

# *The American Indian Relocation Program*

A Report

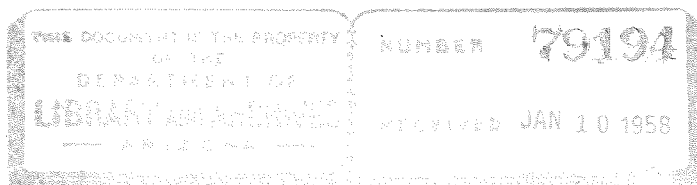
undertaken with the assistance of  
**THE FIELD FOUNDATION, Inc.**

based upon the findings of a  
**RELOCATION SURVEY TEAM**

under the direction of  
**DR. MARY H. S. HAYES**

by

**La Verne Madigan**



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# THE AMERICAN INDIAN RELOCATION PROGRAM

## I. INTRODUCTION

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has since 1952 conducted a controversial operation called the Voluntary Relocation Program. Under it the Bureau actively proffers financial assistance and limited social services to Indian individuals and families for permanent removal from reservations\* to certain industrial centers where year-round employment is available. The Program had never been objectively surveyed and assessed, although by July 1, 1956, 12,625 reservation Indians had already gone to cities under it and another 10,000 were expected to go by July 1, 1957.

The Association on American Indian Affairs, therefore, requested and received from The Field Foundation a grant which made possible a survey of the actual operation of the Relocation Program on reservations and in cities. The Association stated publicly that it was beginning the survey without preconceptions and, on the strength of that assurance, received expected cooperation from Indian tribes, organizations and individuals and unexpectedly full cooperation from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs instructed Bureau personnel to turn over to Association investigators all statistical data requested, to allow free access to case files, and to answer all questions asked; these instructions were carried out. The survey was made in an atmosphere of such general frankness and eagerness to come at the truth that some of the soundest arguments in favor of the program were made by Indians and some of the most constructive criticisms of its shortcomings came from Indian Bureau personnel.

The survey team consisted of Dr. Mary Hayes, chairman, Dr. Angie Debo, Miss La Verne Madigan, Dr. Charles Russell, and Mr. William Zimmerman, Jr. Its findings were reviewed by Mr. Oliver La Farge, President of the Association and by Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith and Mrs. Robert Rosenthal, respectively chairmen of the Association's Indian Relations and Public Education Committees. The team studied the large body of published material on the program and solicited the opinions of tribes, Indian organizations and welfare agencies which had not yet gone on record. It visited three of the Relocation cities, Denver, Chicago and Los Angeles, and Indian areas of the Southwest, the Great Plains and Alaska.

The survey team is grateful to all whose candor and creative thinking made possible the recommendations which terminate this report, and special acknowledgment is made of the contributions of those who reviewed the recommendations: Mr. Ralph Collins, Executive Secretary and Mr. Herman Goldberg, Supervisor of Casework, Travelers Aid Society, Chicago. Special thanks go to the following persons in Los Angeles: Miss Dorothy dela Pole, Director, Travelers Aid Society; Mrs. Stevie Standingbear and Mrs. Pakali Reifel, Los Angeles Indian

Center; and Mrs. Alida Bowler, former head of the local Relocation Office. In Chicago, special thanks are due Miss Mary Young, Executive and Miss Elaine Switzer, Associate Executive, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago; and Mr. Anthony Vega, Director and Mrs. Isabel Collazo, Assistant to the Director, Puerto Rican Labor Department. The cooperation of Mr. Charles Miller and Mr. Walter Knoedel of the Relocation Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is very much appreciated.

## 2. THE OFFICIAL PROGRAM\*

According to *Indian Affairs Manual*, which contains the official policies and operating procedures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the purpose of the Relocation Program is as follows:

*Basis of Need.* On many Indian reservations throughout the country and in certain other areas where there is a large Indian population, opportunities for self-support are inadequate. Land resources are insufficient either in quantity or quality, industrial development is negligible, and a considerable portion of the Indian population is faced with the alternatives of leaving the area to seek new opportunities, including adequate employment, or remaining to live in privation or dependent, wholly or partially, on some form of public assistance.

The foregoing statement is frequently supplemented by the Bureau as follows: "We must face facts and one of the most important facts is that there is a definite physical limit to resource development on the reservations. The Navajo Reservation in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah is a good illustration. Under the most optimistic estimate the resources of this reservation, after full development, might be expected to provide a decent livelihood for about 45,000 people. Yet the present Navajo population is about 78,000 and, if present growth trends continue, the population will reach 100,000 by 1962 and approximately 350,000 by the year 2000." (From a letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Hon. Antoni N. Sadlak, House of Representatives, March 9, 1956.)

*Purpose.* The purpose of the Relocation Program is to seek and develop areas of opportunities where Indians may relocate and become self-supporting; disseminate information about such opportunities; assist Indians and their families, who voluntarily desire to do so, to move from the reservation, where opportunities for self-support are inadequate, to the new areas of their choice; provide or arrange for services to them in adjusting to the new environment; and aid them in securing permanent employment.

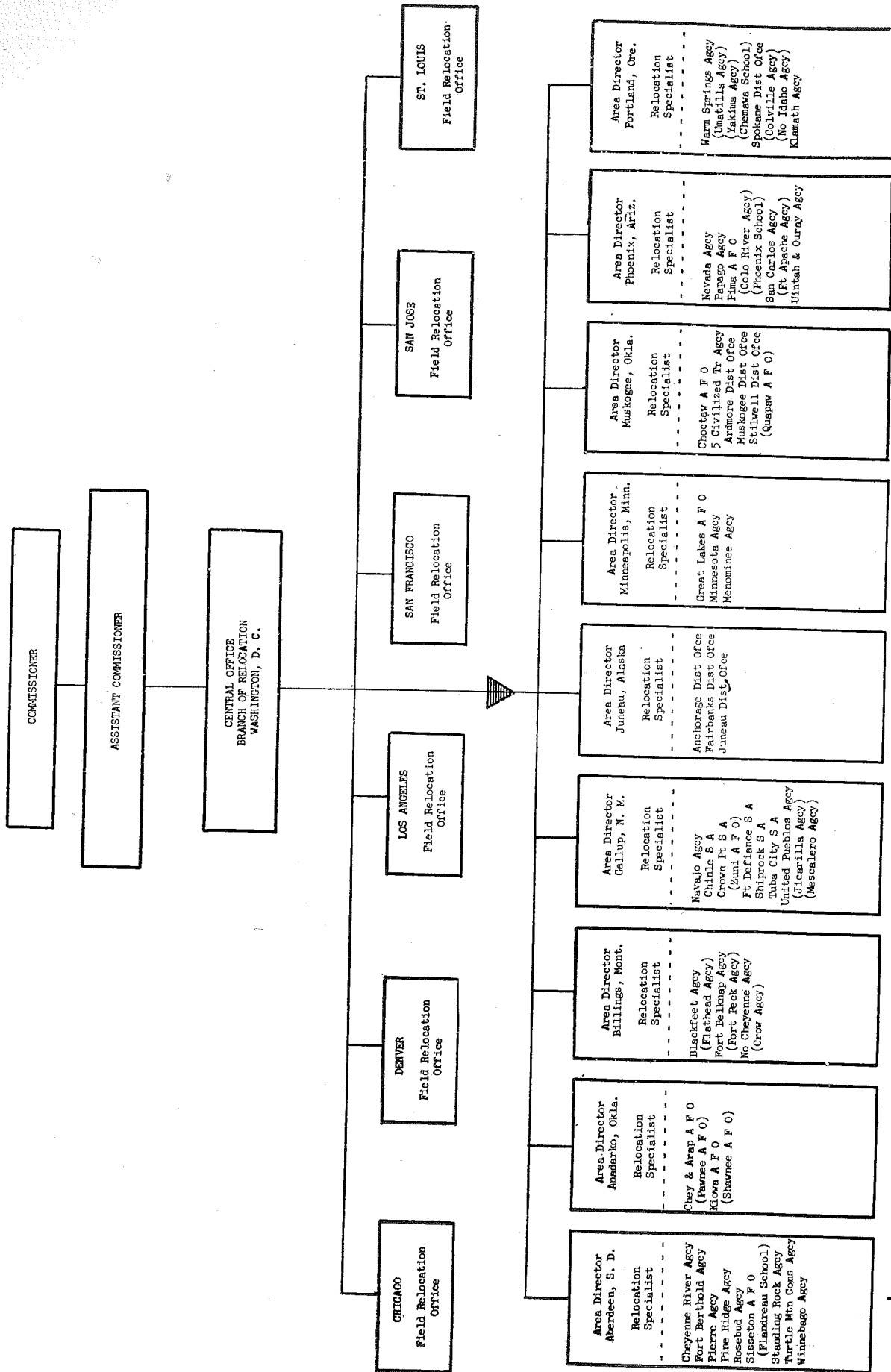
*The Challenge,* according to the *Relocation Handbook*, which was compiled by the working personnel of the Bureau's Relocation Division, "is to show to the Indian people that there is a better life awaiting them if they have the courage to request relocation."

*The Organization* and line of authority in the Relocation Division are charted on page 5. City Relocation offices, located on the basis of diversified, abundant industrial employment,

\* The word "reservation" as used in this report has been expanded to include the Indian settlements in Oklahoma, where, strictly speaking, there are no reservations. Although the tribes were liquidated and tribal holdings broken up to prepare this former Indian Territory for statehood in 1907 and many Indians passed into the general population, thousands of unassimilated full-bloods still live within the boundaries of their former reservations in communities essentially tribal.

\* All information in this section was furnished by the central, agency and field Relocation Offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

BRANCH OF RELOCATION  
ORGANIZATION CHART - 1957



Central Office, Branch of Relocation, Washington, D. C., functions in a staff capacity in relation to relocation activities in areas

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were opened in Los Angeles in 1951; Chicago and Denver, 1952; Oakland (no longer operating), 1954; San Francisco, 1955; San Jose and St. Louis, 1956.

The Budget under which the Relocation Division operated in fiscal 1955-6 is relevant to the criticisms of the program, enumerated later in this report; and the new budget for fiscal 1956-7 is relevant to our conclusions. Both, therefore, are summarized below:

JULY 1, 1955—JUNE 30, 1956

Total appropriation .....	\$ 980,000
Additional allotment to cover Pay Act increases.....	36,400
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,016,400</b>
Program direction, includes Personal Services, Equipment and Expenses .....	\$ 572,000
Services to Indians (Financial Assistance) .....	\$ 408,800
—Transportation from Reservation to city.	
—Shipment of household goods—up to \$50.	
—Subsistence expenses enroute.	
—Subsistence expenses at destination up to 4 weeks, as needed.	
—Supplemental subsistence for a relocated worker out of employment through no fault of his own, and not yet eligible for unemployment compensation.	
—Grants up to \$50 a person for tools and equipment for apprentice workers.	

The estimated cost of relocating an individual in the fiscal year which expired on June 30, 1956 was \$196.00.

JULY 1, 1956—JUNE 30, 1957

Total budget .....	\$3,472,000
Program direction, includes Personal Services, Equipment, and Expenses .....	\$1,620,500
Continuation of Previous Services to Indians.....	\$ 408,800
New Services to Indians .....	\$1,367,700
—Grants for purchase of Blue Cross Medical insurance for 1 year for relocated families not otherwise covered.	
—Grants up to \$50 per person for purchases of clothing, and other items of personal appearance.	
—Grants up to \$50 a family for purchase of household wares.	
—Grants up to \$250 a family for purchase of furniture.	
—Full coverage of tuition costs for one year for night school training of the 3-R or vocational type.	
—A pilot program under which the Bureau will match the savings of about 100 relocated persons with an outright grant, in order to assist them to purchase homes.	
Released to Industrial Development Program.....	\$ 75,000

The estimated cost of relocating an individual in fiscal year 1957, with the increased services and enlarged staff required to carry them out, is \$347.20.

The Statistics

Fiscal Year (July 1-June 30)	RELOCATIONS					
	Singles		Families		Total	
	Units	Persons	Units	Persons	Units	Persons
1952 .....	227	227	215	641	442	868
1953 .....	377	377	320	1,093	697	1,470
1954 .....	752	752	470	1,801	1,222	2,553
1955 .....	804	804	696	2,655	1,500	3,459
1956 .....	899	899	843	2,376	1,742	4,275
	3,059	3,059	2,544	9,566	5,603	12,625

Fiscal Year	RELOCATIONS WITH AND WITHOUT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE*					
	Singles	Families		Total		
		Units	Persons	Units	Persons	
1954: with financial assistance .....	388	317	1,249	705	1,637	
without financial assistance .....	234	88	297	322	531	
not referred (estimate) .....	130	65	255	195	385	
	752	470	1,801	1,222	2,553	
1955: with financial assistance .....	381	488	2,032	869	2,413	
without financial assistance .....	161	77	270	238	431	
not referred .....	262	131	353	393	615	
	804	696	2,655	1,500	3,459	
1956: with financial assistance .....	549	681	2,939	1,230	3,488	
without financial assistance .....	100	49	129	149	229	
not referred .....	250	113	308	363	558	
	899	843	3,376	1,742	4,275	

COMPOSITION OF RELOCATED FAMILIES, FISCAL YEAR 1956						
Total Number of Families who Relocated during Fiscal Year 1956	Location				Total	
	Los Angeles	San Francisco	Denver	Chicago		
Families of two .....	98	47	32	33	210	
"    "    3 .....	83	34	35	30	182	
"    "    4 .....	70	46	36	40	192	
"    "    5 .....	53	37	37	26	153	
"    "    6 .....	50	30	19	17	116	
"    "    7 .....	23	25	9	4	61	
"    "    8 & over .....	24	15	4	4	47	
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>961</b>	
<b>Total Number of Single Men who Relocated during Fiscal Year 1956</b>						
	375	129	67	190	761	
<b>Total Number of Single Women who Relocated during Fiscal Year 1956</b>						
	202	24	55	75	356	

\* No records were kept in fiscal years 1952 and 1953 of persons assisted to relocate without financial assistance. *Without Assistance* refers to persons who receive service but no funds. *Not referred* applies to persons who received service from City Relocation Office although not sent by Reservation Relocation Office.

SURVEY, NOVEMBER 1955, FISCAL YEAR 1955,  
BUREAU FINANCED RELOCATEES WHO HAVE RETURNED TO RESERVATIONS

Jurisdiction	Relocations		Returns		Ratio-Successful		Ratio-Returnees	
	Units	Persons	Units	Persons	Units	Persons	Units	Persons
Five Civilized Tribes Agency.....	144	440	25	58	83%	87%	17%	13%
Fort Belknap Cons. Agency.....	43	139	10	34	77%	76%	23%	24%
Fort Berthold Agency .....	41	126	16	47	61%	63%	39%	37%
Great Lakes Area Field Office.....	63	124	6	8	90%	94%	10%	6%
Minnesota Agency .....	58	124	14	18	76%	85%	24%	15%
Navajo Agency .....	103	242	20	46	81%	81%	19%	19%
Papago Agency .....	64	119	9	21	88%	85%	12%	15%
Pima Area Field Office .....	65	216	9	19	86%	91%	14%	9%
Pine Ridge Agency .....	48	185	25	87	48%	53%	52%	47%
Rosebud Agency .....	48	176	15	53	69%	70%	31%	30%
Southern Plains Agency .....	89	235	22	62	75%	74%	25%	26%
Standing Rock Agency .....	37	107	16	35	57%	67%	43%	33%
Turtle Mountain Cons. Agency.....	47	141	16	38	66%	63%	34%	27%
United Pueblos Agency .....	57	183	13	41	77%	78%	23%	22%
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>907</b>	<b>2,557</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>567</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>24%</b>
*Fiscal Year 1954 .....		1,263		362		71%		29%
*Fiscal Year 1953 .....		1,197		379		68%		32%

\* Data from Survey of November 1954 of Bureau Financed Relocates Who Returned to Reservations.

WAGE AND RENT CHART					
	Los Angeles	San Francisco	Denver	Chicago	Average
Median Starting Wage .....	\$1.57	\$1.81	\$1.67	\$1.41	\$1.62
Wage Range					
Rates do not include work incentive factor, such as "Plus piece work"	\$1.00	\$1.31	\$ .75	\$ .90	\$ .99
	to	to	to	to	to
	\$2.90	\$2.60	\$2.65	\$3.57	\$2.93
Price Range on Rents:	Los Angeles	San Francisco	Denver	Chicago	Average
a. Furnished houses (Average).....	\$83.00	\$64.50	\$72.50	None used	\$73.33
b. Furnished Apartments " .....	\$75.00	\$66.43	\$57.00	\$88.00	\$71.61
c. Unfurnished " " .....	Not used	\$48.83	\$55.00	\$88.00	\$63.94
d. Unfurnished houses " .....	\$73.00	\$55.00	\$72.50	\$105.00	\$76.37
e. Rooms for Single Men " .....	\$36.00	\$31.00	\$32.00	\$38.00	\$34.25
f. " " " Women " .....	\$36.00	\$33.50	\$48.00	\$38.00	\$38.87
Public Housing:					
Average rent for Public Housing..	\$55.00	\$51.50	\$44.77	\$60.00	\$52.81

*The Operation.* The step-by-step accomplishment of a relocation is prescribed in detail in *Indian Affairs Manual*. A digest of the official instructions follows:

*Dissemination of Information.* The reservation Relocation Office will publicize information concerning relocation opportunities and employment, including living conditions in the cities to which relocation is encouraged.

*Acceptance of Applications.* The reservation Relocation Office will accept applications and secure adequate information for family-planning.

*Planning Relocation.* The reservation Relocation Office will discuss with applicants their particular situation, including their qualifications for relocation and employment, their

needs and desires and those of their families. Prospects for employment, costs of living, and living conditions in the city will be reviewed realistically. A tentative plan will be arrived at and, together with other relevant information, forwarded to the Relocation Office in the appropriate city. It is the responsibility of the reservation Relocation Officer to determine whether or not an application for relocation should be recommended favorably.

*Assistance and Guidance Prior to Departure.* After the city Relocation Office has indicated that it will accept an applicant, the reservation Relocation Officer will assist the applicant and his family in making arrangements for departure and will give them guidance for the important change to take place in their way of life.

*Indian Participation.* The reservation Relocation Officer will interpret the program to the fullest extent possible to tribal governing bodies and will try to develop their cooperation.

*Relations with Other Agencies.* The reservation Relocation Officer will maintain cooperative relationships with appropriate offices of the State Employment Service and other public agencies to facilitate full utilization of their services by Indians.

*Developing Relocation Opportunities.* The city Relocation Office will develop opportunities for relocation, employment and housing and promote community acceptance of Indians. This includes interpretation to labor organizations, housing agencies, welfare agencies and religious agencies.

*Information to Reservations.* The city Relocation Office will provide to the reservation a continuous flow of information with respect to employment, housing and living conditions.

*Acceptance of Applicants.* On the basis of relocation plans submitted by the reservation Relocation Officer, city Relocation Officers will determine whether the applicant may be expected to succeed. If the determination is favorable, the city Relocation Officer will schedule an arrival date. Applicants arriving without approved planning must have their eligibility checked before service is given. If an unscheduled applicant has been away from the reservation for more than one year, he shall be considered as having accepted responsibility for making his own way in life and shall not be considered eligible for services other than referral to an appropriate community agency to meet his needs. If an unscheduled applicant's eligibility is established, he will be given the regular relocation services, except that priority in handling will be given to those whose relocations were planned.

*Services to New Arrivals.* New arrivals will be met at the railroad station when this service has been requested in advance. Otherwise they will be expected to report directly to the city Relocation Office.

Temporary housing will be arranged until the relocatee has regular employment. After he is established in a job, he will be assisted to secure permanent quarters commensurate with his place of employment and income.

Counseling and guidance will be provided to explain community recreational and social resources and to give information concerning appearance, sanitation, costs of living and budgeting.

Intensive employment counseling will be provided and, following it, the Relocation Office will contact employers and refer the relocatee for employment.

*Continuing Services.* Relocates will be advised that they are expected to assume the same responsibilities for themselves and utilize the same community resources as do other residents of the city. During the period of adjustment, however, certain services will be provided, including: counseling about any problems the relocatee may wish to discuss; periodic visits to homes (generally limited to the first 6 months); assistance in securing different employment or housing when necessary; assistance in seeking and utilizing educational facilities.

*Discontinuance of Service.* It is Bureau policy that Indians who relocate should seek and receive services from established community agencies on the same basis as other residents in the community. The services above, other than informal counseling in the office, should not be available to relocatees after they have established themselves in the

community and become eligible for public services. For most relocatees services should not be necessary for longer than a year even though a longer period of residence may be required in some communities to establish legal eligibility for community assistance. An overall definite time limit on the continuation of services is not being set. However, services beyond one year should be extended only when special circumstances require them for the accomplishment of a permanent relocation.

*Financial Assistance.* Individuals or family groups determined to be in need of financial help may be given assistance for the following purposes: transportation to the place of relocation; shipment of household goods; subsistence en route and after arrival while the workers are establishing income through employment; physical examinations on reservations where Public Health Service facilities are not available (since a physical examination must be passed before a relocation is approved); tools and equipment for an individual or family head who enters apprenticeship training not later than 6 months after his arrival at the relocation destination.

Certain data about the amounts in which financial assistance is given are contained in the foregoing section entitled *The Budget*. The following table illustrates the assistance allowances for family groups at the relocation destination.

Size of Family	Maximum Amount per Week	Maximum Period
Man, Wife Only .....	\$40.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 1 Child .....	50.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 2 Children .....	60.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 3 Children .....	70.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 4 Children .....	80.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 5 Children .....	85.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 6 Children .....	90.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 7 Children .....	95.00	4 weeks
Man, Wife and 8 or more Children	100.00	4 weeks

In addition to the above, the city Relocation Officer may authorize up to three weeks' emergency subsistence to relocatees who have lost their employment through no fault of their own and are not yet eligible for unemployment compensation.

Assistance in connection with relocation shall normally be granted only once.

*Records.* Among the numerous records concerning every relocatee which are on file in the reservation and city Relocation Offices are the following: Certificate of Physical Examination of Applicant for Services of Branch of Relocation (signed by the examining physician); Indian Family Health Certificate (certifying that each family member is free of contagious disease and serious physical abnormality); Relocation Information Record (containing information obtained by counseling with family on reservation, including education of each member, work history of wage earners, etc.).

For the purposes of a later section of this report, special mention should be made of two forms filled out and signed by an individual or family head, one applying for financial assistance to accomplish his relocation from the reservation, and the other applying for funds for subsistence at his destination. These forms read, in part, "I, ....., hereby apply for financial assistance under the relocation program for myself and my family to move to ..... where I propose to establish my permanent home."

### 3. ADVERSE CRITICISMS

Comments critical of the Relocation Program fall into two categories: those exposing inefficiencies in the operation of the Program and themselves leading to corrections of the faults they find; and those questioning the Program's underlying motive and suggesting no facile, administrative solutions.

They had to be assembled from magazine and newspaper articles, letters to editors, and statements by Indian and non-Indian organizations made over the past four years. The currency of opinions expressed from 1952 to 1954 was often in doubt, because some of the conditions criticized had changed, as a result of the criticism, by 1956. Moreover, these criticisms gathered from published sources had to be measured for intensity, since a few were contained in articles or statements totally hostile to the Program, but most were scattered through articles or statements on Indian policy generally.

Published criticism, therefore, had to be supplemented by criticisms, constructive or wholly negative, solicited from Indian tribal councils, Indian and non-Indian organizations, not yet on record, social agencies in the Relocation cities, anthropologists, Indian Bureau personnel on reservations and in cities, Indian individuals, and private citizens qualified to speak on Indian matters. These criticisms also had to be measured carefully for intensity, since the fact remained that most were not volunteered but had to be sought.

The word *Isolated*, and the symbols \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* are used to indicate the comparative frequency with which criticisms were expressed. Certain criticisms are designated as being heard in only one of the Relocation cities, and the indication of frequency in such cases applies solely to a given community. A previous and now discarded plan was to identify the source or sources of each criticism; this plan did not stand up under second thought, because one of the purposes of this report is to improve relations between city Relocation Offices and local Indian centers, church groups and social agencies. Identification of critics could only worsen them.

<i>Criticism</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
The Program is not desired by Indians and should be abolished .....	Isolated
The Program should be available to tribes desiring it but is not desired by a particular tribe .....	**
Elected tribal officials are not given an opportunity to share in administration of the Program and protect Indian rights .....	**
Indian Bureau personnel operating the Program are incompetent .....	*
The "best" Indians have left the reservations on their own and only irredeemable "misfits" remain to be relocated under the Program .....	*
Relocated Indians tend to live at a low social level and lower the community status of established Indian residents of Relocation cities .....	**
Indians who go to Relocation cities on their own, without the aid of the Relocation Program, tend to live at a low social level and lower the community status of Indians who do come in under the Program .....	**
The best young Indians are the ones who relocate, and the tribes lose their potential leadership .....	**
Relocated Indians lose their tribal rights.....	**
Relocating Indians do not receive copies of papers they sign and do not know what tribal rights they have relinquished .....	**
The Bureau's maximum figures for relocations from a given reservation in any year are really quotas which must be filled .....	***

Relocation is proceeding too rapidly for the size of the Relocation staffs and the ability of the Relocation cities to absorb newcomers .....	***
There is inadequate training on the reservations for urban living .....	***
Indians desiring to relocate are given no real choice about where to go, but are pressured to go to Chicago, for example, if the Los Angeles office cannot handle them promptly .....	**
Indians desiring Relocation are often forced to wait too long between the time they file an application and the time the city Relocation Office can schedule their arrival.....	***
There is inadequate screening of applicants for Relocation before they leave reservations, and no criteria exist; chronic alcoholics, psychologically disturbed persons, persons who cannot speak English, persons without education or work skills, and persons with poor health records are approved for Relocation .....	***
The Bureau has no right to screen out Indians who desire to relocate in cities .....	***
City Relocation Offices are not sufficiently well staffed to handle the number of relocated persons they accept.....	***
Indian family heads sometimes have to wait three weeks before placement on a job .....	*
City Relocation Offices will not help an Indian who loses his job find other employment .....	*
City Relocation Offices place Indian workers at sub-standard wages .....	*
City Relocation Offices place Indian families in slum housing .....	***
City Relocation Offices place Indians in Negro or "mixed" neighborhoods .....	***
City Relocation Offices place Indians in middle-class housing which they cannot afford, and the Indians subsequently move out and into the slums.....	***
Employers like "primitive" Southwestern Indians because they are docile but have had experiences with "emotionally disturbed" Sioux .....	**
There is insufficient interpretation of the Indian people to the community to which they relocate.....	**
Indian men and women are driven to alcoholism by the pressure of city life .....	***
The Bureau of Indian Affairs reports untruthfully the returns of Indians to reservations, making the figure much lower than it actually is .....	**
All Relocation is to congested industrial cities, and no attempt is made to develop Relocation opportunities in smaller cities where rurally-raised Indians would be happier .....	***
The Bureau of Indian Affairs, through the Program, competes with State Employment Services in reservation states, which could place Indians locally; it lures Indians out of local employment to fill quotas for relocation to Chicago and Los Angeles .....	***
Indians do not relocate voluntarily but under pressure of relentless urging, unscrupulous portrayal of prosperous urban life, withheld welfare assistance, and unnamed reprisals against their families .....	**
The United States Government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, uses the Relocation Program as a device for emptying the Indian reservations and ending its obligation to the tribes .....	***
Indians are permitted to congregate in Indian slums.....	***
Indians are lonesome because city Relocation Offices will not permit them to live in Indian neighborhoods.....	**
Indian families allow all their relatives to move into small apartments with them and so lower their living standard..	***
Indians are culturally incapable of adjustment to urban conditions .....	**

City Relocation Offices have inadequate follow-up procedure, and terminate social services to relocated families too quickly .....	***
City Relocation Offices have not properly developed community resources which could be helpful to relocated families .....	***
City Relocation Offices refuse to give names of newly arrived Indians to churches and local Indian centers.....	***
City Relocation Offices give names and addresses of relocated Indians to bill-collectors .....	Isolated
The Relocation Office in one city wars upon the Indian Center there, discredits it, has planted spies in its organization, tapped its telephone, intimidated Indians who are active in its opposition to the Relocation Program.....	*
City Relocation Officers tried to intimidate <i>Harpers</i> , the <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> and the National Broadcasting Company when recent pieces unfavorable to the Relocation Program were known to be in process, and paid threatening visits to Indian families who had made statements to the above...	**
Indians, traditionally, turn to low-income relatives for help instead of to community agencies .....	***
City Relocation Offices are not staffed to handle Indian problem cases on a professional level.....	**
City Relocation Offices do not provide needed services to "migrant" Indians who come to cities without Relocation Program assistance .....	**
City Relocation Offices cut off their financial help before relocated Indians have resided in a city long enough to qualify for community welfare aid .....	***
There is no leadership developed among relocated Indians which could help them help themselves and each other.....	**
The Indian Center in one Relocation city has not developed a social service program which could meet the needs of relocated families.....	**

#### 4. IMPRESSIONS OF THE RELOCATION PROGRAM

##### The Personnel

The Relocation branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, according to our observations, is staffed by humane, singularly unbureaucratic people, dedicated, for better or for worse, to accomplishing many and successful relocations. They are a corps of workers who believe, with or without justification, that what they do puts food on the Indian's table and clothes on his back, and they think nothing of working ten hours a day and on unpaid weekends to do it. They have the solidarity and defensiveness of a corps too. Some feel that public criticism aimed at the Congress and higher echelons of the Bureau for national Indian policy have landed on them, because what they do is all that is accomplished these days in Indian affairs. These are bitterly resentful, past the point of objectivity, of recent articles in *Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly* which declare that the Relocation Program and, by inference, they are villainous. Some, however, of greater temerity than others because they are more highly placed, Indian, or simply thoughtful, say that the Bureau's neglect of other programs and resultant over-emphasis of this one precipitated the adverse criticisms; they admit, when pressed, that these adverse criticisms probably had much to do with the increased appropriation for the current fiscal year and the many new improvements in the Program.

The Relocation Officers on the reservations are, for the most part, Indians or Westerners from Indian states, all meeting Civil Service requirements. The Indians qualify for the work by being Indian and by education. The non-Indians qualify by education and experience in the War Relocation Authority, which helped displaced Japanese-Americans during

World War II, social agencies, labor unions or other branches of the Indian Service. Those interviewed in the course of this survey understand Indians and people, including Indians, well; they understand that an Indian relinquishes more than mere poverty when he leaves his ethnic community for a distant industrial city. They themselves, probably by personal choice, have not elected to live in sooty, moneyed urban centers; they are not altogether qualified to teach an Indian how to prosper and like it there, but they are qualified to warn him against disillusionment.

The Relocation Officers in the cities are, for the most part, non-Indian, although more Indians are being employed under the current budget to work as family counselors. These non-Indians have had experience in the War Relocation Authority, social agencies, and other branches of the Government which try to solve human problems. Their lives have been lived mainly in cities, not on or near Indian reservations, and they do not all seem to realize, as do the reservation Relocation Officers interviewed, that an Indian leaves something he loves when he goes to a metropolis. They have to be city people in order to accomplish the work they must do, but they have much to learn about Indians from the trips to reservations which are scheduled for them. Unlike some critics of the program, they believe they can learn to understand an Indian's cultural values and that an Indian can learn, and even come to like theirs. They do not quarrel with an Indian's right to be Indian and culturally different in a reservation community. It is their responsibility to see that in the city he gets and holds down an eight-hour-a-day factory job, that his pregnant wife knows how to take a bus ten blocks to the clinic, that his school-age children are not permitted to be truants from school, and that five relatives do not suddenly move in with his family in their one-room flat. Some mornings they thank their stars that it is a tractable Navajo they have to place in a job instead of a bewildered and bewildering Sioux, half at war and half at peace with himself and the world. Most of them know nothing of the comparatively intact Indian land and tradition which produced the spiritually secure Navajo, and the unforgotten military defeat, broken treaties and violated culture which produced the troubled Sioux. Consoling themselves, however, with a little gallows-laughter, they will, nevertheless, place the Sioux too when he comes in.

Not every Relocation Officer is up to the level of the corps, although very few are not. Almost without exception, the reservation offices appear to be manned by people who give all they have and have much to give. The personnel of the Denver office will never be the heroes of the Program, because Denver cannot absorb indefinite numbers of semi-skilled industrial workers, and that is a pity for the Indians; the office is under the quiet direction of a Relocation Officer who sees the Indian problem whole. The staff of the Los Angeles office forms an elite even in this well-staffed Program, has vigor to match the vigorous growth of the city itself, and may be relied upon, sooner or later, to find a common ground with its local critics. The Chicago office, which scheduled too many relocations too hastily in the beginning of the Program and saved the others much shame by committing their blunders for them, has been sent to school in Los Angeles, and has recruited personnel to do what it was not equipped to do in the past. It has been severely criticized locally, and is meeting the future with strong good intentions.

##### Before Relocation

On the reservations of the Southwest and the Plains the Indian people, like people everywhere, are busy leading humdrum daily lives and, also like people everywhere, they are not planning to do any big good or bad thing which will change



these lives drastically. If they are in Oklahoma, they are living on inadequate and rapidly shrinking allotments where the reservations used to be. The business of survival fills their days, and they are not humming with discussion of whether Relocation is a brave new way to survive or a way to destroy themselves as Indians. Their tribal governments have discussions like that sometimes and send resolutions to Washington, but Relocation is not the only thing the tribal councils discuss. They discuss the need for more agricultural and industrial opportunity in Oklahoma; per capita payments and oil leases at Fort Berthold in North Dakota; and, always, the loss of Indian land at the big Oglala Sioux reservation in South Dakota. Everywhere they discuss the need for more factories like the Bulova Watch Company's at Turtle Mountain and the new baby furniture plant at Navajo. But those are the remote things that local governments—tribal councils or boards of aldermen—discuss everywhere. The man who may ultimately decide to try Relocation with his family arrives at a private decision which is not made on the basis of whether the Relocation Program is one more form of the protean pressure to end the separate existence of Indians in the United States.

In Oklahoma this man and his wife and four children may live in a two-room shack where innate neatness contends with crowding. At Navajo they will live in a hogan, carry their drinking water great distances, and relieve themselves behind a clump of bushes. At Pine Ridge, where the Oglala Sioux are, there may be a privy, without a door. That is not all there is. In Oklahoma, there is the strong sense of historic continuity where immigrant Indians brought the first institutions of civilization to a wild frontier, and native tribes have living memories of where they hunted the buffalo or where the winter camp was pitched. There is also the beautiful, red-canyoned Navajo desert for people who are not afraid of space and quiet, and a piece of windy prairie in South Dakota for the Sioux who once roamed it all. In the Pueblo villages, reversely, there will be cozy compactness around the kiva and an immemorial intimacy.

There will be food for tonight, none for tomorrow, and no refrigerator to keep it in if there were. The family will have used up the last of the man's unemployment compensation, and tomorrow he will pay a useless visit to the office of the State Employment Service, located on the reservation perhaps, to seek work as a day laborer to tide him over until the time comes for him to go off again with a road gang for the Santa Fe, or with a group of trained fire-fighters to a burning forest somewhere in the West. When he goes on these jobs he will leave his family behind him for a month or three months or maybe longer. Perhaps instead he will take his wife and all the children off to harvest beets or potatoes in Colorado, Idaho or Nebraska. If he does that, he will be sorry to take the children out of school. He would like his children to be educated, for educated Indians get good jobs with the Indian Service or the tribal councils, at trading posts or in the missions.

If educated Indians do not get these jobs at home, they disappear with their knowledge and aspirations into the world beyond the reservations. It is hard for them to cut loose from their people, and their culture that has no counterpart outside, but education has unfitted them for the feast-and-starve existence of the seasonal laborer. It has unfitted them for the menial, unsteady jobs earmarked for Indians in the white communities on the edge of the reservations—Farmington and Gallup in New Mexico, Globe in Arizona, Rapid City in South Dakota—and for being half-humorously regarded as part of the Indian shanty-town fermenting in the swamp or used-car-dump on the outskirts of the city. Work on the reservation, among and for their people, would make them happy. There is big talk in the Indian Bureau about bringing industry and enterprise to

Indian areas, but the man who waits may end up an alcoholic. There is nothing else to become. The educated Indians go off to the cities, therefore, and the Indian communities lose the leaders they will need for the industrial development about which the Indian Bureau is saying so much.

Uneducated Indians live the same experience on a humbler level. They do not go off to the cities on the spur of ambition to succeed in some particular kind of endeavor or even to live in a home-magazine house. They know that men with one to eight years of schooling work for wages, not self-fulfillment. They do not, generally, have the self-confidence or train-fare to start out without assistance or encouragement from anyone. They walk into the Indian Bureau office some morning and say, "What is this Relocation?"

Reservation Indians know about the existence of the Relocation Program from speeches made at tribal council meetings; from little mimeographed folders on the counter at the trader's store, inviting anyone who is interested in year-round employment in a distant city to visit the Bureau office; from letters written home by others who went to the cities under the Program. In 1952 and 1953 they used to learn about it from Relocation Officers who went out on the reservation to recruit as for the Army. Such recruiting is still done in Oklahoma, where the Program is well regarded by Indians, and where Relocation is seen as opportunity. Relocation Officers in other areas do not usually do this now, partly because Indians are seeking relocation on their own initiative, and partly because public criticism of the quota-system used in the Program convinced the Bureau that the American people will tolerate the Program only to the extent that it is voluntary.

Posters in the reservation Relocation Office advertise the attractions of the Relocation cities. Snapshots mounted on pasteboard show the Chicago waterfront, Indians building airplanes in Los Angeles, their wives standing by television sets and electric refrigerators. Two, to be seen in most offices, show Indian-owned ranch houses with front-yard flower gardens. This display material has been denounced as untruthful representation of the conditions under which relocated Indians live in the cities.

Those who consider this criticism unjust reason as follows: a close look at the snapshots reveals that the refrigerator is in close proximity to a divan, or that the television set is standing next to the baby's crib. The snapshots of purchased homes are misleading only if it is misleading to show anything except the typical. The Indian family that relocates will, no matter how poor its dwelling, probably have an electric refrigerator, a television set, and, what is not shown in the snapshots, a bathtub, a sink with running water, and a flush toilet. Matching pictures of Indians drunk at city bars or of Indians sitting in unswept rooms on chairs with broken legs would satisfy the criticism; but they would not show the reservation Indian anything he does not see every day of his life, and they would not raise his sights. There is pressure upon Indians to forsake the reservation communities, but the pressure is far too big to be contained in the operation of the Relocation Program. In a country in which every little boy is told—in jest, but to make him feel equal and proud—that some day he may be president, it cannot be dishonest to tell an Indian man that he may some day have a television set, a refrigerator and a toilet. That he has to leave his Indian community to get them is a wrong which must be righted. The wrong was not created by the Relocation Program, is not exacerbated by it, and will not cease to exist if the Relocation Program is stopped.

Those who uphold the criticism say that the Indian must be protected from disillusion if his relocation is to succeed. They feel that the Indian, contemplating the move to the city and dreaming about good things in store for him and his family,

will not scrutinize the snapshots with an analytical eye. They would prefer that the snapshots be designed to serve the double purpose of informing him but limiting his fancy, in order that old, familiar Indian hopelessness may not set in abruptly when he sees his first city flat, drab and unlovely despite its plumbing.

The man has seen the posters. Now the Relocation Officer tells him, not as overpoweringly as in 1952 and 1953 before the Program had been taken to task for overselling itself, about the financing and services available to him under it. The Relocation Officer shows the man job and wage reports from the Relocation cities, tells him that the city Relocation Office will help him with money for up to four weeks and with guidance for six months to a year, and assures him that by then he will be his white neighbor's peer in know-how and able to dispense with paternalistic care. Then, the man is sent home to discuss what he has been told with his wife and other relatives whose welfare may be involved.

Finally, in theory, and in practice where the staff is as large as it should be, the Relocation Officer visits the man's family to make clear the problems of adjustment to urban life, to explain to the wife that the success of the Relocation will depend upon her, since, at first, she will sit lonely indoors while her husband works and her children are away at school. If after this interview the family still wants to try Relocation, papers begin to be processed and sent to the chosen city Relocation Office: family histories, employment forms, health certificates. Two weeks have elapsed since the man's first visit to inquire about Relocation, and now another two or more go by before the city office can schedule his arrival. Before that date he may have renounced refrigerators and television and gone off once more on seasonal work. Or, fired by a dream the Relocation Officer did not suspect, he may have found it intolerable to wait one more day for Bureau help and have packed his family into an old car and headed South if he is a Sioux or West if he is an Apache, for Los Angeles. If he has waited for an officially sanctioned departure and the attractive financial and social service that go with it, he signs a paper applying for funds and saying that he intends to make his permanent home in that distant city. He is not lying when he places his signature under the word *permanent*. He does not believe that anyone means it seriously. And perhaps no one does. The Relocation Officer does not; he does not call it to the man's attention and, in some cases, tells him that if he returns to the reservation he will be wiser, more skilled and in nobody's eyes a failure. The *Manual* does not say that a Relocation Officer may tell a man these things, and, presumably, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs does not say them when he goes to Congress for an appropriation for the Program. But they are said, as the man and his family receive their one-way tickets.

Service up to this point has, perhaps, been as personal as any the man has ever received. Reservation Relocation Officers sometimes drive 160 miles round-trip for a single visit to a family and make three such visits before the final one whose purpose is to transport the family to the railroad station. They sometimes hustle young relocating couples to priests or ministers in order that "Indian marriages" may be regularized before departure. They pack bags, buy alarm clocks for men who have never had to get to work at 7 in the morning, and buy disposable diapers for use on the way. Some reservation Relocation Officers do not do all these things; most of them do.

The kindly service continues for a little while after the Indian family reaches the city. The man when he arrives at the railroad station has in his pocket an instruction sheet. It tells him to check his baggage, where it may be picked up later by a Relocation Office employee; and advises him, this once, to take a taxi to the Relocation Office. He has been told that he

may turn to representatives of the Travelers Aid Society if some unforeseen confusion arises at the station, and he could not be told a better thing.

The Travelers Aid Society, which gives relocated Indians emergency assistance under a national agreement with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, says nothing inflammatory or public about the troubles which beset Indians newly arrived in a city, but it helps them in quick, quiet ways. In cooperation with the Bureau, it guides and counsels Indians who are dazed upon arrival, and it makes emergency loans to the city Relocation Office when an Indian reaches town before his subsistence check has been processed. The Society refers to appropriate local agencies Indians who are not new arrivals in the city but have remained as confused as if they were. And, since freedom of movement is the principle on which the Society stands, it has been known to make arrangements, in justifiable instances, for Indians to go home again. It serves equally Indians who have come to the city under the Program and Indians who have come on their own, uninduced and untempted. It believes that helping the Indian is not the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs alone, although it believes the Bureau should help him more and has suggested several ways in which the Bureau could do so. It believes that the community in which the Indian finds himself has a responsibility too, and it is not deeply impressed by the arguments of well-meaning Indianists who contend that the Indian can never find happiness in cities because he is so separate culturally that no one can help him when he is in trouble. The Travelers Aid Society thinks the non-Indian community should be given a chance to try.

The man and his family present themselves at the Relocation Office. In the past, they might have joined a queue of people waiting all of one day and until the next for service by the undermanned, overburdened staff. Now, since Indian protest and the new Congressional appropriation have made themselves felt, their arrival is scheduled. A receptionist, usually Indian, is expecting them. The man is wearing his best pants, a pair of new blue jeans, cowboy boots and, possibly, a ten-gallon hat. His wife is wearing a cotton housedress, wrinkled from the long train ride. Two of her little children will be put in the office play-pen, one will cling to her knees, and she may be nursing the youngest—unless she does that later on the street. She will remain quiet while a Relocation Officer confers with her husband. The Relocation Officer, a woman in most cases where there is guidance work to be done, tells the man how to use the checking account in which his subsistence money will be deposited, and how to operate a dial telephone. She gives him a map of the city and tells him how to use it, although he is tired now and will probably forget what she said. She looks over her check-list of things to be remembered, and asks him whether he owns an alarm clock, promises to see that one is bought if he does not, and slips in a word of advice about getting to work on time. She tells him to rest with his family for the remainder of the day, and to return to the office tomorrow in order that the Relocation Officer in charge of employment may refer him to a job. Then she takes the family to a cheap apartment house or hotel which is used to quarter large families until the man is working and permanent housing can be found near his place of employment. She drives the family to this temporary residence, advises them to eat in a cheap, clean, nearby restaurant, and then goes on to pay a home visit to a couple who arrived the day before.

### Housing

The temporary housing in which the family and all newcomers will be placed is predictably dreary, but dreary is our word, not the Indians'. It will have been chosen as the newcomers' first stopping place because it is near the Relocation

Office which the man will have to visit frequently for the next week; because it is cheap enough not to exhaust the family's subsistence allowance too quickly; and because it has space for Indian families which seldom number less than four and occasionally number as high as thirteen. The rooms will be shabbily but not wretchedly furnished. In one city there will be cooking facilities in the temporary quarters. In another, the quarters will be in a hotel which has seen better days but does not yet qualify for the skid-row category; here there will be no stove, but there will be pay television. Single men and women are more easily and better housed in Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. residences, and all-male or all-female boarding houses. The temporary housing is used only until the man is employed.

The second quarters into which the family move, today, will be passable according to working-class, inadequate according to middle-class standards. The city Relocation Officers, responding to indignant public comment, place Indians in better housing now than formerly.

A year or so ago Indian families were placed in true slum dwellings in Los Angeles, in motor courts, almost any place where quarters for large families could be located quickly and in reasonable proximity to the man's work. The Los Angeles Relocation Office should not have approved relocations in such large numbers before better housing was found, as it now has been; but the word *quota* had not yet been discredited in the Relocation Program, and the Relocation Office itself had little choice. The importance of proximity to work in Los Angeles cannot be dismissed as it can in the case of other cities. For one thing, the Indians are completely unfamiliar with the horrors of commuting, detest it, and cannot afford the carfare. For another, the city sprawls over such an enormous area, and the transportation from section to section is so preposterously bad that even well-paid, white professional workers sometimes have to travel an hour and a half each way, to and from their offices.

That is how, in the beginning, Indians came to be housed in Los Angeles motor courts and semi-slums close to industrial plants. Many of them still live there, and can be inaccurately exhibited as currently typical. Real efforts, frequently successful, are now being made to house families more respectably. Some attempt is made to undo the harm already done by assisting the families which arrived early in the program to find better quarters. A few families have been helped. Some have vanished into the bottomless city before the help is offered. Others do not want the help, because they prefer to continue living where other Indians are; or because they do not accept the non-Indian pattern of paying a large portion of the income for rent in order to live attractively; or because their wages are still too low. There are yet other families, newly arrived, which move into these semi-slums on their own initiative.

In Chicago, Indian families have been badly housed in the past, and present vigorous efforts to house them decently meet with highly vocal disbelief from critics of the Program in that city. The disbelief is understandable, perhaps, but it helps no one. Cooperation now would help more.

Here in the earlier days of the Program, Indian families were placed in "permanent" quarters which were beyond their essentially humble dreams and income; inevitably the newcomers, who knew nothing of budgeting, ran into debt and moved down into the Chicago slums. Here too, in 1952 and 1953, the Relocation Office, faced with the necessity of finding housing for large Indian families, began placing Indians in neighborhoods which were turning Negro and where, therefore, better than average, roomy, low-rent housing was going begging. Indian and local white criticism on this score was not foreseen and is still to be heard in all recitations of grievances against the Chicago office.

Housing for Indians in Chicago will improve as the Relocation Office continues its present effort to locate low-rent quarters in outlying districts, and as more relocated families find their way into the racially mixed public housing developments. Much good housing at reasonable cost will never be easily found. It is not there. This is a community problem, and the Relocation Office cannot solve it.

Here is the logical point at which to say that in the Relocation cities the Indians, who are the majority people on their reservations, join the tragic hierarchy of dark-skinned minorities. They sit at the top of the hierarchy socially, but not economically. Economically, because they are better educated and have had more time, the Negroes surpass the others. After them, because they understand urban, European civilization and work eagerly, come the Puerto Ricans and, in Los Angeles, the Mexicans. Economically, the uneducated, culturally isolated reservation Indians are at the bottom. Socially, the order is reversed. The Indians have romantic myth and the American guilt-feeling on their side. The Negro may be a physician or a lawyer earning a high annual income, but he cannot move where he can afford to move, and he will never be lionized. The Indian may live anywhere he can afford to live, and, if he wishes as most younger Indians do not, he may appear in a Sioux war bonnet on big municipal occasions and receive pleasant pampering without condescension. Indians are reluctant to be mistaken for the other dark-skinned peoples, but the others are not always quick to correct the error when they are mistaken for Indians.

Currently the Chicago Relocation Office is finding housing for Indians in those erstwhile luxury neighborhoods, familiar in all large industrial or commercial cities: neighborhoods where the streets are wide and tree-lined, the building fronts still elegant, the interiors shabby and in dismal contrast. The shabbiness is the peculiar shabbiness of old hall carpets which were once deeply piled, threadbare over-stuffed divans which were once opulent, a plastic shower curtain hanging at a window which once had a velours drape, an extra bed standing in the living room. That would be a furnished apartment.

The Relocation Offices in all cities are now, with the new \$250 furniture allowance, trying to move families as quickly as possible into cheaper, roomier unfurnished flats. The furniture will still be second-hand, purchased from Goodwill Industries or the Salvation Army, but it will be re-finished simple furniture, not decaying rococo. Social workers think it is hard for people, Indian or Hindustani, to make a new start in life with discarded things. They would like to see the \$250 increased or used for fewer but brand-new, shiny household objects. They would like to see the Indians better prepared to make the best of city life when they enter it. The shabby carpet will not be as depressing if it is swept; the bed will not be as unsightly in the living room if it is made.

It is unfortunate that more Indians have not chosen to go to Denver and that the Denver office cannot yet supply employment at the wages which would support large families there. Public housing is abundant and good. People do not live on the fourth and fifth story of apartment houses, a Chicago fact which worries Indian newcomers more than the shabbiness which worries their non-Indian friends. White residents of neighborhoods which are becoming mixed report panic selling. But New York Negroes living in Denver—and they are a sophisticated group—say that Denver treats its minorities comparatively very well.

Church and lay organizations in the various Relocation cities have, properly, prodded the Bureau into a determination to widen the area and raise the level of housing for Indians. This means that the Relocation Office must pry the community open, and it should. But the Relocation Office is not by itself

responsible for prying the community open, and is not, actually, in the most favorable position to do so. The community will open up to Indians faster if it is opened up from the inside by those who live in it—the members of the church and lay organizations mentioned above. They have proved that they can criticize cogently and tellingly; they might now prove they can do two things at the same time—criticize and cooperate. The Relocations Offices, with the bigness always wistfully hoped for in Government agencies, might simultaneously prove that they can accept criticism and cooperation from the same source.

Representatives of the Puerto Rican Labor Office in Chicago know a great deal about the fate of Indians there. They know where they live, and how they fail to adjust, because they see them, day in day out, as they go about the city's low-class neighborhoods helping the Puerto Rican newcomers solve many of the problems the Indians are trying to solve. These representatives laugh enviously when they think that the Relocation Officers are authorized to find housing instead of just employment for their clients.

Housing, the need of which bedevils the entire country, is the score on which the Relocation Program has been most heavily attacked in the communities to which Indians are going in great numbers. It is the problem which Relocation Officers have been least successful in solving. It is the problem which reservation Indians—who grow up in America but outside the American materialistic paradise of vacuum cleaners, cottage curtains and *House Beautiful*—are most poorly equipped by experience to solve for themselves. Circumstances beyond their control have forced upon many of them the forlorn, stultifying knowledge that life can be lived and even some happiness had in ramshackle housing on the reservations where either no rent or almost no rent is paid. Coming into the cities, some of this group are not immediately ready to budget for rent and furniture the proportion of their income ordinarily budgeted for these purposes by most urban non-Indians, who know, if only from their parents' frustrated ambitions, how pleasant physical environment can be. There are among the relocated Indians, of course, those few who move immediately into good housing and those at the other extreme whose wages will never permit them to do so. There are among them too those who find their first city homes in low-income housing, cannot tolerate the drabness, and satisfy their spiritual need by moving into more expensive quarters as soon as possible or by scrupulously cleaning and tastefully decorating the quarters they are in. There are also, however, those who rent substandard quarters because their lives have accustomed them to the substandard, and who maintain them poorly because they have never had anything worth maintaining well. In the same apartment house, therefore, may be seen an Indian family living in slum conditions and another living in working class circumstances.

By and large, the angriest criticism of Relocation housing is white, not Indian. The relocated Indians ought to criticize. They ought to want better, demand it, and get it, whether by their own effort or the Bureau's. However, there is Indian resignation to the third-best, and it is a sad indictment of the way in which our country has stunted the dreams of this group of its citizens. On the reservation, the man planning Relocation saw pictures of a refrigerator and a television set and heard about the flush toilet. In the city, no matter how shoddy his dwelling, he finds these. On this head he does not feel altogether betrayed.

It has been said by some observers that relocating Indians are not being properly oriented for urban life. To others this comment seems to beg the question; to these it seems more appropriate to say that Indians are not being properly oriented for life anywhere in prosperous America, whether on reserva-

tions or in the cities, and that only the economic development of Indian areas will produce a generation of Indians who will expect and refuse to do without the best. This dilemma can never be unhorned by an orientation course geared solely and directly to the Relocation Program; to the extent to which it can, however, it is discussed under *Recommendations*.

## Employment

The day after a man's arrival, or the same afternoon if he is not too tired, and his family feels safe in its temporary quarters, he goes to the Relocation Office for referral to a job. He is interviewed by an employment specialist who discusses his aptitudes and desires. In many cases, the man has had only a few years of schooling, has worked solely as an agricultural stoop-laborer, and the city's lure for him was the possibility of year-round rather than soul-satisfying work. If he had—and a few Indians do have—a developed skill and a well-defined ambition, opportunity could readily be found for him. It is not difficult, in any event, to place him at the prevailing wage in a given industry, since city Relocation Offices are situated where employment is diversified and plentiful. The problem is that the prevailing wage in the industry may be inadequate for the support of his family. That is not to say that it would be inadequate for the support of a non-Indian family, which would not include five or six school and pre-school children and accept as both agreeable and inevitable the possibility that another child would be born each year.

Planning for families of this size was frequently inadequate in the past. Reservation Relocation Officers, striving to fill their quotas, which are now said not to exist, referred families in which the wage-earner was habitually unstable, or the husband and wife were not doggedly determined to relocate and succeed. City Relocation Offices, striving in turn to fill their quotas, approved such families for arrival, although they lacked the staff and resources to give the relocation an even chance of success.

Today, although many find it hard to believe that quotas do not exist or that eager Relocation Officers will not interpret maxima as quotas in order to prove their ability, planning is more painstaking and a city Relocation Office will think twice before scheduling the arrival of a multitudinous family. Case records, selected at random, revealed that families of this type have on some occasions at least been rejected for relocation by the Los Angeles Office because the wage-earner lacked the education and skill to support his wife and children in that area. On the other hand, firsthand sight was had of a Sioux family of thirteen members, pulling up outside the Chicago Relocation Office in a trailer; they had tired of waiting to find out whether a family plan could be worked out by the Chicago office and had simply gone to the city to take their chances.

Generally Indian men find employment in factories. In Los Angeles many placements are made in aircraft and similar plants where the man is hired as a learner and can work up to a skilled rating. Opportunities of this type are not as numerous in Chicago, and are said to be even more numerous in the San Francisco-San Jose area. This is popular employment with the Indians, and they are popular as employees in these plants. Others, who because of inability to speak and understand English adequately, physical handicaps, or unreliability, do not qualify for work at these elite industrial jobs, work at the thousand other jobs all unskilled people do in all cities—in foundries, as packers and loaders, as porters, as hospital and institutional attendants, even, if they are good-looking and awaiting induction into the Army, as professional Indians at Disneyland. Wages are commensurate with those paid non-Indians for the same work; what is not commensurate, as said above, is the size of the family to be supported on the wage.

A second wage-earner is frequently found in the wife, who, if a good family plan has been worked out, can leave her children in the care of a grandmother, or some other female relative. In Los Angeles, Indian women, with their manual dexterity, are sought after as power sewing machine operators. In every Relocation city, they can find employment in all light industries requiring native skill of hand, and also as hospital attendants. Few are placed in restaurant work, and the Relocation Offices place none in domestic work if they can help it. Attractive, young girls from the Indian schools go into household service because they have been trained for it; if their training had been clerical or in the applied arts, they could easily, and certainly more laudably, be placed in those fields.

Relocation Offices develop their own contacts with employers, maintain their own job files, and have, generally, conditioned local employers to expect Indians to go to them carrying a letter of referral from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This method of finding employment for Indians has been criticized as an extension to the cities of reservation paternalism. On the other hand, the Relocation Offices are sometimes criticized because, after six months or a year, they send a man who has quit his job to the State Employment Service for another.

The city Relocation Offices are usually able to place a man after from one to three referrals; and they themselves cannot be held accountable for the lack of education, urban work experience and emotional serenity which may cause him to fail at this first job, and the third, and, if his troubles are unusually bad, all he ever attempts. The man's ability to adapt himself to and improve his skill in urban employment cannot be predicted before he tries. Whether he should be discouraged from trying at all because he may fail, or whether all Indians should be encouraged to remain in their reservation areas for the years it will take to produce a skilled generation is a question. It is a terrible question for the people of the United States to have to ask themselves 100 years after they assumed the responsibility for the people they defeated. It has been said, by the Bureau when not addressing Congress, that the Relocation Program is essentially educational and that when a relocated Indian returns to the reservation he returns better fitted to earn a living in his own area. Perhaps if the Relocation Program could be redefined as a program for adult education instead of permanent resettlement, and if return fare to the reservation at the end of two years were provided for those needing it, the pitiful aspects of employment under the Relocation Program would cease to exist. Its accomplishments would stand out in high relief, and they are many.

### Social Services

While a man is seeking employment, the Relocation staff is performing various services for his family. One member helps hunt the permanent housing referred to above. Another—now since staffs have been enlarged but not in the past when public criticism was heaviest—visits the home at least three times to take the mother out to buy clothes with the family's clothing allowance, to help her select used furniture for the \$250 permitted for that, to enroll her at the prenatal clinic, to see that the children are registered in school, to learn whether the family is in any kind of trouble it has kept to itself. On these visits Relocation Officers have been known to wash a man's shirt and give a long-braided woman a hair-cut.

Since the limit on home-visiting must be set somewhere, unless the staff is to be indefinitely extended, mail communications are used on some occasions to serve the same purpose. The files of the Chicago office, examined in privacy and at random, revealed that mimeographed notices were broadcast to relocated families telling the date of school opening and

warning that all school-age children must be enrolled, and announcing the availability of Salk shots during last summer's epidemic. The same files revealed, further, that, even from the deservedly criticized early days of the Program, service was consistently given in response to telephoned or direct requests.

In general, unless a family seeks help of some kind after it has been relocated for a year, it gets none. The Relocation Program is carried out, avowedly, on the theory that a family succeeds or fails in the first six months to a year, and that after that time the family is on its own. Relocation Officers say that most Indians do not come to them for help after the first year because they do not need it; local critics of the program say that they do not come because they would not get it, that they will not go to community agencies for help because that is not their way, and that they go for help to other relocated Indians who may be worse off than they are. Neither the Bureau nor its critics can prove what they say, and no one really knows what happens to the majority of those Indians who do not return to the reservations after the year is up. In cases cited to illustrate their argument the Bureau and its critics are numerically matched.

The files of the Los Angeles Indian Center, a combined social service center and club for relocated and resident Indians, contain a long record of requests for financial and social assistance. The Bureau's files reveal a long record of modest little success stories, ending happily at the point at which relocated people obviously no longer needed Government help. The Indian Center in Chicago and the Chicago Relocation Office match each other with similarly conflicting sets of cases. Everything that is said by everyone is true, but it does not add up to the whole truth. The whole truth is not known, because after a year the majority of the Indians who do not return to reservations move out of the orbit of the Indian Bureau or Indian Centers. They pass into the community or on to other communities and are lost. Perhaps being lost is what they want most. Perhaps they need desperately to be found. Until that is determined, no one is in a position honestly to say whether Relocation has hurt or harmed them. This point is discussed further under *Recommendations*.

### Community Organization

City Relocation Offices have been instructed to interpret Indians to the community, to make full use of community resources. Generally, they have used the Travelers Aid Society under the Bureau's national agreement with that organization, have maintained nominal relations with the State Employment Services, and only token connections with mayors' committees on in-migrants and the fundamental organizations of the community. Public and private welfare agencies have been called upon in emergencies, but there has been failure to involve them in the planning of relocations and the responsibility for their success.

Some of the fundamental organizations of the community—clubs, churches, Indian centers—have rightly questioned the motives underlying the Relocation Program. They have, also rightly, exposed failures of operation in it. By concerning themselves almost exclusively with Federal Indian policy, however, and by failing at the same time to strengthen Indian newcomers' belief in their ability to succeed they have abdicated a responsibility and an opportunity. They have said, by their lack of action, exactly what the Bureau says by its lack of action in this field: that only the Bureau of Indian Affairs can understand or help American Indians.

Between them, the Relocation Offices and the local organizations most opposed to them have, in their contradictory interpretations of the Program, created two new stereotypes of the American Indian. The two old stereotypes were the scalping

savage and the noble redman. To these have now been added Horatio Alger from the reservation and the palaeolithic innocent set adrift in the atomic age. The real Indian is not identifiable from these characterizations when he arrives in the Relocation city. He has been confusingly portrayed to the community, with the result that only one of his social needs is recognized and his potential is not recognized at all.

The Indian need that is recognized, not always sympathetically, by community agencies in the Relocation communities is the need for cultural self-preservation in the basically European civilization of the cities. This need is admitted and ignored by most Relocation Offices; it is accepted as a fact by social agencies, which have no obligation to fill it; it is the Relocation centers' *raison d'être*. There is discussion of how the Indian centers meet and fail to meet this need immediately after the following discussion of the relocated Indians' potential.

The Indian newcomers' potential for good citizenship and happiness is only dimly recognized in the Relocation cities. The experience, however, of other cities, to which reservation Indians have streamed for many years, teaches that there exist avenues through which they may enter and reach a sense of belonging. In Minneapolis, for example, the Elliot Park Neighborhood House, under the executive direction of Arthur Goldman, has opened one such avenue through community centers whose Indian programs are oriented to the newcomers' Indianness; and the churches have opened another avenue through a joint effort to welcome the newcomers into the non-Indian community in which they have elected to live.

The Indian's potential for adjustment to life away from the reservation rests upon experiences he has had. Indian families share with others the universal interests of children and neighborhood. Indian reservations vary in their isolation, but none is so isolated as to be without school or church. Many of those moving into the cities have for years taken part in school, neighborhood, and tribal activities. Work patterns for Indians on the reservation may be different, but patterns of recreation may be much the same for some, and community agencies can catalyze their formation: family visiting, men's groups, women's groups, returned students' clubs, socials, picnics, baseball and basketball games, holiday celebrations. Indians in cities can easily get together with Indians of other tribes, with whom they have much in common from their reservation background and Relocation experience. They can also, since language is not now the handicap it was a generation ago, meet their new, non-Indian neighbors. There are those coming into the cities with special aptitudes in sewing, in crafts, in art, in dance, in shopwork, and in design; all of these are ways to the renewal of human life in the impersonal metropolis. Indian people, called upon often to help one another, have shown that they are ready to give help personally, through Indian centers, church service guilds and social agencies when the chance has been opened to them. Through such groups, Indian people find new ways of carrying out old traditions of hospitality and obligation.

That is the relocated Indian's potential for good citizenship and happiness.

In Relocation cities, at the start, Indian centers developed as the avenue through which it was hoped the newcomers would enter the community. This happened in Chicago and Los Angeles, and in both cities relations were extremely cordial at first between the Indian centers and the Relocation Offices. In one, the Bureau used officially to refer cases to the center for re-referral to appropriate community agencies. In the other, the head of the Relocation Office was one of the founders of the Indian center. In both cities, the original thought was that the Bureau would send Indian newcomers

to the centers for cultural at-homeness, and for settlement house services. Presently, as the Relocation Program swelled, national Indian interest organizations began to speak out about the program's motives and operations, and the local Indian centers joined the chorus. The top ranks of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the national Indian interest organizations were used to this rough-and-tumble over Federal policy, and, as always, kept avenues of communication open. The local Relocation Offices and the city Indian centers, however, found that they were no longer on speaking terms.

Today local personalities and egos are so deeply involved in these feuds that one almost despairs of their ever being able to work together for the benefit of relocated Indians. Almost, but not quite. In both cities there are sincere people in the enemy camps, although hardly anyone in either camp will admit that; and, involved in the affairs of both Indian centers, is the American Friends Service Committee, which can surely be depended upon sooner or later to find the elusive passage-way to peaceful cooperation.

In Los Angeles the Relocation office is headed by a woman who runs her program energetically and humanely and could let bygones be bygones. The Indian Center is headed by a self-spending Indian woman, who, if she did not have the battle with the Bureau on her hands, could expand her Center's already excellent program of social service, Alcoholics Anonymous, athletics, art classes, and Navajo and Papago Clubs. The American Friends Service Committee there has in its leadership a man who sees the drollery and tragedy in the Bureau-Indian Center impasse and could, if invited, point the way out of it. An example could be set in Los Angeles for other Relocation cities where the identical impasse exists, and for newer cities where the impasse will rapidly develop unless rules for the cooperation of a Relocation Office and an Indian center can be defined and demonstrated in action. The Bureau of Indian Affairs could make the task easier if it would relieve its city Relocation Officers of the responsibility for defending national Indian policy and the very existence of a Relocation Program, and would encourage Relocation Officers, instead, to speak publicly about how community agencies can welcome and help the newcomers. Local Indian centers could help the American Friends Service Committee if they would put the same restraint upon themselves.

Indian centers, even when ideally filling their roles as cultural focal points in the heterogeneous Relocation cities, will not be geographically accessible to all or most of the newcomers. The location of employment and the availability of housing are scattering relocated families all through the cities and their environs. The absence of effective neighborhood Indian leadership was lamented by the representatives of the fine Puerto Rican Labor Office in Chicago. They were not intimidated by the Indians' having been interpreted to the community as culturally unassimilable, and they puzzled over how relocated Indians might be stimulated to help themselves in the city as groups of new arrivals in American cities have always done. They realized that Indians on many reservations have not been voting long enough to understand the power of the vote, and that Indian culture patterns might inhibit the development in the traditional reservation communities of aggressive younger individuals who could win the people's support. They wondered, however, whether such leadership might not develop among relocated Indians in a city, either by tribe or by neighborhood.

There is an exciting quality in that thought. Everyone has asked the Bureau, the Indian centers, the churches and the social agencies what they intend to do to open up the community to the Indians. No one has proposed to the Indians that they organize themselves, as national groups and minority

racers have always done, to make their own way into the community. On the national level the tribes make themselves increasingly felt through the political pressure they are able to exert. Indians are culturally unique, but the pressure just mentioned is in the pattern of the majority American culture. What can be done nationally can be done locally in Relocation cities. If an Arizona tribe can influence an Arizona Congressman, an Indian neighborhood leader can influence the alderman of his city ward. He can win an Indian following by helping his neighbors avail themselves of the neighborhood's social resources, and he can use the strength of the following to win better conditions for the neighborhood in which his following lives. This is not to say that every American minority should have its Tammany Hall, although, in view of the green line the city of New York has to paint the length of Fifth Avenue on St. Patrick's Day, perhaps it should.

In two of the Relocation cities, churches and Relocation Offices today generally find themselves on strained terms, productive of no good for the Indian people who need the resources of both and who could themselves reach out to other Indian newcomers. The Relocation Offices, from the start as far as could be determined, discounted the service which churches and women's church groups could render and the trouble they could make if they were not invited to render it. Nationally, the Bureau would have liked to have the churches on its side, and was willing to enlist their moral support of the Program in motive and operation. When the churches in the Relocation cities, like the Indian centers but not as acrimoniously, began to question the reasons underlying the Program and the conditions to which Indians were being relocated in the early days, the Relocation Offices pulled back as if betrayed and thereafter had as little to do with churches as possible. Consciously or unconsciously, they regarded them as benevolent troublemakers, to be placated and evaded.

The churches, not nationally but in the Relocation cities, were not always undeserving of that characterization. They fell too easily into the restful habit of carping at the Program instead of assisting the Indian families which came into the city under it. Coldly received by the Bureau, they tended to flutter around the rim of the Indian Bureau-Indian center feuds, deploring local Indian conditions but doing little to change them. As in the case of Bureau relations with the Indian centers, petty grievances piled up higher than grave ones on both sides. Relocation offices, apparently on instruction from above, refused to give to churches the names and addresses of newly relocated Indians of their respective creeds; they said they would tell the Indians where the churches were and that the Indians could attend them if they chose. The church ladies, meanwhile, without leadership, could only do what they knew how to do—give old clothes and pity to the Indians they managed to find.

This was the situation until a short time ago, and still is the situation in the actual Relocation communities. It may be expected to change in view of reports which have been made by Dr. E. Russell Carter to the Indian Committee of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Carter's visits to Relocation Offices have already resulted in certain improvements in operation just as this Association's visits have. At Dr. Carter's suggestion, Relocation Offices are now giving every newly arrived Indian a form which he may sign, indicating that he would like to have his name and address released to a representative of his church in that city. The recommendations which are made to the churches follow closely the pattern set in Minneapolis, Minnesota, one of the cities popular with Indians although they are not officially relocated there. There, a United Church Committee on Indian work has been functioning for the last three years. Under the leadership of Rev. David W. Clark,

pastor-coordinator, a broad program of interdenominational service has been developed with Indian and non-Indian volunteers working together to welcome Indian families, and to incorporate them in neighborhood, group and church life. The cooperating churches have become important media through which the city is learning about its new citizens, which fact alone underlines the importance of the interdenominational emphasis. This Committee estimates that three years is the minimum time involved for an incoming family really to put down its roots in the community. Such a statement points clearly to the need for community programs which extend and enrich the type of service which the Relocation Program can itself offer and the time limits which must necessarily be placed upon it.

The Southern California Council of Churches has now taken a step in this good direction, and has a similar plan which should soon be in operation. There are, however, churches which up to now have shown little or no awareness of the great number of Indian families moving into their communities.

Social agencies in the Relocation cities are accustomed to assuming that people want to be welcomed and helped, and to taking it for granted that they can be helped. The Bureau-Indian center controversy in every Relocation city over whether Indians should be in the city at all has completely obscured for most of these agencies the ways in which the newcomers might be assisted to happiness as long as, for good or ill, they are there. Their directors and caseworkers are amused but sorry for the relocated families when Indians are interpreted to them by both factions as a culturally incomprehensible group, with no problems in common with the rest of the human race, a group which only the Indian Bureau has the responsibility to help and which only a few, rare non-Indians can understand. Social agency people do not claim to know whether Indians are culturally distinct; they grant their right to be. They do claim to know that Indians share in common with others on the earth such basic things as child-bearing, alcoholism, hunger, fear and loneliness for their own people. They say that they have helped in relation to these things the comparatively few Indians who have found their way to them, and that many Indian needs are going unmet because the community is not itself moving forward to meet the diffident newcomers. They believe that the existence of the Relocation Program is an issue to be fought out nationally, if it must be fought out; that it is the community's responsibility to assume that the Indians have a right to be there and to organize itself on that basis to help them prosper. They feel that a national organization, uninvolved in local affairs, should interpret to the community and its agencies those Indian cultural differences deep enough to need interpretation; that such a national organization might form local groups which would keep aloof from controversies over Federal Indian policy and arbitrate differences among those concerned with the Relocation Program on the local level; that the Relocation Office should take the initiative in setting up an advisory board of local social agencies and organizations whose function it would be to hasten the community's assumption of its innate responsibility to the Indian newcomers.

So strengthened, local organizations could move much more effectively to develop a climate of acceptance for Indian people in the cities, to combat discrimination where it arises and to guard against those special conditions which, out of too much sentiment or the absence of any, lead finally to real problems of segregation. They could speak out more courageously for better housing, which was a need before the Indian Relocation Program was conceived, but is no less a need today. Community groups can help by being alert to the personal and family

emergencies that arise which no Program can foresee or forestall. Churches and Indian centers can often help while social workers are reviewing cases. Yet the private organizations should not be so jealous or so zealous that they fail to relate those in need to the responsible social agencies; for upon the total community ultimately must fall the burden of concern and care of Indian citizens who, like others, fail to adjust in the city yet remain there. It is the total community, likewise, which is benefitting as Indian families come into its midst.

### Returns to Reservations

Relocated Indians arrive at their destinations on one-way tickets, having signed a statement that they plan to make a permanent home away from the reservation. As pointed out earlier, many relocating Indians are told, the signed statement notwithstanding, that they are not to regard themselves as failures if they do not succeed in the city. The Bureau says, quite freely, that of the many Indians who return to reservations, some will go back to the cities on their own and some will find better local employment near home because of their city experience. The tribal councils which endorse the program unreservedly—the Navajos and San Carlos Apaches, for example—state cheerfully that this is the case. They say that they expect most of their relocated people to return in time to share in the big economic development which is being planned for their area. Certainly, no serious effort is exerted on the reservations to convince relocating Indians they may never return.

In the cities, it is true, Relocation Officers seek to persuade discouraged people to try a little harder, a little longer. This is done partly because a return is a black mark against the city office, and partly because the city Relocation Officer honestly believes that disheartened people should be encouraged. At most, the city officer can try to coax people to stay. He cannot make them stay, and they cannot be barred from the reservations when they return to them. The one-way ticket they received at the outset will not take them back, but if they save the money for carfare they are free to go. There is a circumstance under which they can go even if they cannot save the fare, although many Indians do not realize this. If they are destitute and do not qualify for welfare assistance under local residence laws, the state from which they came will pay their way back.

Those are the bare facts about return. People totally opposed to the Program interpret them to prove that Indians are cozened into leaving the reservations along a one-way street.

The reasons given for returns are so varied they do not tell a story. Non-Indians in the cities are those most apt to say that Indians return because of poor housing and low-wage employment. Successful old-time Indian residents of the cities will say that they return because they were not adequately educated or properly oriented at the start. The Indians themselves, those who have actually returned, are unhappy to have so much curious attention focussed upon them, and are reticent. Their friends say they came home because they were not trained to earn a living wage; because, if the return took place before July of this year, when Blue Cross health insurance was purchased for all relocating Indians, sudden medical expense made income inadequate; because a relative died on the reservation; because there was a ceremonial to attend; because they did not want to stay in a city apartment where a family member had died; because they had a bad dream; because, if it was a single man, he had gone for the joy ride in the first place; but, mainly, because they missed the open country and their own people. A white storekeeper on the edge of the Oglala Sioux reservation said that she knew many Indian people who had relocated and returned, telling her that jobs were good in the city but that there was no place like home.

She agreed with them personally. She said she had gone to St. Louis once, had stood it for three weeks, and then had hurried back to South Dakota.

The statistics on returns do not seem as significant as whether Indians are free to return and why they do, but they are apparently of supreme importance to the Bureau and those who oppose all aspects of the Program. The Bureau cites returns at 24% as of November, 1955; others cite them at 60%, and as high as 90% in some areas. The Bureau bases its figures on returns reported monthly by the city Relocation Offices and those which escape their knowledge but are reported by the reservation offices. The higher figure is based on sources which were kept confidential. Only a simultaneous census of all enrolled Indians everywhere in the United States could determine the truth.

The figures on returns are important to the Bureau of Indian Affairs if only because the Bureau must go to Congress every year for an appropriation for the Program, and Congress has appropriated money in the past on the theory that Indians who relocate are leaving the reservation permanently.

The Bureau stoutly defends its low figures on returns; but, ironically, the high figures cited by opponents are more reassuring about the voluntary nature of the Program, for they indicate that Indians who want to go home to the reservations are free to do so.

To some, far more important than these figures which have received so much angry attention, is the unobtainable information about what has happened to those Indians who do not return from the cities but go out of contact with Relocation offices and Indian centers there. As pointed out earlier, these people are lost, whether in happiness or wretchedness no one knows. A proposal for the study of this group is contained under *Recommendations*.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The American people are always on the alert for the unwarranted exercise of power by Government. They do not believe that those they permit to legislate for them and administer their affairs have the wisdom or right to engineer drastic social change. They abominate forced migrations, from the diaspora to the World War II evacuation of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast of this country. Having allowed this last to happen, the people undid it as far as possible by letting all of the Japanese Americans go home again. Pressure from above is never tolerated when recognized.

There is another kind of pressure generated by the interaction of man upon man, culture upon culture in human society, which our people do not oppose, but foster. This is the pressure which produces voluntary social change and newness. It is the pressure generated by India and the United States together when they cooperate in a technical assistance program, by a section of the American people and their Government when they cooperate to bring electrification to an unlit rural area.

The Relocation Program is under public suspicion of exerting the first, malign instead of the second, benevolent kind of pressure upon the American Indians to disperse their tribal communities and relinquish their Indian identity. Criticism of the actual operation of the Relocation Program has nearly always been used not to develop recommendations for improving it but for bolstering attacks upon general Federal Indian policy. To be objective, it is necessary to say these two things. The Relocation Program, in and of itself, exerts pressure of the benevolent type. The Relocation Program is being carried out in an Indian situation in which huge pressures of the malign type are being exerted upon the Indian people.

The pressure exerted by the Relocation Program is the



pressure of the goodness of the program itself. The program compels the interest of the reservation Indians not at gunpoint, but because it is warm-heartedly staffed and affords unprecedentedly generous financial help to people who want to try their luck in the world.

There are scattered reports of the bringing of force to bear upon Indians reluctant to relocate: of public welfare assistance denied by the Indians' home county; of the O.G.P.U.-like visit of two Relocation officers to a man's reservation home, each spelling the other for 48 hours until they brain-washed him into relocation; of unidentifiable reprisals against the reservation relatives of relocated Indians who criticize the program. In counter-balance, there are the long waiting lists on the reservations of families who have applied for Relocation and are counting days until the city Relocation offices schedule their arrivals. And there are the official and unofficial reports on the number of returns to reservations. Officially, about 24% have returned; unofficially, 60% or higher. 24% to 60%, then, of the Indians who relocated, have not been deterred by fear from going home again.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs should make certain administrative changes which would bring the regulations governing the Relocation Program further into line with the spirit in which it is operated. These changes have to do with redefinition of the purpose of the Program, its extension to include resettlement in states where reservations are situated, and the provision, under certain circumstances, of return fare for relocated families. They are presented in detail in the following section on *Recommendations*.

The Relocation Program, although it does not itself exert evil pressure upon Indians, is carried out in a total Indian situation in which enormous force is being brought to bear upon the Indian people. The force is not new, and it has been continuous since the day the first Indian tribe moved backward in the face of the advancing Europeans. It is the force which herded the tribes into Indian Country and reservations for as long as the grass should grow, and then whittled these down to their present pitiable size. The process, except for a respite in the era of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, when the sale of Indian land was forbidden, has gone inexorably on, and by the figurative day after tomorrow it may have spent itself. If that proves to be so, it will be because tomorrow the Indian communities give up the ghost.

They need not give up the ghost. They can survive and prosper within and grace our country. This, however, they will not be able to do unless Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the whole American people generously decide to rewrite the imminent sad ending to the history of the American Indians.

Congress should repeal House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress, which declares it to be its intention to terminate the Indian tribes as rapidly as possible. It should make law in its stead language identical to that of Senate Concurrent Resolution 85 of the 84th Congress, not enacted, which declares that it is the intention of Congress to elevate American Indian communities to the level of health and well-being prevailing elsewhere in the United States, that it proposes to do this through an American Indian Point IV Program, and that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is redefined as an agency whose function it is to carry out this program.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs should urge the enactment of the American Indian Point IV Program by the Congress. The Bureau should, no longer taking shelter under the discredited mandate contained in House Concurrent Resolution 108, reverse its land policies as follows: it should say that it favors the continued trust protection of Indian land; it should declare a moratorium on Indian land sales and help the tribes

purchase allotments which individual Indians want to sell; it should explicitly report, without resenting being asked to demonstrate its good faith to the Indian people, upon the progress of the announced plans for the economic development of Indian reservation communities.

The American people themselves should for the first time in history face the burdensome fact that the Indian Bureau problem is not synonymous with the Indian problem, and that every unit of our country from village through county to Federal Government shares a common, historical obligation to the Indian people. No amount of squeezing can make the Indian problem fit into the narrow compass of the Bureau, whose responsibility is the administration of Indian affairs on Indian reservations—and which will be doing more than anyone dares hope if it eliminates Indian illiteracy and brings industrial development to Indian areas under an American Indian Point IV Program. The American people in the large cities, seeing Indians living as strangers among them, must stop evading their share of the national responsibility by saying that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should take the Indians back to areas adjacent to the reservations where they will be happy; they must help them be happy where they are. The American people in the areas adjacent to Indian reservations, seeing Indians living in squalor among them, must stop insisting that the Bureau of Indian Affairs extend reservation service and status to Indians who have left their ethnic community for the mixed community just over the reservation border. They must accept the Indian's right to be there, or anywhere he wishes, and help him solve his problems in their own community's framework.

If Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the American people do these things—and all, not one must do them—the Relocation Program will be able to fulfill its promise and be what it should be: a minute part of a broad effort to open up America to the American Indians. As long as the Program remains the only program being carried out visibly and vigorously for the Indians, as long as the Indians have no economic choice between Relocation and something else, that long will the Program have to carry the blame for all of the Bureau's and the country's omissions.

Let everyone consider the Navajos.

The Navajos have survived hard times. Their hardships were so dramatically terrible that Congress in 1950 enacted the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Program—a kind of American Indian Point IV Program in miniature. Progress under it has been slow, but under it the tribe reached the point at which it was able to invest \$300,000 of its own money in a drive to induce industry to come to Navajo country. The fact that Navajo land remains undisturbed in tribal ownership and under the trust protection of the United States has everything to do with their belief in themselves. Navajos know that when industry decides to go to their community, the community will still be there for industry to go to.

The Navajos, almost alone among the tribes, have an economic alternative to Relocation. That is why, when asked their views of the Relocation Program, they were able to say with the impatience of busy people, interrupted in important doings:

House Concurrent Resolution 108 does not affect the Navajo people. There seems no reason to worry about termination yet. Our Council and Officers have not been much concerned about the controversy over Relocation. It seems to us a tempest in a teapot.

We believe (a program for the economic development of Indian communities) is a more effective measure than relocation to urban areas for our people, since many of them are not adequately equipped in terms of education or experience for urban life. The Navajo

Tribal Council is sponsoring its own economic development program because we believe it so important to begin now.

## 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The positive findings of the survey team are embraced in the following recommendations, which call for action by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian tribes, the Association on American Indian Affairs, and pertinent local organizations throughout the American community:

### To the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

1. The Relocation Program should be renamed Relocation Service.

2. The Program should be redefined in *Indian Affairs Manual* and *Relocation Handbook* as a service to provide adult education and economic opportunity to American Indians by enabling them to go to cities where employment and the chance to acquire industrial skill are available.

3. Financial assistance to Indians under the program should be extended to provide that return fare to the reservation will be paid for any relocated person and his family who after two but not after four years applies for it and is found by a caseworker of the Travelers Aid Society to be unadjusted to urban life.

4. The word *permanent* should be deleted from all sentences in *Manual* and *Handbook* which describe the intention of a relocation.

5. The Program should be extended to provide Relocation to cities in states where reservations are located.

—The national agreement with the United States Employment Service should be extended to provide that the financial assistance available under the Relocation Program will be provided to Indians placed in steady employment in Indian states by the State Employment Services.

—The reservation Relocation Office should, in connection with relocation to a city in an Indian state, arrange for a social agency in the city to provide the services which are normally provided by a city Relocation Office.

—Relocation to cities in Indian states should be included in the monthly total which measures a reservation Relocation Officer's performance, thereby removing all necessity for reservation Relocation Officers to compete as now with officers of the State Employment Services.

—The Bureau of Indian Affairs should use its influence to help State Employment Services in Indian states obtain increased funds for expanded special services to American Indians.

6. The Program should be extended gradually to cover relocations to cities smaller than those to which Indians are now being relocated in large numbers.

—City Relocation Officers should accelerate their development of employment and housing opportunities in small industrial communities outlying the cities in which the offices are situated.

—Financial assistance under the Program should be publicized as being available to certain reservation Indians desiring to go to specific employment anywhere in the United States, provided a caseworker of the Travelers Aid Society in the destination city confirms the availability and steadiness of such employment, and provided a local social agency agrees to administer the services customarily administered by the city Relocation Office.

—Relocations such as the above should be included in the monthly total which measures a reservation Relocation

Officer's performance, thereby removing all necessity for him to discourage this type of relocation.

7. Elected tribal officials should be continuously invited to participate in the operation of the Program, and ways should seriously be sought to use their cooperation if it is offered.

—Tribal representatives should be sent annually for the next four years to one of the Relocation cities, at Relocation Program expense, in order that they may visit fellow tribe members in their homes and at work and report their impressions to the Bureau, the tribes, and Indian interest organizations.

—The file of every relocated person should, unless the tribe fails to act after being invited to do so, contain a report by the tribal relocation committee or a representative of the tribal council, indicating that there has been an interview with the person and that he has decided to relocate for specified reasons. The decision to relocate must remain the individual's and should not be subject to tribal veto; but such a report as the above-mentioned would protect the individual from pressure and the Relocation Office from accusations of exerting pressure.

—Tribal governments should be informed more fully than at present about the detailed operation of the Program, and, as they almost universally desire, receive clarification on such questions as whether relocated Indians who return to reservations are eligible for United States Public Health Service medical care, Bureau-financed education for their children, and similar services available to reservation Indians.

8. The Bureau, in order to allay distrust, should instruct all Bureau and county welfare assistance offices that Relocation is not automatically available to or imposable upon any Indian referred by them; should take immediate steps to ensure that no reservation Indian is forced to relocate because he cannot obtain welfare assistance locally; and should publicize measures taken under this recommendation.

9. Health examinations of reservation Indians planning relocation should be more consistently thorough than in the past; examining physicians should be required to recommend for or against a relocation on the basis of a person's or family's health record; and reservation Relocation Officers should be instructed to disapprove relocation automatically in any case in which the examining physician has made a negative recommendation.

In the Relocation cities, every Relocated Indian should receive a sheet containing clear information about local health facilities and how to use them under normal circumstances and in emergencies.

10. Emergency financial assistance, now available to relocated Indians until such time as the relocated persons are eligible for unemployment compensation, should be made available until such time as they are eligible for public assistance under local residence laws.

11. Staff-education of city Relocation Officers should include instruction, not now suggested in *Manual* or contained in *Handbook*, in the historical and legal foundation of Indian rights; the authenticity of the relocated Indians' home communities; and the fact that Relocation, while it is an important service, is not to be imagined to be a solution to the Indian problem.

12. The preparation for urban life of Indians about to leave the reservations has been, as the Bureau is prompt to declare, inadequate, and could be improved in the following ways, many of them suggested by city social agencies:

-Reservation Relocation Officers, particularly those in charge of family counseling, should ideally be trained Indian social workers. Since Indians otherwise qualified are not likely to have this training, provision should be made for their receiving a brief course of intensive instruction under the auspices of the councils of social agencies or accredited schools of social work in the large Relocation cities.

-Plans for the improved orientation of relocating Indians, now being developed enthusiastically by Indian Bureau personnel, should not be formalized until they have been submitted to a conference of representatives of councils of social agencies in the Relocation cities. These councils are the massed social resources of the communities in which the relocated Indians propose to make their homes; they have had the Indians interpreted to them by almost everyone with a point of view; they feel that they should be called upon to interpret the communities to the Indian newcomers through participation in the planning of the new orientation courses.

13. Promotion material used to interest Indians in Relocation has been and will continue to be questioned for honesty by those who believe that the purpose of the material should be to limit Indian hope rather than fire Indian aspiration. Promotion material should be submitted to the councils of social agencies in the Relocation cities and discarded if they characterize it as misleading. Their tacit approval of material will protect the Indians and the Program.

14. Staff enlargements under the current appropriation should result, in the cities, in faster service for Reservation Indians who are waiting for their departures to be scheduled and in more intensive counseling and follow-up service after their arrival; on the reservations, in more depth and length of counseling without an increase in the number of prescribed relocations.

15. Indians preparing to relocate and after relocation should be given copies of all documents to which their signatures are affixed.

16. Those in charge of city Relocation Offices should take greater initiative in developing the community resources upon which relocated Indians will have to depend when Relocation Program services are discontinued.

-Broken relations with local Indian centers should be resumed.

-Local councils of welfare agencies should be fully involved in the planning of relocations and the responsibility for their success. Recommendations 12 and 13 above are relevant here. City social agency officials have requested that, in addition, the following sound proposals be made available to the Bureau:

On the reservation, all relocation planning should be done in cooperation with the Agency social worker, and every relocating person's file should contain the Agency social worker's recommendations relative to special services which may be required in the Relocation city.

The city Relocation Office, having approved and scheduled a relocation, should refer the relocation plan, including the Agency social worker's recommendations, to the local council of welfare agencies, in order that a program of social assistance and adjustment may be prepared for the Indian's coming by the community itself.

A system of referral from urban social agencies back to reservation welfare offices should be devised by the Welfare Division of the Bureau and made known nationally. City caseworkers are frequently at a loss when one of

their Indian clients returns to his reservation; they do not know whether professional social services are available there, or to whom to refer the individual in order that constructive casework begun in the city may be continued in the Indian community. The establishment of a direct relationship between reservation welfare offices and city social agencies would benefit equally Indians who went to the city under the Relocation Program, and Indians who went on their own initiative without Bureau assistance.

-Local councils of social agencies should be asked to establish Indian committees to act as liaison between the Relocation Program and the community; to provide a resource for the Indians and the Relocation Office; and to serve as a panel of cool-headed arbitrators when inevitable disputes arise between the Relocation Offices and local Indian interest organizations. Where such advisory committees already exist, they exist on paper; they should be vitalized.

-Local churches and church groups should not be held at bay as in the past but should be asked to follow the example of the Minnesota and Southern California Councils of Churches in organizing Indian Relocation Committees and underwriting the work of pastor-coordinators of Indian services. This recommendation receives fuller discussion below under *To the Churches*.

-City Relocation Officers should be relieved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of all responsibility for defending Federal Indian policy and left free to carry out the Relocation Program as an unembattled social service in a less warlike atmosphere. They should, themselves, avoid speaking at public meetings at which there will be debate about whether there should or should not be a Relocation Program; their duty is to execute it, and this they cannot do if they must discuss motive instead of method.

17. The development of an economic alternative to Relocation for reservation Indians should be the governing goal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and it should be accomplished by the following steps, among others:

-The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior should request outright repeal of House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress on the ground that the Bureau's plans for the economic development of Indian communities cannot be carried out under an outmoded Congressional mandate calling for the rapid termination of Federal assistance and supervision.

-The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior should recommend that the Congress enact language identical to that of Senate Concurrent Resolution 85 of the 84th Congress, on the ground that the Bureau's plans for the economic development of Indian communities can best be carried out under a Congressional mandate declaring (1) that it is the responsibility of the United States to help Indian communities raise themselves to the level of health and well-being prevailing among other communities of the country; (2) that the method to accomplish this aim is an American Indian Point IV Program; and (3) that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is by definition an agency whose function it is to carry out an American Indian Point IV Program.

-The Bureau of Indian Affairs should state publicly that its past land policies are not consonant with its present plans for the economic development of Indian communities, and that it no longer favors the removal of Indian land from trust status as rapidly as possible.

-The Bureau of Indian Affairs should declare a moratorium on sales of Indian land to non-Indians and should actively

assist tribes to purchase individual allotments which Indian owners desire to sell.

- The Bureau should sponsor and promote land adjustment programs, including the purchase of additional lands when needed for Indian use.
- The Bureau, in evolving plans for the economic development of Indian areas, should request the cooperation in specific ways of Indian and Indian interest organizations, which have asked for such plans and have it in their power to further them.

18. The population figures used by the Bureau to measure the need for and numerical success of the Relocation Program should be used to measure the need for and success of economic development of Indian areas; and Relocation quotas and/or maxima should be adjusted annually and publicly in relation to the increased number of people reservations have been made able to support.

#### **To the United States Public Health Service:**

- Adequate health education on reservations can play a decisive part in the success of a relocation to a large city, and U.S.P.H.S. officials should take the initiative in offering their cooperation to Relocation Officers now devising orientation courses for Indians planning relocation.

#### **To the Indian Tribes:**

- Every tribe, whether it favors or opposes the Relocation Program, should determine whether its constitution or regulations on membership and tribal rights should be altered to make provision for those who relocate; and every tribe should clearly inform any of its members who plan relocation of the future status of their and their children's tribal membership and rights.

#### **To Indian Centers:**

1. Indian centers should determine the role they wish to play in Relocation cities. If they wish to concern themselves primarily with questions of Federal Indian policy, they should, like the national Indian interest organizations, forego social service programs for Indians, and help develop other Indian centers to fill that need. If they wish fundamentally to meet the social needs of the relocated Indians, they should refrain from public controversy over Federal Indian policy in order not to damage their opportunity to serve.

2. They should resume relations with the local Relocation Offices.

3. They should join the local Relocation Offices in a request that the council of social agencies set up an Indian Committee; and they should ask this committee to review their program and suggest new ways in which it can be developed to help relocated Indians find their way to the community's resources.

4. Centers, so situated in large cities that they are accessible to only a fraction of the relocated Indians, should consider establishing neighborhood units under Indian leadership. These could meet separately with regularity and together on occasion, making use when possible of facilities of already existing community and church agencies. The local units could produce the kind of neighborhood leadership which other minorities quickly develop in a city, but which relocated Indians do not. The units would be the natural link between Indians in a neighborhood and the school, P.T.A., church, settlement house, and political clubs. Such neighborhood units would be favored by the local council of social agencies and their programs could be developed under its supervision.

#### **To the Churches:**

1. Churches and church groups in all relocation cities should plan how to take advantage of the new opportunity to help relocated American Indians, now that Relocation Offices are permitted to release the names of newcomers to clergymen of their denomination.

2. Leaders should communicate with the Rev. E. Russell Carter, 2309 Vermont Street, Lawrence, Kansas. Dr. Carter is the Field Representative of the Indian Committee of the National Council of Churches and acts as consultant in a number of communities concerned with the services churches can render to Indians.

3. Leaders should communicate with the Rev. John Wilson, Chairman of the United Church Committee on Indian Work, 122 W. Franklin, Minneapolis, Minnesota. A detailed study of this program in its first three years, and describing the steps taken by the community preliminary to setting up the work, will soon be completed and available to other interested communities. Annual reports of the director are available on request.

4. Leaders should communicate with Ataloea, 1924 N. Catalina Avenue, Los Angeles 27, California, who is active in the Indian Relocation Committee of the Southern California Council of Churches. This group, still organizing its program, has issued a brochure and will soon employ a pastor-coordinator for urban Indian work.

5. Leaders of church groups should consider whether they have a corps of volunteers sufficiently disciplined to accept some responsibility for finding housing for newly arrived Indians, and for opening up new neighborhoods to them; if they have such a group, they should confer with the local Relocation Office about how it can coordinate its need with their ability to act.

#### **To Women's Groups:**

Women's community groups may wish to consider the following proposal:

Women volunteers are those best qualified to bring the local community to relocated Indians who are too diffident to go to the community for help. Experience has shown that volunteers work most effectively under the direction of a professional social worker, who can train them, establish a discipline, and serve as a resource when they encounter human problems which they are not trained to solve, as, for example, psychiatric disturbance. The Travelers Aid Society carries out its program through volunteers working under the supervision of a professional caseworker. Miss Dorothy B. dela Pole, Director of the Los Angeles branch of the Travelers Aid Society has said that she would look favorably upon the setting up in her organization of a unit of women volunteers, under the supervision of a caseworker whose salary would be paid by an outside source. Women's community groups should consider becoming that source of volunteers and funds in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

#### **To the Association on American Indian Affairs:**

1. Committees of the Association, consisting of leading local citizens up to now uncommitted in the controversy over the Relocation Program, should be established in the Relocation cities in order (1) to watch and report on the operation of the program and the community's response to the needs of Indian newcomers; (2) to serve as link between the national organization and the local council of welfare agencies and other groups concerned with Indian welfare; (3) to serve as a community resource to the above agencies when they need

assistance in solving an Indian problem. These committees should not be branches of the Association, and should be prohibited by their charters from taking stands on Federal Indian policy, even when the national organization is leading such a controversy.

2. The Indian Relations Committee of the Association should sponsor and seek financial support for the following:

—A report, by December of 1957, upon the operation of the Relocation Program in relation to the present recommendations.

—A study in reservation areas of the welfare operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and county and state agencies, with a view to determining their adequacy and the division of responsibility; and whether the withholding of welfare assistance is ever demonstrably used to spur Indians into involuntary relocation.

—A case-history study, to be carried out by councils of social agencies in Relocation cities, to ascertain whether most relocated Indians, who do not return to reservations and after Relocation Office services end, succeed or fail in the community, or leave the community for an unknown destination. Until such a study is made conjecture will always play too large a part in assessments of the Program. The carrying out of the study by local social agencies will in itself be part of the process of bringing the community to the Indians.

—A series of Conferences on Responsibility in the American Indian Problem. These conferences should be held in all areas of the United States where Indians live in large numbers—in Relocation cities and in areas adjacent to reservations. They should be attended by Indian leaders, representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, representatives of national and local Indian interest organizations, representatives of local governments and of local organizations ranging from social agencies to Chambers of Commerce. Their purpose should be to arrive at a clearer understanding and definition of the three areas of responsibility for Indian welfare and progress: Indian responsibility, Indian Bureau responsibility, and community responsibility. The need for such a series of conferences became clear in the course of the present survey; the tendency is general in the United States to regard the Indian problem as exclusively an Indian Bureau problem and to look to the Indian Bureau for the solution of Indian questions which are not soluble within

its framework and are properly the burden of the whole American community.

3. The Public Education Committee of the Association should prepare a booklet or assemble a packet of literature to interpret Indians to the community in which they relocate. Indians in Relocation cities have been stereotyped as unfathomable, unassistable aborigines, and a brief presentation of facts about Indian origin, culture, tribal names and locations, legal status, and reservation communities is very much needed and sought after.

4. The Association should redouble its efforts to educate the country and its legislators to the immediate need for the American Indian Point IV Program embodied in Senate Concurrent Resolution 85, 84th Congress.

5. In view of the tragic pace at which Indian conditions are deteriorating in Alaska, Oklahoma and the Sioux country, and in view of the fact that Indian communities in these areas may soon pass beyond the point at which they can be aided by economic development plans which the Indian Bureau is discussing as an alternative to Relocation, the Board of Directors of the Association should adopt an Alaska policy, an Oklahoma policy and a Sioux policy. These policies should recommend immediate measures for the relief of Indian communities in those areas, as well as long-range economic plans, and should be presented to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the request that he discuss them with Association representatives.

#### **To the American Community:**

—Members of Indian interest organizations throughout the country and citizens generally should find ways in which to support actively the current effort of the National Travelers Aid Society to eliminate local laws which set up residence requirements for public welfare assistance. In relation to American Indians specifically, these laws work great hardship upon relocated newcomers who may find themselves in sudden need of help after Indian Bureau assistance has ended but before they are legally eligible for welfare aid from the community.\*

\* *RESIDENCE LAWS: Road Block to Human Welfare*, a pamphlet on this subject is obtainable from local branches of the Travelers Aid Society. The Association on American Indian Affairs has officially endorsed the effort of the Society. Other organizations are urged to do so and to notify that agency of action taken.