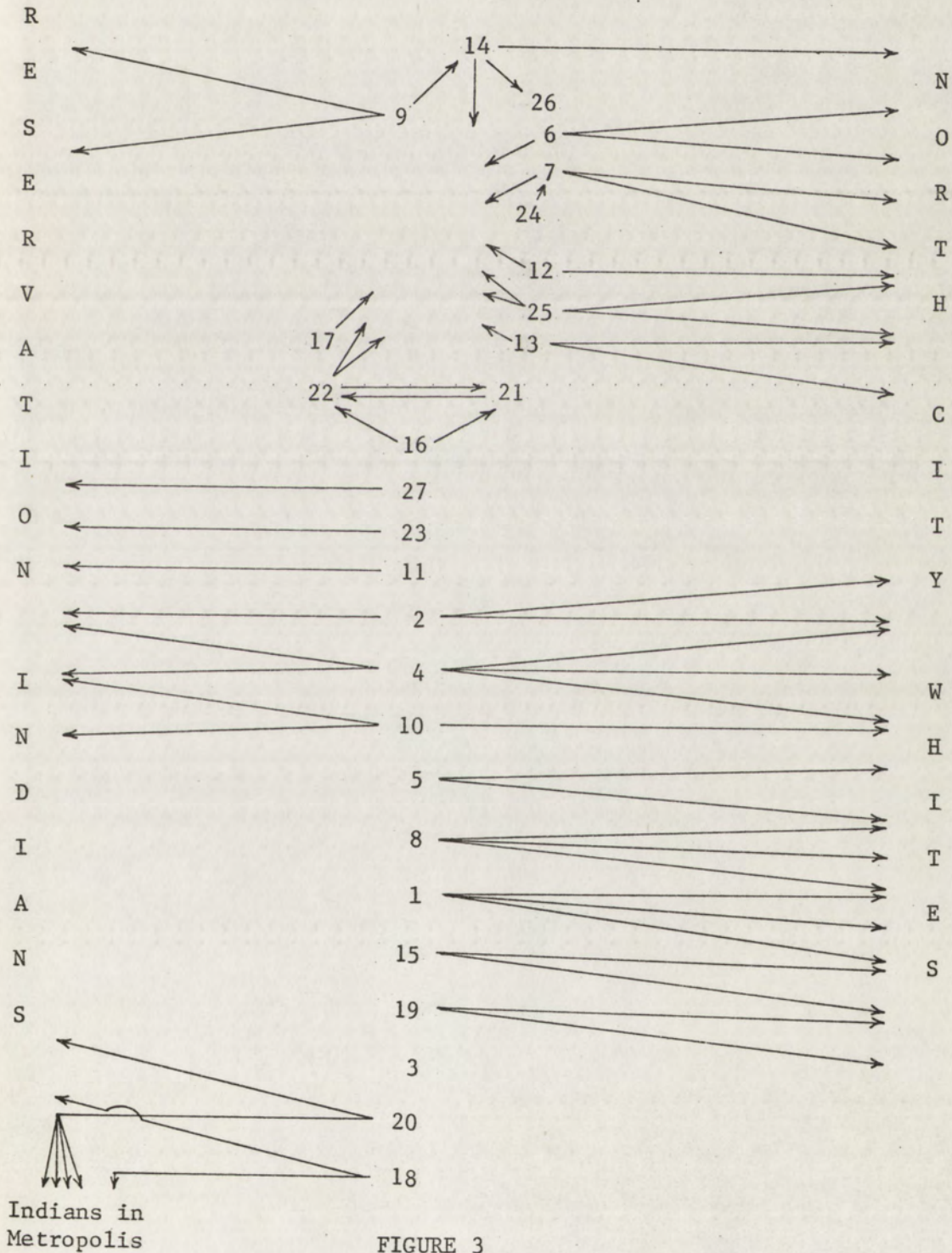


FIGURE 3

VISITING CHOICES OF NORTH CITY INDIANS; RANDOM SAMPLE



overall, than did those who chose only Indians. It is perhaps significant that none of the Whites named are kinsmen, despite the presence of several Indian-White marriages; this is probably a consequence of the "foreign" origin of most non-Indian spouses. The Whites selected are neighbors, present or past work mates, and those with some common recreational interest.

#### A Comment on Network Relations with Whites

In addition to Whites named in response to the particular interview question, North City Indians have frequent and varied interaction with many non-Indians. Local Indians regularly interact with Whites in business transactions, receiving medical and social services, in recreational settings, and in dealings with neighbors. Those who are employed usually have daily social interaction with non-Indians. It will be recalled that in the scalogram of city involvement (see Chapter VI) those in the highest types are defined by membership in voluntary associations; such membership usually means regular and convivial interaction between Whites and Indians, as for example in "a few beers at the V.F.W. hall." Even those who are not members of formal voluntary associations may have daily prolonged contact with Whites, as in the tavern where elderly men regularly congregate for drinking and card playing. Similarly some men patronize certain business places where they become well known, as much for social interaction as for transacting business.

The "White" portions of North City Indians' extended networks do not manifest the extent of interconnectedness found in the parts



of networks composed of other city Indians. This is to be expected in a situation where approximately 300 Indians are widely interspersed in a non-Indian population of more than 9,000, especially since the Indians exhibit nearly as wide a range of variation in styles of life, involvement in city life, education, and income as does the much larger White population.<sup>8</sup>

There is some intermeshing of non-Indian portions of networks. Many of the low-income Indians in North City have the same landlord, who owns much of the low-cost housing available in the city. His nephew manages one of the taverns frequented by Indians from North City and the reservations. Similarly, Chippewa federal government employees are, regardless of their particular job, socially articulated in some manner to the North City Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent. Likewise, one North City attorney has a reputation as "a friend of the Indian," owns some well-kept low-cost rooms for single men, and has dealings with many Indians. (Mrs. Fish surprised the author by her urbane reference to the attorney as "our lawyer.")

Within broad categories of socio-economic status, relationships between Indians and Whites appear to be relatively amicable; although, as noted in earlier chapters, there is some inter-racial tension, particularly between middle-class Whites and low-income Indians. Nonetheless, North City Indians are clearly enmeshed in networks involving Whites as well as Indians. Indeed, some individuals have more social interaction with Whites than with Indians in the city. At the other extreme are those whose intimate networks are largely



are included in the personal networks of both types.

The relationship of network differences to differences in levels of cultural adaptation will be explored in the next and final chapter.



Notes to Chapter VIII

1. Cf., A. L. Epstein, "The Network and Urban Social Organization," Rhodes Livingston Journal, XXIX, No. 29 (June, 1961), pp. 29-62; Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network (London: Tavistock Publications, 1957).
2. Jeremy Boissevain, "The Place of Non-groups in the Social Sciences," Man, III, No. 4 (December, 1968), pp. 542-556.
3. Ibid., p. 547.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Harry W. Basehart, "The Resource Holding Corporation among the Mescalero Apache," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1967), pp. 282-285.
7. Ibid., p. 285.
8. Despite the looseness of the net of social relations among North City Indians, a case could likely be made for this net being a relatively closed system when compared to the vast matrix of inter-connecting personal networks that must exist in the city at large. I would imagine, for example, that the average North City Indian could activate a new social contact more quickly and easily in the "Indian" portion of his network than in the "White" portion.



## CHAPTER IX

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The socio-cultural environment of North City Indians is complex and many-faceted. The analyses in the preceding chapters have been concerned with the adaptations of North City Indians to several major components of the total environment. These components include: the American economic system, state and national systems, North City as a whole, reservation societies, traditional Chippewa culture, and Pan-Indian phenomena.

The Chippewa of North City constitute a heterogeneous population. There are wide ranges of variation among individuals along a number of dimensions of adaptation. It is important to recognize that these differences among individuals are not random. Techniques used for measuring differences have revealed that many of these variations are patterned in terms of the cumulation of traits or items, i.e., they conform to a Guttman scale distribution.

#### Discussion

Guttman scale analysis of some rather simple kinds of data has produced six separate typologies of North City Indians. Theoretically, each typology is based on a single dimension. The ordinal arrangement of types is an important distinguishing



characteristic of this kind of typology. In the Guttman scales of this study, scale types are regarded as representing different levels of adaptation to the several systems comprising the socio-cultural environment.

Relationships among levels of adaptation to different elements of the overall environment may be explored by statistically comparing the relative positions of individuals on the several scales. Or, stated another way, the scale typologies of North City Indians may be compared to determine what correlations, if any, may exist among the several scales.

#### Relationships among Dimensions of Adaptation

The random sample interviewees' types on all scales are presented in Table 22. Two other kinds of data for the sample are also presented.

Formal education in Euro-American type schools is generally assumed to be an important variable in the adaptation of native peoples to Western Civilization. Therefore, years of school completed are included in Table 22. Interviewees' rank order with reference to the formal education variable will be compared to the other measures.

In the absence of a finer measure of Pan-Indianism, interviewees were roughly ordered in terms of pow wow attendance. In Table 22 differences in pow wow attendance are designated as follows:



TABLE 22

SCALE TYPES,<sup>a</sup> FORMAL EDUCATION, AND POW WOW ATTENDANCE  
OF RANDOM SAMPLE INTERVIEWEES

<u>Interviewees</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>MSL</u>	<u>MME</u>	<u>CI</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>FCC</u>	<u>RC</u>	<u>PWA*</u>
1.	13	15	8	7	1	1	1	1
2.	14	15	10	6	4	5	2	3
3.	14	12	9	8	5	5	9	1
4.	12	16	8	8	5	4	10	3
5.	6	13	9	6	2	3	3	1
6.	12	14	8	7	3	3	8	2
7.	8.5	15	10	7	5	2	2	3
8.	12	13	8	8	2	5	3	3
9.	8	5	7	2	5	5	12	2
10.	8	7	3	2	5	6	8	3
11.	8	10	5	4	6	6	6	1
12.	8	16	10	3	3	5	2	3
13.	11	4	6	6	3	2	1	2
14.	8	6	6	5	4	3	12	3
15.	13	5	5	6	3	6	5	3
16.	0	2	1	3	6	3	11	3
17.	9	5	2	2	6	5	10	3
18.	8	12	5	6	5	7	11	3
19.	8	6	5	6	1	1	1	3
20.	7.5	11	8	2	6	1	4	3
21.	7	3	2	1	6	2	7	2
22.	5	7	1	1	6	3	10	3
23.	8	1	1	1	6	5	6	3
24.	7	1	3	3	6	5	2	3
25.	6	8	1	2	6	7	11	3
26.	9	9	4	6	5	7	4	2

\*Key:

FE = Formal Education  
(years of school completed)  
MSL = Material Style of Life  
MME = Mass Media Exposure  
CI = City Involvement  
CLP = Chippewa Language Proficiency  
FCC = Familiarity with Chippewa Customs  
RC = Reservation Contacts  
PWA = Powwow Attendance

<sup>a</sup>Scale type designations have been transposed from letters to numerals in order to give a better visual impression of rank order; the numeral "1" indicates the lowest type, "2" the next lowest type, and so on, for all the scales.



3. Attends pow wows on some reservation
2. Attends pow wow only in North City
1. Does not attend pow wows

This measure of North City Indian differences is also included in the correlational analysis.

Table 22 could be used as a basis for examining individual variation in the usual sense; however, for purposes of the present study it is more important to determine whether there are patterns in the association of levels of adaptation with various components of the environment. To accomplish this a statistical measure was applied to determine to what extent an individual's position on one scale or measure may be predicted from his relative position on another. The statistic that has been utilized is a coefficient of rank order association known as gamma.<sup>1</sup> The gamma coefficient represents the percentage of agreements over inversions (+ value), or inversions over agreements (- value), between relative positions of the same cases on two ordinal measures. For example, a gamma of .5000 means that there are fifty percent more agreements (in relative position on the two measures) than there are inversions. Values for gamma have been tested for significance using a procedure described by Freeman.<sup>2</sup> The interpretation is based primarily on whether the associations are significant. Some statements will be made, though, which are offered as interpretations of differences in numerical values of gamma when these are all significant at the .01 level or better. Because of difficulties in the interpretation of absolute values of gamma, these statements on "relative strength" should be regarded as tentative.



A matrix of gamma coefficients among the six scales, formal education, and pow wow attendance is presented in Table 23. There are strong, positive, and significant associations among the Material Style of Life Scale, Mass Media Exposure Scale, City Involvement Scale, and Formal Education. All of these measures represent elements of what might be called "White culture." There is a close correspondence among an individual's level of adaptation to the several White elements of the socio-cultural environment. For example, those individuals who are at a "high" level of adaptation to the city are very likely to be also "high" in Material Style of Life, Mass Media Exposure, and Formal Education.

Even though it is significant, the association between Formal Education and Material Style of Life appears weak, despite the commonly assumed importance of "getting an education" in order to "get ahead." It is tentatively suggested that formal education by itself is not an exceptionally powerful factor in determining the standard of living of North City Indians. Material Style of Life is most closely correlated with Mass Media Exposure, the strongest of all correlations among dimensions of "White culture."

Elements of "Indian culture," as reflected in the scales of Familiarity with Chippewa Customs, Reservation Contacts, Chippewa Language Proficiency, and Pow wow Attendance, are significantly and positively correlated with each other. However, the associations are not nearly so strong as those among measures of adaptation to White elements of the environment. It is suggested here that this



TABLE 23

## CORRELATIONS AMONG SCALES AND OTHER CULTURAL INDICES

	MME	CI	FE	FCC	RC	PWA	CLP*
MSL	.6433 <sup>a</sup>	.5173	.3231	(-.0339)	(-.2070)	(-.1377)	-.3920
MME		.5988	.4821	-.2000	-.3428	-.3043	-.5696
CI			.6385	(-.0677)	-.2500	-.3108	-.6444
FE				(.0656)	-.2222	-.2418	-.5087
FCC					.2923	.1586	.2405
RC						.1515	.4262
PWA							.2971

\*Key: MSL = Material Style of Life Scale  
MME = Mass Media Exposure Scale  
CI = City Involvement Scale  
FE = Formal Education  
FCC = Familiarity with Chippewa Customs Scale  
RC = Reservation Contacts Scale  
PWA = Pow wow attendance  
CLP = Chippewa Language Proficiency Scale

<sup>a</sup>All associations except those enclosed in parenthesis are significant at the .01 level or better; those in parentheses do not even approach the .05 level of significance.



difference is the result of two major factors. First, there is probably greater functional inter-relatedness among the White elements than the Indian ones. Second, with the exception of formal education all the White elements of the environment converge in a synchronous nexus at North City; the "Indian culture" of the sample has several loci dispersed through a number of separate societies. All North City Indians reside in the same White community, but they represent different Indian communities. Since North City Chippewa originate from several reservations, the presence of significant correlations among the Indian measures may be taken as evidence for cultural similarity among Chippewa reservations in the area.

In the main, levels of adaptation to Indian elements of the environment are inversely associated with adaptations to White components. Chippewa Language Proficiency consistently shows the strongest negative correlations with the four White measures. The greatest inversion is between Chippewa Language Proficiency and City Involvement; conversely, the correlation between Chippewa Language Proficiency and Reservation Contacts is by far the strongest of all associations among elements of Indian culture. Despite uncertainties in assessing the importance of numerical values of gamma, this pair of findings suggests that language abilities are of paramount importance in the differential adaptations of individual North City Indians to reservation societies versus the city.

There are important exceptions to the general pattern of significant negative correlations between Indian and White dimensions.



Familiarity with Chippewa Customs Scale is significantly associated inversely with only one of the "White culture" measures, Mass Media Exposure. The absence of significant associations with other White scales and indices suggests that adaptations to White elements of the overall environment are unaffected by the extent of Indian exposure to certain formalized traits of traditional culture. It will be recalled that the Familiarity with Chippewa Customs Scale (see Chapter VII) is essentially a non-linguistic measure of involvement in traditional Chippewa Culture. It has been shown that individual differences in Chippewa fluency are strongly and inversely associated with levels of adaptation to White Culture. Thus, while a Chippewa's participation in the "mainstream" of American society may be strongly conditioned by his ability to speak the native language, his experience with certain non-linguistic traits of traditional culture is not directly relevant to the kinds of adaptation he makes to the larger society. If this conclusion is supported by further research, it should have important implications for programs designed to better integrate American Indians into the national society.

It is not possible here to explain the significant, but relatively weak, inverse relationship between the Mass Media Exposure and the Familiarity with Chippewa Customs scales. However, it is suggested that the cosmopolitan character of the world view transmitted by mass media is difficult to reconcile with the tribal lifestyle implicit in traditional culture traits.<sup>3</sup>



Material Style of Life is not significantly related to either Familiarity with Chippewa Customs, Reservation Contacts, or Pow wow Attendance. There is a significant negative correlation between Material Style of Life and Chippewa Language Proficiency, but it is the weakest of the negative associations with Chippewa Language Proficiency. The absence of significant associations between Material Style of Life and dimensions of Indian culture means that an individual's level of familiarity with Chippewa customs, level of reservation contacts, and extent of pow wow attendance cannot be predicted directly on the basis of his material style of life. Since there is no significant patterning in the way in which economic adaptations are combined with non-linguistic elements of Indian culture, it may be said that this is an area of flexibility and that the forms of combination of Indian culture and economic levels is a highly individual matter. Thus, it may be that residence in North City is a strategy by which northern Minnesota Chippewa simultaneously "maximize" both the material advantages of urban life and the social and emotional advantages of reservation societies. Life in North City offers a compromise between the loss of material advantages which reservation residence may entail and the potential cultural deprivation which may result from settling in a distant metropolis. Other data which support this interpretation are the superior economic position of the urban Indians as compared with residents of certain reservation communities coupled with the relative ease with which North City Indians may pursue traditional economic



activities in the surrounding lakes and forests (see Chapter V). From this perspective North City resembles what Hodge terms "transitional communities"<sup>4</sup> on the Navajo reservation. These communities, according to Hodge (e.g., Shiprock, New Mexico), offer some of the material advantages of cities without the social and emotional disadvantages of big cities, at the same time that they provide the opportunity for participation in reservation life. Hodge states that many of the "Anglo-modified" Navajos of Albuquerque hope to return to the reservation and live in such transitional communities.<sup>5</sup> Since many North City Chippewa had lived in larger cities before coming to North City, it appears that this Minnesota community serves the same function for a segment of the Chippewa population as the "transitional communities" for "Anglo-modified" urban Navajos.

It has been suggested that the federal Indian relocation program might experience greater success if Indians were relocated in smaller cities nearer reservations.<sup>6</sup> The present findings lend some support to this proposal. Indians in North City experience certain of the benefits of urban life styles without drastic displacements from the original home environment. It should be emphasized, however, that the economic structure of North City places severe limits on the number of reservation Indians who may be employed in the city. Similar problems would likely be encountered in other out-lying urban areas. There must be greater dispersal of industrial activity if smaller cities are to be of widespread sig-



nificance for American Indian urbanization. Finally, it has been demonstrated that North City Indian adults are "socially marginal" to reservation societies (see Chapter IV); it is difficult to predict the outcome of encouraging less marginal Chippewa to migrate to North City.

### A Theoretical Interpretation

How may regularities in North City Indian behavior be explained within a general anthropological framework of cultural and social processes? North City Indians do not constitute a social group, yet "society" is frequently regarded as a necessary criterion for the existence of "a culture." This study has demonstrated that there are systematic regularities in (1) individual variations along a number of adaptational dimensions and (2) the relationships of these dimensions to one another. Thus, it may be said that there is apparent conformity to cultural patterns among North City Indians even though they do not constitute a "North City Indian society." Concepts developed by Goodenough<sup>7</sup> may be useful for adumbrating the cultural processes which underlie the empirical findings.

In Goodenough's terms, culture is essentially a set of perceptual, conceptual, and behavioral standards which individuals derive from social interaction and observation of social groups. "No two persons can be said to have exactly the same [culture]."<sup>8</sup> Individuals have "private cultures," but attribute to the aggregate memberships of social groups a "generalized culture." "For any



member of a community, its culture is the generalized culture he attributes to all of its other members."<sup>9</sup> To the extent to which there is close agreement in the generalized cultures which members of a group mutually attribute to one another "a group may be said to have a public culture."<sup>10</sup> Any individual will have a set of conceptions in his private repertoire of cultures for every identifiable group of which he has knowledge; some of these conceptions will be "well elaborated and others only crudely developed in his mind."<sup>11</sup> Given different situations, an individual will select from his repertoire of private cultures one which seems most appropriate and/or one which he feels most comfortable in using as an operating culture:

In the normal course of living, a person finds one or two of his several operating cultures most appropriate for his purposes most of the time. He develops considerable skill in operating according to their standards and is confident of himself when using them as his guide. When he resorts to other cultures that he uses rarely or not at all, he is clumsy, unsure of himself, and more vulnerable to embarrassment. Other things being equal, people obviously have a predilection for using as operating cultures the cultures in which they are already skilled.<sup>12</sup>

Goodenough is careful to distinguish between culture, which is in the minds of individuals, and "culture's artifacts," which are "all the states of affairs...that have resulted from its bearer's actions."<sup>13</sup> "We may think of them [cultural artifacts], of course, as artifacts of behavior rather than of culture, but they can also be said to be artifacts of the operating cultures that guided the behavior producing them."<sup>14</sup> Culture can be known only by inference



from cultural artifacts; things people make, do, and say are artifacts of culture, not the standards (culture) which produce them.

Within this framework, then, the various scales and other measures of North City Indian cultural adaptation are "artifacts," not culture. While a good case could probably be made for the scales being artifacts of the investigator, they must be presumed to reflect some kinds of regularities in the "real world" and therefore reflect "states of affairs" produced by the culturally guided actions of North City Indians. It may be assumed that any one of the scales is the joint product of the operating cultures of North City Indians. The higher the coefficient of reproducibility, it may be argued, the greater is the consensus among the population in the generalized culture each individual attributes to the others. An individual's position on a scale may be taken as a measure of the extent to which he has successfully employed as operating cultures those cultures, or portions of cultures, of which the scale is an artifact.

Each artifact is not necessarily produced by a single corresponding culture. For example, the City Involvement Scale is the collective product of each individual's utilization of several cultures associated with different social categories, including physicians, religious organizations, voters, athletic teams, schools, and voluntary associations. Although the several artifacts (scales) have been designated as measures of adaptation to either Indian or White elements of the environment, an artifact may be the by-product of the interplay of both White and Indian cultures. The correlations, positive or



negative, between artifacts may be accounted for by (1) the similarity or differences between the cultures which produce them, and (2) the difference between private culture and operating culture.

Goodenough has stated, "a person's private culture is likely to include knowledge of more than one language, more than one system of etiquette...more than one set of principles for getting things done."<sup>15</sup> Yet, according to the theory, an individual ordinarily prefers to utilize only a few of the cultures in his private repertoire as operating cultures, namely, those in which he is already skilled. Thus, in terms of the North City materials, while there is no "inherent" incompatibility in an Indian being high on both Mass Media Exposure and Reservation Contacts, in practice there is a significant tendency for North City Indians to employ the operating cultures of one to the exclusion of the other. Conversely it may be proposed that the standards of behavior which produce the Mass Media Exposure and the City Involvement scales are so nearly similar, or operationally compatible, that 60% more individuals occupy the same relative positions on both scales than occupy different positions.

The absence of significant correlations between some measures and the lack of complete agreement, i.e., unity, in the significant associations are neatly accounted for by the theory. As Goodenough says, a person "may combine features of several different other cultures, synthesizing an operating culture that does not match any of the cultures he attributes to his fellows."<sup>16</sup> Spiro has expressed similar ideas:



...It is through interaction with enculturated individuals, either in childhood or in adulthood that an individual acquires his culture. But his culture is not a mere addition of behavior systems; it is an organization of these systems in a unique configuration. Hence, the integration of personality and the integration of culture become one and the same process.<sup>17</sup>

Spiro's statement includes the important point that culture is acquired by interaction with enculturated individuals in adulthood as well as childhood. For the North City Indian material this view raises the possibility that individual adaptational (cultural) differences may be explicable as a function of differences in personal social networks. Social networks may in fact be the key to understanding individual cultural variation in complex societies. Goodenough has suggested that social networks have the potentiality for developing public cultures as the networks become relatively closed; "open networks will contain a number of miniscule public cultures on a gradient of difference, like a chain of minidialects in language that grade off from one to another, the adjacent ones being mutually intelligible but the distant ones showing considerable variance."<sup>18</sup> Theoretically, it should follow, the totality of any individual's cultural behavior could be accounted for in terms of the complex of social networks of which he is a part. Practically, such a procedure involves the expensive and difficult task of tracing out all the network connections of each individual, determining the extent of closed-ness of each portion of his network, and discovering sets of artifacts by which to infer the culture of each network. Obviously, these kinds of data are not available for North City Indians, but the



research materials do permit an exploration of this kind of approach.

North City Indians may be ranked in terms of the degree of involvement of Whites in their personal networks, as measured by "visiting choices." The proportion of Whites named as visiting choices is a measure, albeit rather gross, of the inter-connection of North City Indians with "White" social networks. By comparing this measure to the levels of adaptation to White culture it is possible to empirically test the hypothesis that cultural variation is related to the kinds of networks in which an individual interacts. In other words, the greater an individual's social involvement with Whites, the higher his position in relation to elements of "White cultures." (The previous statement is not meant to imply any particular causal relationship.) This comparison also provides an indirect test of the statement by Goodenough that an individual "prefers to use as his guide the culture he attributes to the individuals and groups with which he wishes to identify himself and with which he wishes to be identified by others."<sup>19</sup> The test is necessarily "indirect" since it is only assumed that the naming of Whites as visiting choices is indicative of a desire for identification with Whites.

When differences in the proportion of Whites selected as "visiting choices" are compared to differences in levels of adaptation to components of "White culture," (see Table 24) there are strong, positive, significant correlations between Selection of Whites as Visiting Choices and Material Style of Life, Mass Media Exposure, Formal Education, and City Involvement. Although it is not possible



TABLE 24

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN WHITES AS VISITING CHOICES  
AND CULTURAL ARTIFACTS

	CI	FE	MME	MSL	RC*
WVC	.7129 <sup>a</sup>	.5609	.5181	.4000	-.5555

---

\*Key: CI = City Involvement Scale  
 FE = Formal Education  
 MME = Mass Media Exposure Scale  
 MSL = Material Style of Life Scale  
 RC = Reservation Contacts Scale  
 WVC = Selection of Whites as Visiting Choice measure--

Interviewees were ordered as follows:

5. Named only Whites
4. Named more Whites than Indians
3. Named an equal number of Whites and Indians
2. Named more Indians than Whites
1. Named only Indians (or did not name anyone)

<sup>a</sup>Statistical measures and tests are the same as those used in Table 23. All associations are significant at the .01 level or better.



to indicate the direction of causality, this finding firmly establishes that gradations of differences in social interaction with Whites (as measured by "visiting choices") and gradients of differences in levels of adaptation to White culture tend to be in mutual conformity.

Table 24 also shows a significant inverse association between Selection of Whites as Visiting Choices and Reservation Contacts. Since the Reservation Contacts Scale is comprised of social interaction frequency items, this result suggests that social interaction with city Whites and interaction with reservation Indians tend to vary inversely. This relationship helps to explain the negative correlations which were found to exist between levels of adaptation to Indian and White cultures. Since it has been shown that differences with respect to White culture covary with differences in social involvement with Whites, it would appear that negatively associated elements of Indian versus White culture are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but that these negative associations of cultural artifacts are a function of differences in social networks. However, it has already been argued that one "White" scale, Material Style of Life, is unrelated to adaptations to certain Indian components of the environment. Nevertheless, Material Style of Life shows a significant positive correlation with "White visiting choices," as do the other elements of White culture. Apparently there is a complex set of inter-relations among Material Style of Life, Indian culture, and social networks which cannot be specified precisely in this preliminary exploration.



### Summary of Conclusions

Several factors bearing on Chippewa urbanization to North City have been identified in this study. A majority of the Chippewa of North City have resided away from their original home community before relocating to North City. Usually, northern Minnesota Chippewa do not migrate directly to North City from their home communities.

The economic structure and, secondarily, race relations in North City discourage extensive immigration of young adult Chippewa in search of economic opportunities. They are more likely to migrate directly from reservations to large cities, as did many North City Indians during the earlier periods of their lives. Consequently, the age structure of the North City Indian population is more like that of rural communities than that which is usually expected in urban situations. Most North City Indians had established an economic tie to the city prior to relocation.

An important distinguishing characteristic of North City Indians is their "social marginality." Reservation out-marriage and deviant occupational histories on reservations are the major manifestations of marginality. It has been argued that while a North City Indian may be marginal to a specific reservation society, he is not necessarily marginal to the general socio-cultural milieu of Northern Minnesota; thus, North City is an ecologically advantageous habitat for the socially marginal. The inter-reservational marriages of North City Indians may serve as important focus of social organization, integrating the reservations into a kind of regional Chippewa



social order, much as North City is an economic, administrative, and perhaps a political Pan-Indian center for the reservations. Further research is needed to test this hypothesis.

The geographical context of North City has facilitated examination of resident Indians' adaptations to several environmental elements outside the city. Taking account of these elements produces a more accurate representation of the total adaptive process than would be the case if adaptation was considered only in terms of the city element of the environment.

In general there are significant positive correlations among levels of adaptation to White culture and among elements of Indian culture. Indian cultural elements and White cultural elements are negatively associated, on the whole, but economic adaptation is unrelated to non-linguistic measures of Indian culture. This absence of association has been interpreted as an indication that residence in North City affords northern Minnesota Chippewa the opportunity for a wide range of individual variation in "maximizing" the benefits of disparate elements of their overall environment.

This dissertation is not intended as the definitive study of American Indian urbanization, or even of North City adaptation to urban life. However, the unique circumstances of this particular instance of urbanization have necessitated the analysis of features of the adaptive process which might be overlooked in more "typical" cases of urbanization. The analytical techniques used in this study have permitted quantifiable specification of relationships among some



of the dimensions of North City Chippewas' adaptations to a complex, pluralistic society. Hopefully, the approaches used in this study of small-scale urbanization and urbanism will have more general utility for dealing with the complex problems faced by the expanding field of urban anthropology.



### Notes to Chapter IX

1. Linton C. Freeman, Elementary Applied Statistics: For Students in Behavioral Science (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 79-88.
2. Ibid., pp. 162-175.
3. I am indebted to Mr. Noel Baggett (graduate student, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico) for the original suggestion which led to the formulation of this idea.
4. Hodge, op. cit., pp. 26-28.
5. Ibid., p. 27.
6. LaVerne Madigan, The American Indian Relocation Program (New York: Association of American Indian Affairs, Inc., 1956), p. 19.
7. Ward H. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change..., op. cit., pp. 257-283.
8. Ibid., p. 259.
9. Ibid., p. 263.
10. Ibid., p. 264.
11. Ibid., p. 260.
12. Ibid., p. 261.
13. Ibid., p. 265.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 261.
16. Ibid., pp. 261-262.
17. Melford E. Spiro, "Culture and Personality: The Natural History of a False Dichotomy," Psychiatry, XIV, No. 1 (February, 1951), p. 43.
18. Ward H. Goodenough, Personal communication.
19. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change..., op. cit., p. 262.



## APPENDIX I

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(In order to save space, lines and spaces allotted for writing in answers in the field copies have been shortened and/or contracted in this sample form.)



Date of Interview \_\_\_\_\_

Full name of interviewee \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Household head if different from above \_\_\_\_\_

I. Standard of Living

1. Do you own your home? \_\_\_\_\_ What is its value? \_\_\_\_\_ What are your monthly payments? \_\_\_\_\_  
If renting, what is rent per month? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Did you pay any real estate or personal property tax last year? \_\_\_\_\_  
How much? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How many rooms are in your house (apartment)? \_\_\_\_\_ Does it have a  
basement \_\_\_\_\_ Indoor toilet \_\_\_\_\_ Running water \_\_\_\_\_ Hot running water \_\_\_\_\_  
Shower \_\_\_\_\_ Tub \_\_\_\_\_ More than one bathroom \_\_\_\_\_ Outhouse \_\_\_\_\_ Storm  
Windows \_\_\_\_\_ Screens \_\_\_\_\_ Plastic sheets for covering windows \_\_\_\_\_ In-  
sulation \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you or any members of your family have: A radio \_\_\_\_\_ T.V. \_\_\_\_\_ Wash-  
ing machine \_\_\_\_\_ (Automatic \_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_) Refrigerator \_\_\_\_\_ Food Freezer  
\_\_\_\_\_ Range \_\_\_\_\_ (Kind of fuel \_\_\_\_\_) Lawn mower \_\_\_\_\_ (Power \_\_\_\_\_ hand \_\_\_\_\_)  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Car \_\_\_\_\_ (Makes \_\_\_\_\_ Years \_\_\_\_\_) Deer  
Rifle \_\_\_\_\_ Shotgun \_\_\_\_\_ .22 \_\_\_\_\_ Life Insurance \_\_\_\_\_ Medical Insurance \_\_\_\_\_  
Boat \_\_\_\_\_ Motor \_\_\_\_\_
5. What kinds of heating equipment do you have? \_\_\_\_\_  
Kind(s) of fuel? \_\_\_\_\_ If wood, do you get it free \_\_\_\_\_ or  
do you have to buy it \_\_\_\_\_
6. How long has your family lived in this house? \_\_\_\_\_ How do  
you like it? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Is the head of the house employed? \_\_\_\_\_ Where does he (she) work? \_\_\_\_\_  
What kind of work does he do? \_\_\_\_\_  
If not employed, when was the last time he was employed? \_\_\_\_\_  
Where was that? \_\_\_\_\_ What kind of work was he doing? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Would you please estimate your annual family income? \_\_\_\_\_
9. How much do you owe in debts and bills, if anything? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Are you or any other members of the family receiving any benefits  
from the welfare department? \_\_\_\_\_ The federal government? \_\_\_\_\_  
What kind? \_\_\_\_\_



## II. Communications

1. Do you subscribe to any newspapers? \_\_\_\_\_ Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you read any others? \_\_\_\_\_ Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you subscribe to any magazines? \_\_\_\_\_ Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you read any others? \_\_\_\_\_ Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How much time do you spend watching T.V.? \_\_\_\_\_ What are your  
favorite programs? \_\_\_\_\_
4. How often do you go to the movies? \_\_\_\_\_ Drive-in movies? \_\_\_\_\_ What  
is your favorite type of movie? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How often do you go to Metropolis? \_\_\_\_\_ How long do you usually  
stay? \_\_\_\_\_ What do you usually do there? \_\_\_\_\_

## III. Household Composition

Now I would like to make a list of all the people living in this household.

NAME	Relation- ship	Education	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Tribal en- rollment	Percentage Indian	Occupation	Religious Pref.	Chippewa language ability	Pow wow Attend.	Wild rice coll.

Do you or your spouse have any children who do not live in this household?

NAME	Percentage Indian	Marital Status	Occupation	Relig. Pref.	Chippewa Present Language Ability	Loca- tion

How often do you see each of the children not living at home? \_\_\_\_\_  
Here \_\_\_\_\_  
There \_\_\_\_\_

How often do you hear from each of them?

By phone \_\_\_\_\_  
By letter \_\_\_\_\_



Has anyone else lived in this household during the past year?

NAME	Sex	Age	Relationship	How long stayed	Present location

Are your parents living? Mo \_\_\_\_\_ Fa \_\_\_\_\_ Are your spouse's parents living? Mo \_\_\_\_\_ Fa \_\_\_\_\_

NAME	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Place of Birth	Percentage Indian	Occupation	Religious Preference	Chippewa Language Ability	Location	Frequency of visits

#### IV. Marital History

1. If married, church, civil, or common law marriage? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How long have you been married to your present spouse? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Were you ever married before? \_\_\_\_\_ Was your spouse ever married before? \_\_\_\_\_

NAME	Age at Marriage	When ended	Divorced, widowed, separated	Church civil, common law	Indian or non-Indian

#### V. Social Interaction

1. Please give me the following information about all your brothers and sisters.

NAME	Age	Address	Frequency of visits there	Frequency of visits here	Average length of visits there	here



2. Who are some other relations you see quite a bit of:

NAME	Relationship	Address

How about on your wife's (husband's) side?

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3. Who are the three people you go to visit the most?

NAME	Address	Occupation	Frequency of visits	Indian or non-Ind.

4. How many times have you been back to (place of birth or home community) in the last year? \_\_\_\_\_ How long did you (usually) stay? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why did you leave there in the first place? \_\_\_\_\_

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5. Why did you decide to come to North City? \_\_\_\_\_

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6. Do you have any people that you usually trade with, exchange things with, loan things to, borrow things from, or trade free work with?

NAME	Address	Things exchanged	Indian or Non-Indian

7. How many Indian people do you think there are living in North City? \_\_\_\_\_

8. Have you ever voted in a tribal, band, or local Indian council election? \_\_\_\_\_ Where was that? \_\_\_\_\_ When was the last time you did that? \_\_\_\_\_

## VI. Participation in Community Life

1. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations here in town? \_\_\_\_\_  
Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_ How often do you go to meetings? \_\_\_\_\_



2. Where do you buy your groceries? \_\_\_\_\_ Clothing? \_\_\_\_\_  
Cars? \_\_\_\_\_ Furniture and appliances? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Where do you go when you need a doctor? \_\_\_\_\_ Dentist? \_\_\_\_\_  
Glasses? \_\_\_\_\_ Medicine? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you ever go to North City High School ball games? \_\_\_\_\_ How often? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you ever go to school plays and programs? \_\_\_\_\_ How often? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you ever go to PTA meetings? \_\_\_\_\_ How often? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you ever go to college ball games? \_\_\_\_\_ How often? \_\_\_\_\_  
Special programs at the college? \_\_\_\_\_ How often? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Are you a registered voter? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_  
When was the last time you voted in a national election? \_\_\_\_\_  
Have you ever voted in a county election? \_\_\_\_\_ When? \_\_\_\_\_  
Have you ever voted in a city election? \_\_\_\_\_ When? \_\_\_\_\_

#### VII. Mobility

1. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces? \_\_\_\_\_ When? \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
Where were you stationed? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Now I would like to make a list of all the places you have ever lived, when you lived in each place, and what you were doing there.

Places	Age to Age	Grades in school; jobs, etc.

3. Where do you think you will be living this summer? \_\_\_\_\_  
Where do you think you will be living this time next year? \_\_\_\_\_  
Where do you think you will be living five years from now? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you have any preference whether you work for somebody else or are self-employed?

#### VIII. Utilization of Natural Foods and Recreation

1. How often do you go hunting? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_  
Who do you usually go with? \_\_\_\_\_  
What and how much game did your family eat this year? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How often do you go fishing? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_



3. How many days did you go ricing last fall? \_\_\_\_\_ How much money did you make? \_\_\_\_\_ Where did you go? \_\_\_\_\_ Who did you sell to? \_\_\_\_\_ Did you keep any for yourself? \_\_\_\_\_ How much \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you do any canning? \_\_\_\_\_ How much last year? \_\_\_\_\_ What? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you ever pick wild berries? \_\_\_\_\_ Does any one else in the household? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_ How much did you get last year? \_\_\_\_\_ What did you do with them? \_\_\_\_\_
6. What is your favorite pasttime? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What do you do for fun? \_\_\_\_\_ Where, usually? \_\_\_\_\_ Who with? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Have you ever danced at a pow wow? \_\_\_\_\_ When was the last time? \_\_\_\_\_ Where was that? \_\_\_\_\_ Do you have an outfit? \_\_\_\_\_ Do any of your children have an outfit? \_\_\_\_\_ Where do you go to pow wows? \_\_\_\_\_ What do you think of pow wows? \_\_\_\_\_

#### IX. Language

1. How well do you speak Chippewa? \_\_\_\_\_ How well do you understand Chippewa? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How old were you when you learned English? \_\_\_\_\_
3. When are you most likely to talk Chippewa? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you have an Indian name? \_\_\_\_\_ Do your children? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you know any other languages besides English and Chippewa? \_\_\_\_\_ What? \_\_\_\_\_

#### X. Religious Beliefs and practices

1. What church do you belong to? \_\_\_\_\_ Where is it? \_\_\_\_\_ What church does your spouse belong to? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How often do you go to church? \_\_\_\_\_ Your children? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do you belong to any religious organizations? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_ How often do you go to meetings? \_\_\_\_\_ Have you ever held any office \_\_\_\_\_



4. Does your family say grace at mealtimes? \_\_\_\_\_ How often? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How would you feel if one of your children married someone of a different religion? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Have you ever been to a Grand Medicine, Midewiwin, or other Indian religion meeting? \_\_\_\_\_ What? \_\_\_\_\_  
When? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_  
Did your parents belong to that group or take part in the ceremonies? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Have you ever been to a wake where they sang Indian songs? \_\_\_\_\_  
Where? \_\_\_\_\_  
When? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Did you ever hear any Nanabushu? \_\_\_\_\_ Windigo \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_  
Indian stories when you were a child? \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Have you ever told any Nanabushu \_\_\_\_\_, Windigo \_\_\_\_\_, or other \_\_\_\_\_  
Indian stories to any of your children? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Do you know what peyote is? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you know what the Native American Church is? \_\_\_\_\_  
Have you ever met anyone who was a member? \_\_\_\_\_ Where? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Have you ever been to an Indian Medicine Man \_\_\_\_\_ When was the last time? \_\_\_\_\_ Where was that? \_\_\_\_\_  
How did you know about him? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why did you go to him? \_\_\_\_\_

#### XI. Inter Ethnic Relations

1. Who do you think is the most respected person in North City? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. How do Indians and Whites get along in North City? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. What do you think of the Negro civil rights movement? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. What do you like least about living in North City? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. What do you like most about living in North City? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. What are some of the things you have always wanted to get out of life? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



7. Are there any things that you have never had that you want your children to have? \_\_\_\_\_ What are they? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Do you think of yourself as being an Indian? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Have you ever had any problems or difficulties due to the fact that you are an Indian? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



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## CURRICULUM VITAE

J. Anthony Paredes was born in New York City on September 29, 1939. He received his public school education in Orlando, Florida. In 1961 he obtained a Bachelor of Arts in liberal arts at Oglethorpe College, Atlanta, Georgia. During his final year at Oglethorpe College Mr. Paredes earned a Lowry Scholarship. He received the Master of Arts degree in anthropology from the University of New Mexico in 1964. While at the University of New Mexico he was a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, 1961-62; a Graduate Assistant, 1962-63 and 1963-64; and a discussion leader in community development with the University of New Mexico Peace Corps Training Center during the summers of 1962 and 1963. After receiving the Master's degree Mr. Paredes was research coordinator at a mental health center in northern Minnesota for two and one-half years. Following his employment at the mental health center he held a joint appointment as assistant professor of anthropology at a state college in northern Minnesota and community development specialist with the University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service. While in Minnesota Mr. Paredes conducted the fieldwork for his study of "North City" Chippewa. In the period August, 1968, to June, 1969, he wrote his dissertation in residence at the University of New Mexico; during this time he was a National Institute of Mental Health Pre-Doctoral Fellow. Mr. Paredes is co-author of two professional papers: "'The Twilight Zone of Poverty': A New Perspective on an Economically Depressed Area," with Stephen Schensul and Pertti J. Pelto; and "The Rural Family, Primary Relationships, and the School Dropout," with Edward D. Stokes.