

# *American Ethnicity*

## *The Dynamics and Consequences of Discrimination*

SIXTH EDITION

*Adalberto Aguirre, Jr. and Jonathan H. Turner*  
University of California, Riverside



**Higher Education**

Boston Burr Ridge, IL Dubuque, IA New York San Francisco St. Louis  
Bangkok Bogotá Caracas Kuala Lumpur Lisbon London Madrid Mexico City  
Milan Montreal New Delhi Santiago Seoul Singapore Sydney Taipei Toronto

Published by McGraw-Hill, an imprint of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Copyright © 2009, 2007, 2004, 2001, 1998, 1995. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOC/DOC 0 9 8

ISBN: 978-0-07-340421-9

MHID: 0-07-340421-7

Editor in Chief: *Emily Barrosse*

Publisher: *Frank Mortimer*

Sponsoring Editor: *Gina Boedeker*

Managing Editor: *Nicole Bridge*

Executive Marketing Manager: *Leslie Oberhuber*

Developmental Editor: *Larry Goldberg*

Senior Production Editor: *Karol Jurado*

Production Service: *Aaron Downey, Matrix Productions Inc.*

Manuscript Editor: *Janet Tilden*

Design Manager: *Margarite Reynolds*

Cover Designer: *Carole Lawson*

Cover Image: *Royalty-Free/Corbis*

Production Supervisor: *Louis Swaim*

Composition: *10/12 Palatino by ICC Macmillan Inc.*

Printing: *45# New Era Matte Plus, R.R. Donnelley & Sons*

Credits: The credits section for this book begins on page 371 and is considered an extension of the copyright page.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Aguirre, Adalberto.

American ethnicity : the dynamics and consequences of discrimination / Adalberto Aguirre, Jr., Jonathan Turner. — 6th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-07-340421-9 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-07-340421-7 (alk. paper)

1. United States—Race relations. 2. United States—Ethnic relations. 3. Discrimination—United States. 4. Ethnicity—United States. I. Turner, Jonathan H. II. Title.

E184.A1A38 2009

305.800973—dc22

2008025979

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a Web site does not indicate an endorsement by the authors or McGraw-Hill, and McGraw-Hill does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

[www.mhhe.com](http://www.mhhe.com)

## About the Authors

ADALBERTO AGUIRRE, JR., is Professor of Sociology, University of California at Riverside. He is the author of over eleven books and many articles in professional journals. Among his books related to this effort are *Race, Racism and Death Penalty in the United States; Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in American Criminal Justice; Chicanos in Higher Education: Issues and Dilemmas for the 21st Century; Chicanos and Intelligence Testing; and Women and Minority Faculty Academic Workplace.*

JONATHAN H. TURNER is Distinguished Professor of Sociology, University of California at Riverside. He is the author of thirty-one books and many articles in professional journals. Among his books related to this effort are *Oppression: Sociohistory of Black-White Relations, American Society: Problems of Structure, Problems in America, and Inequality: Privilege & Poverty in America.*

insensitive to the depth of the problems. Indeed, they continued to visualize the plight of African Americans in very individualistic terms, as a character flaw of blacks and not a structural flaw of society. Can white Americans continue to blame only the victims of discrimination and not also their own white ancestors, if not themselves? Anglo-Saxons tend to assume that they are a rational people who pragmatically assess costs and benefits. If blacks are not wise enough to realize the consequences of crime, drug use, out-of-wedlock babies, and unstable families, then they must accept the costs. But the costs will not be only on the victims; they will continue to spill over into the whole society in the form of the enormous expense of building more prisons, health care costs brought about by violence and drugs and despair, the loss of productive activity with so many alienated youth in gangs and the corresponding welfare burden, all costs that will burden many mainstream aspects of American society. Thus, can white Americans afford to continue to hold such a narrow view of human behavior as expresses itself in their attitudes toward blacks without addressing the more deep-seated forces behind these social problems?

### KEY TERMS/KEY LEGISLATION

affirmative action, 118	Negro colleges, 136
black codes, 113	Negro spirituals, 136
"black Sambo" stereotype, 108	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> (1896), 115
<i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas</i> (1954), 117	redlining, 133
Civil Rights Act of 1875, 115	<i>Regents of the University of California v. Bakke</i> (1978), 118
Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, 117	reverse discrimination, 118
Fifteenth Amendment (1870), 114	<i>Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education</i> (1971), 130
Fourteenth Amendment (1868), 114	Thirteenth Amendment (1866), 113
<i>Hopwood v. Texas</i> (1996), 118	Underground Railroad, 136
Jim Crow practices, 113	Voting Rights Act of 1965, 117
<i>Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1</i> (1973), 130	<i>Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum</i> (1979), 118

Visit our text-specific website at [www.mhhe.com/aguirre6e](http://www.mhhe.com/aguirre6e) for valuable resources for both students and instructors.

## Native Americans

Leif Ericson and Christopher Columbus were comparative newcomers to the Americas. Long before their "discoveries," people began to cross the land bridge connecting Alaska with the Asian continent, perhaps as long ago as 40,000 years. They came in search of food, hunting wild game and gathering indigenous plant life, and they settled the entire face of North, Central, and South America. As they settled in distinctive niches, they evolved diverse cultures. Some, such as those among the Maya, Incas, and Aztecs, developed cultures and organizational structures as sophisticated as those in other parts of the world. In what was to become the United States, however, the several hundred societies and perhaps as many as 300 language groups of the native people were comparatively simple, making them highly vulnerable to conquest by white Europeans. Some were hunters and gatherers, others focused on fishing, a few on herding, and some on horticulture. All constituted viable societies, but on contact with Europeans, they would be wholly or partially destroyed. The history of Native Americans<sup>1</sup> after European contact is thus one of conquest and domination.

### ON THE VERGE OF EXTINCTION

We can only estimate how large the Native American population was prior to its contact with the Europeans. In 1860, Emmanuel Domenech (1860) estimated that the precontact population was between 16 and 17 million. One of the limitations of early estimates, however, is that they represent subjective impressions and extrapolations based on early contacts with villages and settlements (Snipp, 1989:6). The first generally accepted scientific estimate of the sixteenth-century Native American population was produced by James Mooney (1928), who

<sup>1</sup>*A note on terminology:* Our use of the term "Native American" is intentional. First, we use it to emphasize the presence of the population prior to the arrival of European explorers. Implicit is the observation that Native Americans were not "discovered." Second, the term "Native American" encompasses a number of indigenous nations. Jaimes (1992:113) has noted, "American Indian Peoples whose territory lies within the borders of the United States hold compelling legal and moral rights to be treated as fully sovereign nations."

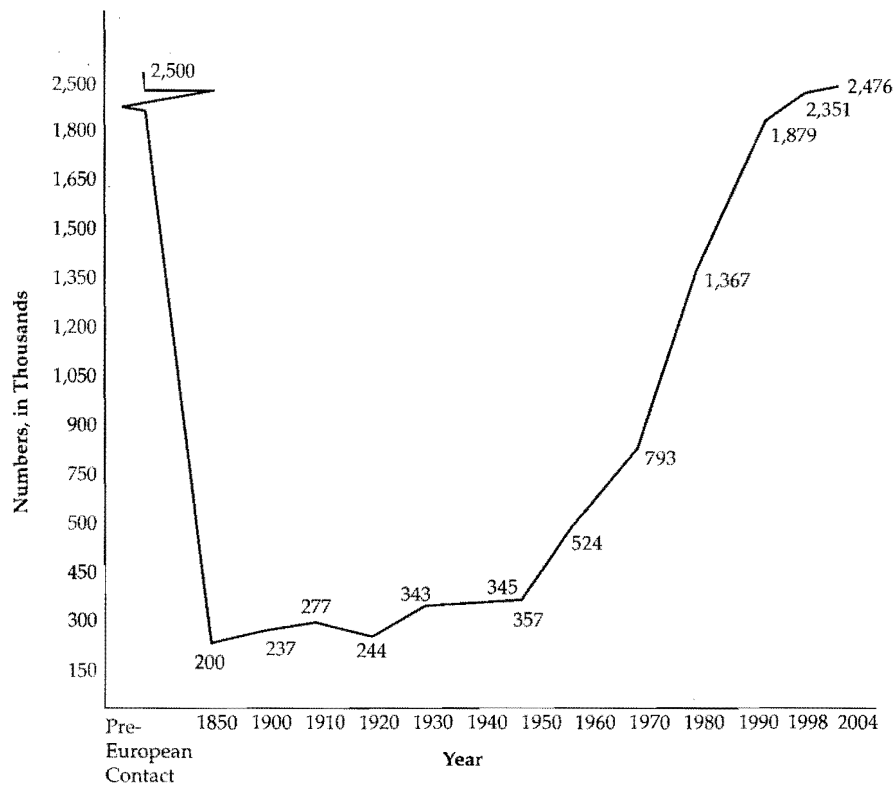


FIGURE 6.1 The Native American population, 1850–2004.

estimated the North American aboriginal population to be about 1.2 million persons at the time of European contact. A more recent estimate puts the precontact population between 2 and 5 million (Snipp, 1989), although some still argue that the number was in fact much larger.

Figure 6.1 illustrates the decrease in the Native American population between 1600 and 1850, from around 2.5 million (a conservative estimate) to only around 200,000 (Spinden, 1928). This decline can be viewed only as genocide, or the near elimination of a population. Lack of immunity to European diseases, or what some have called “ecological warfare”; displacement from lands and consequent starvation; widespread killing in “war”; and cold-blooded murder all account for this sudden drop (Merrell, 1984; Crosby, 1976). Thus, if we needed an indicator of discrimination against Native Americans, a tenfold drop in the size of the population is as good as any. But this figure does not tell the whole story, for even as the population has replenished itself over the last 150 years, it has done so amid the residue of those conditions that led to attempted genocide.

Over the last century, with the exception of the 1920s, the Native American population has grown for each census period. Part of the decrease in population

during the 1920s has been attributed to an influenza epidemic. By 1930, however, the population was again growing, and by 1950, this growth began to accelerate, a trend that Snipp (1989) suggested constituted a Native American “baby boom” equivalent to the postwar boom among white Europeans. The result was that between 1950 and 2004, the Native American population grew by over 600 percent. This increase was caused by changes in public policy toward Native Americans in 1950, and attitudes shifting from fear and hate to sympathy and guilt. Improved health care resulted in lowered infant mortality rates and increased life expectancy for adults.

Another factor in this growth has been the willingness of Native Americans to be identified as such, resulting in the increased capability of government agencies, such as the U.S. Bureau of the Census, to identify them. The “self-pride” movements among disadvantaged ethnic groups in the 1960s, for example, increased the ethnic awareness of Native Americans; it became a matter of pride to identify oneself as an “Indian” because the term no longer carried such negative connotations and stereotypes. Indeed, some researchers have suggested that the increase in the Native American population between 1960 and 1980 is not solely the product of health programs (Passel, 1976; Passel and Berman, 1986; Clifton, 1989) but, rather, is a marker of increased ethnic pride as more and more people were willing to proclaim themselves as “American Indian” on U.S. census forms. However, increased ethnic pride may result in a high “overcount” of the American Indian population. According to Passel (1993), while 54 percent of the growth in the American Indian population between 1960 and 1990 could be attributed to demographic factors, 46 percent of the growth resulted from nondemographic factors. One of the most salient nondemographic factors is enhanced self-identification as an American Indian. Thus, there may be as many persons that perceive themselves as American Indians as there are “real” American Indians.

In an effort to sort out the actual numbers of Native Americans, the U.S. Bureau of the Census now asks questions about “mixed” ancestry (in their terms, “mixed races”). The count in Figure 6.1 is for those reporting *only* Native American, and in 2004, this number was 2.4 million individuals. If, however, people reported that they were Native American and members of another ethnic group, the number jumps to 4.1 million reporting some Native American ancestry. Table 6.1 summarizes the numbers of individuals reporting mixed ancestry with whites and blacks. Table 6.2 summarizes the respective counts

TABLE 6.1 Reports on Native American Ancestry, Alone and in Combination with Other Ethnic Groups, 2000

Native Americans alone	2,475,956
In combination with other ethnics	4,119,301
With whites	1,082,683
With blacks	182,494
With whites and blacks	112,207
With other combinations	265,961

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001b.

TABLE 6.2 Size of Tribal Groupings of Native Americans, 2000

Tribal Grouping	One Tribal Grouping Reported	American Indian and Alaska Native Tribal Grouping Alone or in Any Combination*
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,423,531</b>	<b>4,119,310</b>
Apache	57,060	96,833
Blackfeet	27,104	85,750
Cherokee	281,069	729,533
Cheyenne	11,191	18,204
Chickasaw	20,887	38,351
Chippewa	105,907	149,669
Choctaw	87,349	158,774
Colville	7,833	9,393
Comanche	10,120	19,376
Cree	2,488	7,734
Creek	40,223	71,310
Crow	9,117	13,394
Delaware	8,304	16,341
Houma	6,798	8,713
Iroquois	45,212	80,822
Kiowa	8,559	12,242
Latin American Indian	104,354	180,940
Lumbee	51,913	57,868
Menominee	7,883	9,840
Navajo	269,202	298,197
Osage	7,658	15,897
Ottawa	6,432	10,677
Paiute	9,705	13,532
Pima	8,519	11,493
Potawatomi	15,817	25,595
Pueblo	59,533	74,085
Puget Sound Salish	11,034	14,631
Seminole	12,431	27,431
Shoshone	7,739	12,026
Sioux	108,272	153,360
Tohono O'odham	17,466	20,087
Ute	7,309	10,385
Yakama	8,481	10,851
Yaqui	15,224	22,412
Yuman	7,295	8,976
Other specified American Indian tribes	240,521	357,658
American Indian tribe, not specified†	109,644	195,902
Alaska Athabascan	14,520	18,838
Aleut	11,941	16,978
Eskimo	45,919	54,761
Tlingit-Haida	14,825	22,365
Other specified Alaska Native tribes	2,552	3,973
Alaska Native tribe, not specified	6,161	8,702
American Indian or Alaska Native tribes, not specified	511,960	1,056,457

\*The numbers by American Indian and Alaska Native tribal grouping do not add to the total population. This is because the American Indian and Alaska Native tribal groupings are tallies of the number of American Indian and Alaska Native *responses* rather than the number of American Indian and Alaska Native *respondents*. Respondents reporting several American Indian and Alaska Native tribes are counted several times. For example, a respondent reporting "Apache and Blackfeet" would be included in the Apache as well as Blackfeet numbers.

†Includes respondents who checked the "American Indian or Alaska Native" response category on the census questionnaire or wrote in a tribe not specified in the American Indian and Alaska Native Tribal Detailed Classification List for Census 2000.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002e.

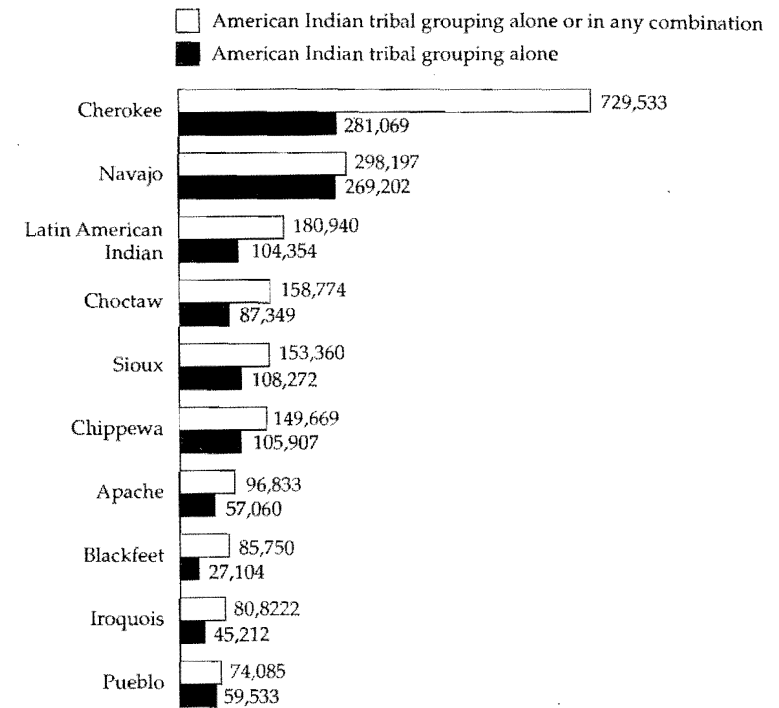


FIGURE 6.2 Ten largest American Indian tribal groupings, 2000.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002e.

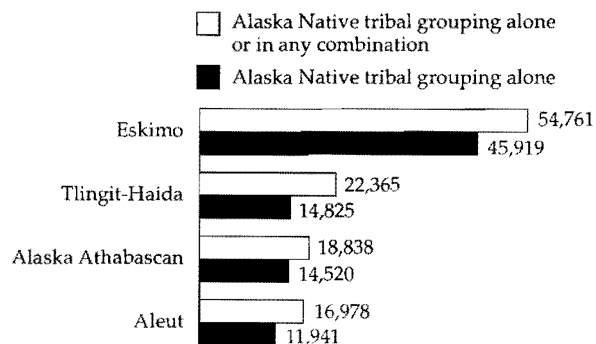
for tribal groupings for those reporting only Native American ancestry and for those reporting mixed ancestry. Figure 6.2 reports the count for the ten largest tribal groupings.

Native Americans represent less than 1 percent of the total population, slightly more if we count those of mixed ancestry. In only one state, Alaska, do Native Americans constitute more than 10 percent of the total population. Table 6.3 lists in rank order those states that had at least 1 percent of Native Americans in 2004. In Alaska, with the largest Native American population, the four largest tribal groupings are the Eskimo, Tlingit-Haida, Athabascan, and Aleut, as is reported in Figure 6.3. Only ten cities with 100,000 in population have over 1 percent of their population who are Native Americans, as is reported in Figure 6.4. Thus, although Native Americans constitute just a small percentage of the total population in the United States, they represent a significant subpopulation because they were here first. Since having contact with whites, they have been subject to especially brutal patterns of discrimination. Along with African Americans, who were imported as slaves, the aboriginals of the North American continent represent a special case because of the long history of discrimination that has denied them access to valued resources.

**TABLE 6.3** States Where Native Americans Constitute at Least 1 Percent of Population

State	Percentage of State's Population
Alaska	15.6
New Mexico	8.9
Oklahoma	8.0
South Dakota	7.3
Montana	6.0
Arizona	5.6
North Dakota	4.1
Wyoming	2.1
Washington	1.7
Utah	1.4
Oregon	1.4
Idaho	1.4
Minnesota	1.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002e.



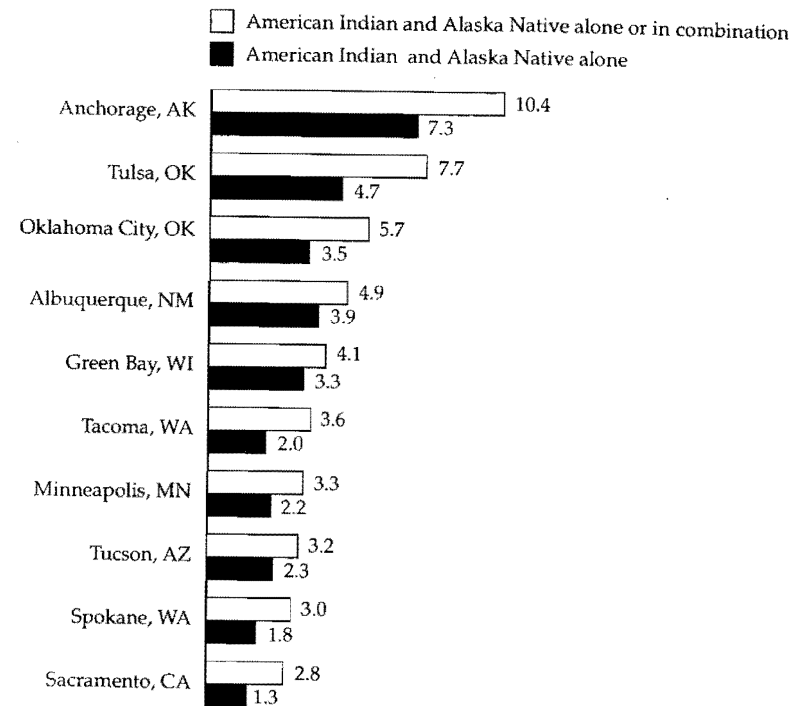
**FIGURE 6.3** Largest Alaska Native tribal groupings, 2000.  
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002e.

## RESOURCE SHARES OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Compared with other ethnic populations in the United States, Native Americans have been severely constrained in their interaction with mainstream society. This isolation is the result of the numerous treaties between the U.S. government and the Native American tribes that marginalized and subordinated them, thereby limiting their opportunities to secure valued resources (Deloria, 1976).

### Income of Native Americans

Historically, Native Americans have had very low incomes, the lowest on average of any ethnic group. Over the last decade, however, the incomes of



**FIGURE 6.4** Ten places of 100,000 or more population with the highest percentage of Native Americans, 2000.  
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002e.

**TABLE 6.4** Median Household Income of Native Americans, Three-Year Average, for Compared Non-Latino Whites and General Population

Native Americans/Alaskan Native	\$33,762
Non-Latino whites	\$52,375
<b>Total U.S. population</b>	<b>\$48,451</b>

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2007, Table I, p. 3.

Native Americans have risen somewhat and are now a bit higher than African Americans but still lower than Latinos, non-Latino whites, and Asian/Pacific Islanders. Table 6.4 reports average median household incomes over the last two years for which data are available. These data may overrepresent the income of Native Americans compared with other ethnic groups because households are often much larger, being composed of several generations. Even without this qualification, \$33,000 is a very low income for an entire household; and

**TABLE 6.5** Occupational Distribution of Native Americans, 2000

Ethnic Subpopulation	Percentage of Adults Employed in:					
	Management/ Professional	Service	Sales/ Office	Construction/ Extraction/ Maintenance	Production/ Transport/ Materials Moving	Fishing/ Farming/ Forestry
Native American/ Alaska Native	24.3	20.6	24.0	12.9	16.8	0.03
Non-Latino white	36.6	12.8	27.2	9.6	13.2	0.05
<b>Total U.S. labor force</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>0.07</b>

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2003c.

when compared with non-Latino whites, Native American income is only 66 percent of white income.

### Occupational Distribution of Native Americans

As reported in Table 6.5, Native Americans are underrepresented in white-collar occupations, particularly management and professional jobs, and overrepresented in low-paying service occupations and, to a lesser extent, sales and office jobs. Occupational distributions for Native Americans are also based on their patterns of residence. In general, Native Americans living on the reservation are more likely to be employed in blue-collar occupations, whereas off-reservation Native Americans are more likely to be employed in white-collar occupations. Moreover, according to Snipp (1989:239), "About 32 percent of Indian men and 37 percent of Indian women living on or near a reservation are employed by federal and local government authorities, compared with 16 percent of men and 17 percent of women residing in nonreservation areas." Many of the government-created jobs for Native Americans living on reservations have been low-paying ones, particularly during the 1970s. Although federal programs have been instrumental in providing an array of public works jobs in trades and construction, like all such "make-work" it is subject to political more than economic forces and does not, therefore, lead to steady employment patterns (see Box 6.1). The large percentage of Native Americans in service occupations on reservations may not, according to Snipp (1989:241), "constitute a major source of employment for the American Indian labor force. . . . It is most likely that many traditional occupations for American Indians, such as traditional crafts (especially those purchased mainly by other Indians), provide a livelihood insufficient for survival and consequently may be practiced as an avocation and not as a principal source of income."

### Educational Attainment of Native Americans

As Table 6.6 reveals, the educational outcomes of the Native American/Alaska Native population lag behind those of the non-Latino white population and the total U.S. population: 15 percent fewer Native Americans graduate from high

### Box 6.1

#### The Economic Well-Being of Native American Women

There is wide variability in economic situations among Native American and Alaska Native women. Incomes across the board are lower than the average among all Native Americans. When compared to non-Hispanic white male incomes, even more dramatic evidence on the plight of Native American and Alaska Native women's situation emerges. The figures below document the ratio of women's earnings to those of non-Latino white males and the percentage of women who are in poverty as a result of these lower incomes. As is evident, incomes of Native American women are low compared to those of white males, whereas among Alaska Natives, women's incomes approach those of women in the general population, although poverty rates remain high because of the cost of living in Alaska.

	Ratio of Earnings to Those of Non-Latino White Males	Percentage of Women in Poverty
All Native American Women	57.8	25.0
American Indians		
Apache	53.3	35.0
Blackfeet	69.0	24.4
Cherokee	66.3	19.2
Cheyenne	no data available	
Chickasaw	66.3	14.1
Chippewa	63.3	22.0
Choctaw	68.0	19.1
Comanche	71.8	14.6
Creek	66.3	19.6
Iroquois	74.5	19.1
Lumbee	60.8	20.3
Navajo	58.0	64.0
Potawatomi	69.0	14.4
Pueblo	56.3	16.1
Puget Sound Salish	74.5	20.2
Seminole	55.3	25.3
Sioux	66.3	36.5
Tohono O'odham	55.3	40.8
Yaqui	52.5	42.6
Alaska Natives		
Athabaskan	77.3	19.3
Aleut	71.8	14.7
Eskimo	81.5	20.5
Tlingit	71.8	14.3

Sources: Urban Institute, 2004; Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2007.

school than non-Latino whites, 13 percent fewer enroll in college, 15 percent fewer receive a college degree at a four-year university, and 6 percent fewer receive graduate degrees. The most noticeable differences in educational outcomes for the Native American/Alaska Native population, when compared

**TABLE 6.6** Educational Attainment of Native American Adults 25 Years Old and Older, 2000

Ethnic Subpopulation	Percentage with:			
	High School Diploma	Some College	College Degree	Graduate Degree
Native American/Alaska Native	70.9	41.7	11.5	3.9
Non-Latino white	85.5	55.4	27.0	9.8
Total U.S. population	80.4	51.8	24.4	8.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2003b.

to other populations, are at the post-secondary level, especially for those with college degrees. To put these outcomes in perspective, Native Americans/Alaska Natives generally earn less than 1 percent of the undergraduate and graduate/professional degrees awarded in the United States annually (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2005). Given that education is essential to success in the job market and the income that such success brings, it should not be surprising that much of the shortfall in the income of Native Americans is related to their lack of the necessary educational credentials for well-paying jobs.

### Life Span of Native Americans

Once Europeans came to North America, Native Americans lived very dangerous lives. Early on, the lack of immunity of Native Americans to European diseases, coupled with landgrabs, killings, and forced resettlement on reservations, led to the dramatic decimation of the Native American population, as Figure 6.1 documents. It is safer today to be a Native American, and in fact, Native Americans are far less likely to die of certain diseases than whites, African Americans, and Latinos. For example, Native Americans are slightly less likely than African Americans and Latinos to die from heart disease and cancers. Yet Native Americans do not live as long as non-Latino whites—dying, on average, almost four years earlier. Part of the explanation for this early mortality resides in lack of access to health care. As Table 1.6 on page 19 documents, 31 percent of Native Americans do not have health insurance, a figure that is almost three times that of whites, 10 percent higher than for African Americans, 15 percent higher than for Asians, and in general, double that of the total population. This lack of access to health care helps explain not only the shorter life spans of Native Americans compared to non-Latino whites, but it also accounts for the higher infant mortality rates of Native Americans, which are around 3.5 percent higher than for non-Latino whites and, in fact, are only exceeded by the rate for African Americans (Spalter-Roth, Lowenthal, and Rubio, 2005). Another factor in the shorter life spans of Native Americans is violence. Native Americans are almost twice as likely as whites to die from homicide. And finally, Native Americans are again almost twice as likely as whites to die from an automobile accident.

### Housing of Native Americans

Native Americans tend to have lower-quality housing than whites. They are less likely to live in owner-occupied housing, more likely to live in a mobile home, more likely to live in a smaller (that is, lower number of rooms) home, and more likely to have extra persons per room in each household (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973b, 1983a, 1993a). Also, the quality of domestic life for many Native Americans is very different from that of most white Americans. For example, fewer Native American households have complete bathrooms, and fewer have access to public water, public sewers, complete kitchens, and telephones (Rumbelow, 2002). In 1990, 5 percent of the Native American population lived in housing units that lacked complete plumbing facilities, compared to 1 percent of the U.S. population as a whole. In addition, Native Americans tend to live in households that lack complete kitchen facilities (5 percent), depend on well water (17 percent), and are not connected to a public sewer system (67 percent). Comparable figures for the U.S. population are 1 percent, 14 percent, and 1 percent, respectively.

In the twenty-first century, housing still remains a serious social problem for Native Americans. While the development of public housing on Indian reservations in the 1960s was intended to alleviate overcrowding, more than 40 percent of Native Americans live in overcrowded or substandard housing (Biles, 2000). In testimony before the Senate Committee on Housing and Urban Affairs (2002), Franklin Raines, chairman and CEO of Fannie Mae, noted that low incomes and high poverty rates prevented Native Americans from qualifying for conventional mortgages. He noted in his testimony that in 1999 there



A Navajo woman sits outside a doorway.



were only 471 home mortgages on Indian lands. As a result, less than 33 percent of the Native American population owns homes compared with 67 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. General Accounting Office, 2002).

Aside from the quality of life in most Native American dwellings is the issue of where these dwellings are located. Some 25 percent of the native population lives on government-regulated reservations, separated and isolated from the general population, and another 15 percent lives near the reservations. Thus, around 40 percent of the Native American population is dramatically segregated, not only by neighborhood but by territory. This situation, the legacy of past discrimination, forces a significant percentage of Native Americans to be dependent on economic opportunities on and around the reservation, which, typically, is isolated from mainstream society. Most Native Americans view this isolation in a positive light, as a way to recapture their quickly vanishing culture (Ambler, 1990). On the negative side, however, this segregation increases their dependency on the federal government, which in the past has not demonstrated great sympathy for maintaining Native American cultures.

Aside from isolation on reservations, Native Americans are segregated from non-Latino whites in metropolitan areas. Overall, Native Americans record a dissimilarity index of 33, which means that 33 percent of whites would have to move to new cities and neighborhoods within cities to achieve full integration (Massey and Denton, 1988). Table 6.7 summarizes the indexes of dissimilarity (segregation) for the highest- and lowest-ranked metropolitan areas.

### Poverty of Native Americans

In the 1970s, the U.S. government officially acknowledged that Native Americans were the most impoverished group in the United States and that this population lived in conditions rivaling those found in the Third World (U.S.

**TABLE 6.7** Metropolitan Areas with Highest and Lowest Dissimilarity Indexes for Non-Latino Whites and Native Americans

Highest			Lowest		
Rank	Metropolitan Area	Index	Rank	Metropolitan Area	Index
1	Flagstaff, AZ-UT MSA	75	1	Panama City, FL MSA	20
2	New York, NY PMSA	75	2	Enid, OK MSA	22
3	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	72	3	Medford-Ashland, OR MSA	23
4	Yakima, WA MSA	72	4	Pedding, CA MSA	24
5	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	72	5	Eugene-Springfield, OR MSA	25
6	Newark, NJ PMSA	72	6	Pensacola, FL MSA	25
7	Tucson, AZ MSA	68	7	Yuba City, CA MSA	25
8	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	67	8	Atascadero-Paso Robles, CA MSA	27
9	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	64	9	Modesto, CA MSA	27
10	Chicago, IL PMSA	64	10	Oklahoma City, OK MSA	28

Source: Frey and Myers, 2002.

**TABLE 6.8** Percentage of Native Americans Who Are Poor, 2006

Ethnic Subpopulation	Percentage Who Are Poor
Native American/Alaska Native	26.6
Non-Latino white	9.3
<b>Total U.S. population</b>	<b>13.3</b>

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2007, Table 4; Webster and Bishaw (2007), Table 8, p. 20.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1976). For example, at that time, 14 percent of Native Americans lived in crowded housing, 67 percent lived in houses without running water, 48 percent lived in houses without toilets, and 32 percent had no means of transportation. Thirty-three percent of Native American families were living below the poverty line compared to 8.6 percent of white families. Ten years later, 24 percent of Native American families were living below the poverty line compared to 7 percent of white families (Aguirre, 1990), but by 1990, conditions had worsened, with almost 36 percent of Native American families living below the poverty line.

Today, the poverty rate for Native Americans has declined to about what it was in 1980. As Table 6.8 summarizes, over 26.6 percent of Native Americans live below the official poverty threshold, compared to 9.3 percent of non-Latino whites and 13.3 percent of the total population. By comparing these figures with those for other ethnic groups (see Table 1.1 on page 15), Native Americans continue to be the most impoverished ethnic subpopulation in the United States. African Americans and Latinos are not far behind—at about 22 percent—but stereotypes that Native Americans are *all* getting affluent off Indian gaming are clearly contradicted by the facts: high rates of poverty and, as Table 6.4 documents, a median household income lower than that of any other ethnic subpopulation in America, except African Americans.

## THE DYNAMICS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NATIVE AMERICANS

### Identifiability of Native Americans

Movie stereotypes aside, it is not so easy to identify Native Americans physically, for such characteristics as high cheekbones, reddish complexion, straight black hair, almond-shaped eyes, and very little male facial hair are not universal among Native Americans, and any of these characteristics can be found among other populations (Snipp, 1989:26). In contrast to these popular notions of "Indians," there are more explicit biological definitions that highlight the five genetic features unique to Native Americans: earwax texture, organic compounds in urine, blood types and Rh factor, fingerprint patterns, and the ability to taste the test chemical phenylthiocarbamide (Snipp, 1989). Although trivial in any genetic sense, some of these characteristics, especially those related to

“blood quantum,” were to become the bases for constructing a social definition of who is “Indian.” The need to define an Indian based on blood quantum became important at the turn of the nineteenth century when the U.S. government took an active role in determining land rights for Indians and non-Indians in the western United States (Meyer, 1991; Harmon, 1990; Smits, 1991).

In the late nineteenth century, the U.S. government made a systematic attempt to identify Native Americans. Jaimes (1992) suggests that this effort stemmed more from an interest in limiting treaty obligations than in promoting collective identity among native peoples. The vehicle for doing so was a **blood quantum measure**, or the degree of “Indian blood” an individual possessed. The **Dawes Act of 1887**, also known as the General Allotment Act, empowered the government to “test” blood levels to identify someone as an “Indian” and thereby entitled to government treatment under treaty obligations. If this degree was below certain levels, then treaty obligations could be ignored.

To this day **percentage of Indian blood** is an important bureaucratic marker for determining who is entitled to government assistance and who qualifies for special programs, such as affirmative action. For example, in 1986 the Department of Health and Human Services proposed that one-fourth blood quantum be a requirement for receiving medical services at Indian Health Service clinics (Snipp, 1989). In adopting this approach—which no other ethnic population must submit to—the government presumes that blood makes “Indians” a distinct race with certain behavioral propensities (Bieder, 1980). More materially, the earlier Dawes Act used “blood” to determine who was eligible for land or, more important, who was not entitled to land because of insufficient “Indian blood.” As a consequence, between 1887 and 1934, the land base to which Native Americans were entitled was reduced from 138 million acres to 48 million acres (House Committee on Indian Affairs, 1934). For those Native Americans who did qualify to receive land, most found that the allocated land was arid or semiarid, almost useless for agriculture. In contrast, the most attractive and fertile native-occupied land was reserved for nonnative populations (Deloria and Lytle, 1983).

### Negative Beliefs about Native Americans

Despite their visibility in U.S. popular culture, Native Americans did not earlier occupy a meaningful place in the sociohistorical fabric of U.S. society (Churchill, 1993). In the past, Native Americans often were portrayed either “noble savages” or “savage redmen” in movies and on television. Native Americans were stigmatized as pastoral relics in an industrial society: the cigar store Indian and the Indian face engraved on the nickel (see Box 6.2 and Box 6.3). Moreover, Native Americans often are portrayed as partially mute in popular culture. In American literature, “the Indian” tends to be a passive witness to others’ actions. For example, Queequeg in *Moby Dick*, Tonto in *The Lone Ranger*, and Chief Broom in Ken Kesey’s *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* do not speak. The same may be rightly said of most other Native American characters inhabiting the pages of Euroamerican fiction (Durham, 1992:428). And even the

#### Box 6.2

#### What’s in a Team Name?

The use of an ethnic label as a mascot is perhaps one of the most degrading things that can happen to a population. It is a sign of disrespect and low regard. If one doubts this conclusion, let us rename some prominent teams: the Washington Negroes, the Florida State Jews, the Cleveland Italians, or the Atlanta WASPs. Or let’s construct some new names that reflect the ethnicity of an area: The Los Angeles Dodgers can become Los Angeles Mexicans; the San Francisco 49ers can become the San Francisco Chinamen; the Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim can become the Anaheim Viets; the Chicago Bears can become the Chicago Polacks; the New York Giants can become the New York Spics.

In the United States, no ethnic group other than Native Americans is used as a mascot. Yet, when efforts are made to change the name of a sports team on the basis of this inappropriate usage, there is often resistance. Some teams, such as the Stanford Cardinals (formerly the Indians), have changed their names, but most have not.

Recently, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) adopted a resolution that, in essence, forces colleges and universities to abandon mascots of ethnic subpopulations, particularly Native Americans. If they do not, they will not be eligible for postseason play and will suffer other costly penalties. Thus far, several exemptions have been given to teams, such as the Florida State Seminoles; and it



Atlanta Braves mascot, Homer the Brave.

(continued)

will be interesting to see if this resolution is enforced. See the following readings for a discussion of the issue:

Anil Adyanthaya, "Sports, Mascots, and Native Americans," *Boston Globe* (June 5, 2005): p. D11.

L. R. Baca, "Native Images in Schools and the Racially Hostile Environment," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28: 71–78 (2004).

C. Richard King and Charles F. Springwood, "Fighting Spirits: The Racial Politics of Sports Mascots," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 24: 282–304 (2000).

Leslie Linthicum, "Some Welcome NCAA Ban on Native Mascots, Others Say Nicknames Are OK If They Are Respectful of Indians," *Albuquerque Journal* (August 6, 2005): p. D1.

Pauline T. Strong, "The Mascot Slot: Cultural Citizenship, Political Correctness, and Pseudo-Indian Sports Symbols," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28: 79–87 (2004).

### Box 6.3

#### "Whites" as Team Mascots

In Box 6.2 we asked the question "What's in a team name?" The focus is on the use of Native Americans as mascots for team sports. While most white persons may not see a problem with sports teams using Indians as mascots, how would white people respond if they were used as a sport team mascot?

An intramural basketball team organized by Native American students at the University of Northern Colorado adopted "Fightin' Whites" as their team mascot. The team is made up of Anglo, Native American, and Hispanic players. The team T-shirt symbolizes the "Fightin' White" as a 1950s-style white man with dimples and shiny, tidy hair. The T-shirt bears the slogan "Every thang's gonna be all white!" According to the students, they adopted "Fightin' Whites" as their mascot because they wanted to raise awareness about culturally insensitive mascots in a community (Eaton, Colorado) debate regarding a local high school's use of an Indian mascot. The high school's mascot is a caricature of a hook-nosed Indian brave wearing a loincloth, a feather sticking out of his braid, and arms crossed over a bare chest.

Ray White, a Mohawk on the college basketball team, said about the team mascot, "It's not meant to be vicious; it is meant to be humorous. It puts people in our shoes, and then we can say, 'Now you know how it is, and now you can make a judgment.'"

White persons in Eaton have expressed their disappointment with the basketball team's "Fightin' Whites" mascot, especially because it has caused Native Americans to become more vocal about their opposition to the high school's mascot. A white resident in the community reflects its sentiments: "It's gone on for years. Why are they just now bringing it up? If they are offended, sorry, but, I mean, why? How is this offending you? They say, 'The big nose, the potbelly,' but those are little things. There are other issues in the world to be worried about."



How would most whites respond to seeing a Native American sports team adopt "Fightin' White" as their team mascot?

What do you think? Should Native Americans adopt mascots based on white cultural stereotypes as a strategy for convincing sports teams to remove mascots based on Native American cultural stereotypes?

Source: Julie Cart, "Irked by Mascot, Team Retaliates," *Los Angeles Times* (March 15, 2002): A12.

depiction of Native Americans as silent has resulted in a set of negative beliefs (Osborne, 1989; Jones, 1988; Churchill, 1992).

**Savage Redmen** The portrayal of the Native American as a ruthless killer of white settlers in movies and television can be traced to the early stages of European contact (Stedman, 1982). As Europeans moved westward, they discovered that they would have to either remove the Native Americans from their lands or learn to share the land. Rather than attempt to live alongside the natives, European settlers decided to take the land. When the natives resisted, European settlers produced the ruthless savage stereotype (Brown, 1970; Shively, 1992). The death of European settlers was seen as a savage act imposed on innocent people. Such stereotypes became common in the media of the time, which tended to sensationalize and caricature, and promoted a tidal wave of anti-Native American sentiment (O'Connor, 1980).

**“Fat Cat” Capitalists** Land has always been a pivotal feature in conflicts between Native and white Americans. One of the more recent negative beliefs is that Native Americans have become “fat cats” from the minerals and resources on their land—a belief that is empirically wrong in light of their poverty rates (Anderson, 1992). At issue is the potential wealth in Indian lands—oil, natural gas, uranium, or other resources. Churchill and LaDuke (1992:241) note that “approximately one-third of all western U.S. low-sulphur coal, 20 percent of known U.S. reserves of oil and natural gas, and over one-half of all U.S. uranium deposits lie under the reservations.”

The stereotype of Native Americans as “fat cats” is negative in that it implies that Native Americans are undeserving of these resources. Similar to the early stereotype of Native Americans as “unwanted land occupants,” the negative portrayal of Native Americans as “fat cats” reinforces their perceived threat to white society and its control of resources. This stereotype has facilitated the federal government’s transfer of mineral-rich Native American lands to U.S. control (LaDuke, 1981) and has limited the amount of opposition by white society in the appropriation of these mineral-rich lands. For example, the bulk of the ore-bearing portion of the copper belt found on the Papago reservation during the 1920s was removed from the Papago domain by the U.S. Congress.

The expansion of casinos on Indian reservations has created a new version of the “fat cat” capitalist stereotype. The “casino fat cat capitalist” depicts Indians as millionaires with luxury homes and automobiles, and an unlimited source of money from Indian casinos. According to Barlett and Steele (2002), the “new” fat cats in Indian casinos are non-Indians who serve as investors and consultants and who pocket as much as 40 percent of the total revenue generated by Indian casinos. However, the reality for Native Americans is that while a few tribes have made their members wealthy, the vast majority of Native Americans do not benefit from Indian casinos (Safire, 2002). For example, twenty-three tribes with casinos earning more than \$100 million a year accounted for 56 percent of the \$8.2 billion in total Indian gaming revenues in 1998—yet the tribes’ members comprise about 5 percent of the total Native American population (Pace, 2001). One can observe in Table 6.9 that Indian gaming benefits the smaller tribes, while the larger tribes, such as the Navajo and Zuni, do not receive any gaming revenue—revenue that could significantly improve the quality of life for the Navajo and Zuni by improving housing conditions and reducing poverty.

More recent data reveal that of the 561 federally recognized tribes, less than half (201) have some form of gaming operation. Total revenue in 2001 was up to \$12.7 billion, but this revenue was very unevenly distributed and did not usher in dramatic economic changes across Native American tribes. Many of the tribal nations did enjoy considerable economic benefit, but these same nations were among those *already* with high levels of economic development, business activity, and full employment. Many of the poorest tribes received no benefits at all, but a few such as the Gila River and Cheyenne River Sioux did undergo significant economic transformation with gaming facilities. Still, a good many gaming operations are only marginally profitable, and some have not been

**TABLE 6.9** Annual Casino Revenue for Select Indian Tribes

Tribes	Population	Casino Revenue per Member*	Federal Aid per Member
Navajo	260,010	\$ 0	\$ 912
Hopi	11,267	0	2,006
Mississippi Choctaw	8,823	25,048	5,717
Seminole	2,817	87,682	8,540
Mashantucket Pequot	677	1,624,815	2,304
Miccosukee	400	250,000	20,560
Santa Ynez	159	1,257,862	8,360

\*Based on annual casino revenue divided by the number of tribal members. Of course, if the actual “profits” that go to the tribes were divided by the number of tribal members, the per-member amounts would be dramatically lower.

Source: Barlett et al., 2002.

profitable (Hillabrant, Earp, Rhoades, and Pindus, 2004). Thus, common perceptions that gaming has made Native Americans “fat cats” are severely overdrawn, misrepresenting the reality. Indeed, the median household income figures (Table 6.4) and the very high poverty rate (Table 6.8) document that Native Americans are still not doing as well as mainstream Americans.

### Institutionalized Discrimination against Native Americans

**Legal Discrimination** The early European explorers and settlers described the Native Americans as innocent, ingenuous, friendly, and naked. In a sense, the Native Americans were seen as childish—one of the early stereotypes about them (Jarvenpa, 1985). As more European settlers arrived, English concepts of property—land transfer, titles, deeds—were inserted into the relations between the settlers and the natives (Delgado and Stefancic, 1992). It is not surprising to find, then, that much of the discrimination against Native Americans was tied very closely to the legalistic legitimization of landgrabs by European settlers. The bulk of this discrimination is found in legal documents, especially treaties, that defined the nature of Native Americans’ presence and residence on their own land (see Box 6.4).

The taking of Native American land by whites was philosophically legitimized by the principle of **Manifest Destiny**, the belief of European Americans that “through divine ordination and the natural superiority of the white race, they had a right (and indeed an obligation) to seize and occupy all of North America. . . . During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the philosophy of Manifest Destiny was accompanied by several pieces of legislation that accomplished under . . . law that which would not have been legally justifiable through military force” (Morris, 1992:67). Central pieces of legislation that defined the U.S. government’s relationship with Native Americans include the following (Churchill and Morris, 1992):

- **Indian Removal Act (1830).** Andrew Jackson used this act to force the mass relocation of the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, and other Indian

## Box 6.4

**The Cost of Indian Identifiability: The Passage of The Indian–White Miscegenation Laws**

The Disney studios made a lot of money bringing the story of Pocahontas to the movie public. The image of Pocahontas was romanticized in popular thinking to show the “noble” character of Indian and white relations. The reality, however, is that the marriage between Pocahontas and John Rolfe in Virginia in 1614 was hardly representative of the times, let alone a catalyst for other Indian–white marriages.

The English colonists were surely not very interested in promoting marriages between whites and Indians, but instead were more interested in promoting their “racial purity” by controlling such interracial marriages. For one thing, the English colonists were unwilling to accept Indians, even Christianized ones, as equals. As Karen Woods notes (1999:51), the passage of **Indian–white miscegenation laws** was a means for white men to assert “power over people of color and over white women.”

According to Woods, the English colonists’ fears of blood mixture between Indians and whites resulted in the passage of these laws that prohibited marriage between Indians and whites and that outlined harsh punishments for white women giving birth to “interracial bastards.” Indian–white miscegenation laws were passed in Virginia (1691), North Carolina (1715), Massachusetts (1786), Rhode Island (1798), and Maine (1821). Most of the other colonies and surrounding territories avoided the existence of Indian–white miscegenation laws by enacting laws prohibiting the “entry” or “settlement” of Indians.

Source: Karen Woods, “Law Making: A ‘Wicked and Mischievous Connection’: The Origins of Indian–White Miscegenation Law,” *Legal Studies Forum* 23:37–70 (1999).

nations during the 1830s. The intent was to open up the territory east of the Mississippi for settlement by white Americans and their African slaves.

- **Major Crimes Act (1885).** This act allowed the United States to extend its jurisdiction into Native American territories. Since the sovereignty of Native American territories was defined by treaty, this act nullified the treaty’s purpose, which had permitted Native Americans to exercise their own jurisdiction within their own territories.
- **General Allotment Act (1887).** Also known as the “Dawes Act,” this act was designed to break up the collective ownership of Indian lands by requiring Indians to identify themselves by means of a “blood quantum” code. Under the act, “full-blood Indians” received the deeds to land parcels over which the U.S. government exercised control for twenty-five years, and “mixed-blood Indians” received “patents in fee simple”—basically land rental agreements—and were forced to accept U.S. citizenship. As a result of the act’s implementation, the United States acquired over 100 million acres of Native American land between 1887 and 1934.
- **Indian Citizenship Act (1924).** This act conferred U.S. citizenship on all Native Americans born within the territorial limits of the United States. The

act’s purpose was to curtail the demand for indigenous identity among Native Americans. To protest, the Hopi and Onondaga refuse to acknowledge the act by issuing their own tribal passports.

- **Indian Claims Commission Act (1946).** There is some speculation that this act originated, in part, as a response to the role the United States played at the Nuremberg trials. The act was designed to provide legal recourse to those Native Americans who felt that their land was unjustly taken away from them. The act established the Claims Commission, which was responsible for hearing cases brought forward by Native Americans. The commission, however, was not empowered to return land to any Native American; rather, it was required to assign a monetary value to the land in question—“at the time it was taken.” As a result, awards given out by the commission tended to be very small. In general, the act gave the United States the tool with which to legitimize its claim to Native American lands.
- **Relocation Act (1956).** This act created job training centers in urban areas for Native Americans. The purpose of the act was to force Native Americans off the reservation by offering job training opportunities only in urban areas. Native Americans participating in the job training programs were required to sign formal agreements that they would not return to their reservations.
- **Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971).** The act removed the sovereign status of the Indian nations in Alaska by incorporating them into the United States. Approximately 44 million acres of Native American lands were turned into U.S. assets. The importance of this act is that the incorporation of Native American lands included the oil beneath and the timber on top.

Treaties were the first step in the colonization of Native Americans. Most of the legal concepts—such as land deeds and land tenure—were foreign to natives, but they accepted treaties as a “good-faith” attempt at coexistence with the whites. Native Americans perceived treaties as a recognition of their sovereignty as Indian nations and assumed that they were on an equal legal footing with the United States. The second step in the colonization of Native Americans was congressional legislation, such as the acts reviewed above, which became a tool for displacing Native Americans from their lands (McDonnell, 1991; Parker, 1989). Congress’s efforts to alter the original treaties with Native American nations were motivated by the white settlers’ demands for yet more land. Without their land, Native Americans lost their sovereign status and became a fully colonized population (see Box 6.5).

All these manipulations of the law increasingly undermined the promises of the 1787 Northwest Ordinance:

The utmost faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property . . . they shall never be invaded or disturbed . . . ; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Such laws, as it turns out, were used as a tool for doing great wrong.

### Box 6.5 Who Were the Real "Savages"?

Historical analyses dispute the stereotype of the wagon train of white settlers being attacked by hordes of "screaming Indians" (Hurtado and Iverson, 1994). Between 1840 and 1860, when the Plains migrations occurred, some 250,000 white settlers crossed the Great Plains on their way farther west. During this period 362 white Americans and 426 Native Americans died in all the recorded battles. Cooperation was much more common between migrants and natives. For example, regarding Indian and white relations on the California frontier, Hurtado (1982:245) has noted that "instead of resisting the whites, restricting settlement, and impeding development, California's Indians worked obediently in the whites' fields and homes in return for food and shelter."

The real savagery came from federal troops and federal agents who sought to pacify the Native Americans, killing them arbitrarily and making their lands available to the white settlers. Although the Native Americans certainly defended themselves, most of the massacres were committed against Native Americans. In the early 1800s, Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana expressed concern that "a great many of the Inhabitants of the Fronteers [*sic*] consider the murdering of the Indians in the highest degree meritorius" (quoted in Edmunds, 1983:262). As Figure 6.1 demonstrates, the vast majority of Native Americans were killed by 1850.

**Political Discrimination** Native Americans were squeezed politically both ways: The treaties defined each native nation as a "foreign" government, albeit heavily regulated by the U.S. Congress. Hence, the members of these "Indian nations" could vote and exercise their political rights only within their "tribe" and "tribal council." Not until 1924 with passage of the Indian Citizenship Act could they vote outside their reservation. Even after 1924, when Native Americans could vote, discriminatory practices—literacy tests, poll taxes, informal discrimination, gerrymandering of districts—were used to discourage their voting. Thus, Native Americans were excluded from full political participation and of course from assuming local, state, and national political offices. At the same time, regulation by the **Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)**, whose key administrators have traditionally been whites, limited Native Americans in their ability to determine their fate on the reservations where they could vote. John Collier, for example, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, accused the Bureau of Indian Affairs of despotism rooted in rules and regulations that sought to dispossess Indians from their lands and increase the Indians' impoverishment (Kelly, 1975; Kunitz, 1971) (see Box 6.6).

In recent years, Native Americans have gained more political power. They have increased their numbers at the voting booths and, consequently, in political office—particularly at local levels. Also, the BIA has become less restrictive and more sensitive to the needs and interests of its clients. Yet the legacy of past discrimination remains today, and its consequences for Native Americans need to be discussed.

### Box 6.6 What's in a Gravesite?

Obviously, dead bodies are in a gravesite. Only Native Americans, as a conquered people, have had to endure the desecration of their gravesites and the religious-cultural significance of these sites. Let us propose an alternative scenario: A crew of Native American archaeologists arrives at a cemetery in which members of an ethnic group are buried. They lay a grid over the site, and with careful picking, dusting, sorting, and recording, they then empty the gravesite of its bones. These are then carted back to a reservation, where they are stored in large drawers, labeled and numbered, and used for research by Native American scholars who want to know about a particular ethnic group. Perhaps some of the bones are reassembled and put on display; maybe some are dressed up in native costumes and put on display in a reservation museum.

Few non-Native Americans would tolerate such treatment of their ancestors. Yet many Americans cannot understand why Native Americans are upset at the desecration of their ancestral burial grounds.

In an attempt to prevent further removal of artifacts from Indian burial grounds, the U.S. Congress approved the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (Coughlin, 1994; Tsoie, 1999). Two important provisions in the act are (1) museums are required to notify tribal groups of remains for which the tribes may have a claim or cultural link and (2) goods excavated on federal or tribal land belong to the Indian tribal group that claims the goods.

*The Political Consequences of Being Conquered "Nations"* As we have noted, treaties were utilized to subdue and then dislocate Native Americans from their land—thereby opening up the land to white settlers. By dislocating them from their lands, the federal government removed the basis—land—on which Native Americans could demand political sovereignty (Deloria, 1969; Brown, 1970); with a reduced territorial land base over which they could exercise political power, Native Americans lost power vis-à-vis white Americans. According to Deloria (1992) the concepts embedded in the treaty agreements between Native Americans and the federal government were rooted in the idea of the European ministate. European states would utilize diplomatic relationships, such as treaties, to coexist with other populations within a territory. However, such relationships enabled the stronger, more powerful participant to dominate the weaker, less powerful participant. As a result, the door was open to take land from or to colonize the land of the weaker participant, and as colonization proceeded, less care and concern were exercised in negotiations with Native Americans.

Native Americans entered treaty agreements with the belief that they would be accorded equal political status with the United States and did not perceive treaty agreements as the basis by which an expanding nation, the United States, would usurp their lands. For Deloria (1992:269), it was Native

Americans' misperception of treaty agreements that resulted in their being regarded as "suspect" in the political infrastructure of U.S. society:

Formal diplomatic relations were established with the various indigenous peoples and international political status was accorded them. The difficulty, however, was one of perception. European mini-states had family relationships with the rulers of larger nations, they were contiguous to the powerful countries of Europe, and they represented long-standing historical traditions going back to the time of original settlement when the barbaric tribes had divided the Roman Empire. Indians could not claim this history and since they were of a different "race," and had different religions, languages, and cultures altogether, their political rights, even when phrased in European terms, were always considered to be intellectually suspect.

Treaties were a blatant expression of political discrimination by the United States against Native Americans. To enhance the political colonization of Native Americans established by treaty, the federal government utilized legislation such as the Major Crimes Act (1885), General Allotment Act (1887), Indian Citizenship Act (1924), and Indian Reorganization Act (1934) to extend its jurisdiction over Native American lands (Williams, 1990). This legislation gave the federal government absolute control over land tenure and the political governance of "Indian nations." Indeed, the federal government increased the role of nonnatives in tribal decision making, and according to Robbins (1992:90), this colonial administration of natives often operates under the guise and illusion of self-determination by tribal councils:

The current reality is that American Indian governance within the United States has been converted into something very different from that which traditionally prevailed, or anything remotely resembling the exercise of national self-determination. Through the unilateral assertion of U.S. "plenary power" over Indian affairs, a doctrine forcefully articulated in the 1885 *United States v. Kagama* case, the status of indigenous national governments has been subordinated to that of the federal government. . . . Under legislation such as Public Law 280, which emerged during the 1950s, the status of Indian nations has been in many cases again unilaterally lowered by the United States, this time to a level below that of the states, placing the indigenous governments affected by the change in approximately the same postures as counties. . . . In sum, it is accurate to observe, as has been noted elsewhere, that American Indian nations within the geography presently claimed by the United States exist in a condition of "internal colonization."

**Political Control by the BIA** The BIA was originally housed in the War Department (the precursor to the current Department of Defense), a clear signal that the bureau was designed to control a conquered people. Later, the BIA was moved to the Department of the Interior, but a bureaucratic pattern had already been set. Because Native Americans were a conquered enemy, tight regulation of their internal political affairs could be justified. Only federal prison inmates, and perhaps the Confederacy in the brief period of radical Reconstruction after the Civil War, have experienced this degree of external control by government.

Some kind of protective agency like the BIA was perhaps necessary when it was established in 1825, the period when genocide was at its peak. But the consequence of bureaucratic regulation has been much like that of contemporary welfare programs: It created dependency; it undermined Native American culture; it denied its clients self-respect; and it most significantly undermined the capacity for self-governance. Even today, as greater efforts are being made at encouraging self-governance, the colonized status of Native Americans on their reservations thwarts such efforts. In turn, the lack of self-governance and the dependence on the federal government is used to justify continued government intrusion, thereby perpetuating the colonized and dependent status of many Native Americans.

Much of the problem resides in the structure of the BIA itself. As a highly centralized bureaucracy with its central offices located in Washington, DC, the bureau is too removed from its clients. From this central office, the bureau fans out into area administrative offices, then to around sixty field installations, such as boarding schools and irrigation projects, and finally into several hundred minor installations. Until recently (and even today but less so than in the past) too much authority has resided in Washington and the area offices, which are staffed primarily by nonnatives. The result is that those closest to the problems of Native Americans in the field installations have the least authority and must constantly seek higher approval by nonnative administrators.

In addition to this source of inefficiency and insensitivity to the needs and problems of its clients, the BIA bureaucracy must cope with myriad tribal rules, archaic legislative acts, recent legislation, and judicial precedents when seeking to make important decisions. For example, there are close to 400 treaties, well over 5,000 legislative statutes, hundreds upon hundreds of Interior Department and solicitor rulings, over 600 opinions submitted by the attorney general, around 100 tribal constitutions, almost that many tribal charters, and vast numbers of BIA administrative procedures. With this complex load, decisions are made slowly and given unnecessarily detailed review. Administrators become ritualists who lose sight of the goal of the BIA—to assist Native Americans—and, instead, often view the interests of the BIA and its clients as opposed. The conflict between Native Americans and the BIA is most evident in the area of economic discrimination. The BIA administered treaties bureaucratically, and efforts to thwart Native American self-determination have inhibited economic development on the reservations.

A report from the National Academy of Public Administration (1999) drew further attention to the mismanagement of the BIA, noting that "the lack of credible management of BIA appears to impair its capacity to represent Indians within the administration and before Congress." The report noted that record keeping is so incomplete and chaotic that internal auditing arms of the BIA cannot monitor the \$1.7 billion budget. Indeed, the report concluded that management is so lax in the BIA that the agency violates federal laws governing finances. Even the current head of the BIA acknowledges that the criticisms of the report are justified. Thus, the BIA continues to be a serious problem in lives of Native Americans.

The BIA is not the only governmental agency abusing Native Americans. In 1999, government lawyers for the Treasury Department, which manages trust fund accounts worth some \$500 million for 300,000 Native Americans, were found to have given false testimony to the federal judge overseeing lawsuits against Treasury for mismanagement of the fund. In a shocking report, the Treasury Department was found to have shredded 162 boxes of documents related to the case and then lied to the judge about its actions. These actions occurred while the judge was hearing testimony that the Treasury Department had also destroyed microfilm potentially pertinent to the case. Thus, other governmental agencies have conspired against the interests of Native Americans, the very group that they are supposed to be serving. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government is viewed suspiciously by Native Americans, since the same old patterns of deceit and obfuscation have persisted into the twenty-first century.

**Economic Discrimination** One reason European explorers ventured to the New World was to find lands that they could exploit. These European explorers assumed that by conquering as many "foreign" lands as possible, they would increase the economic power of their country. The settlers who came to what is now the United States also saw land as necessary for establishing their own economic base in their new surroundings. The treaties between the federal government and the Native American nations were a crucial step in colonizing the natives; these treaties, and later acts of Congress, displaced natives from their lands, making these lands accessible to white settlers. As a result, Native Americans became economically colonized—their lands were not under their control to use as an economic tool. Jaimes (1992:127) notes that the manner in which the federal government robbed Native Americans of their economic power could be highly devious:

In constricting the acknowledged size of Indian populations, the government could technically meet its obligations to receive "first rights" to water usage for Indians while simultaneously siphoning off artificial "surpluses" to non-Indian agricultural, ranching, municipal, and industrial use in the arid west. The same principle pertains to the assignment of fishing quotas in the Pacific Northwest, a matter directly related to the development of a lucrative non-Indian fishing industry there.

The loss of their lands and resources undercut Native Americans' economic infrastructure; they were unable to derive a livelihood from stock raising, herding, and agriculture. For example, in 1940, 58 percent of the Navajo reservation derived a livelihood from raising sheep and farming, but by 1958 the number had dropped to below 10 percent. Speaking for the Native Americans, Winona LaDuke (as quoted in Jaimes, 1992:128–29) states that the denial of livelihood has produced poverty and hopelessness:

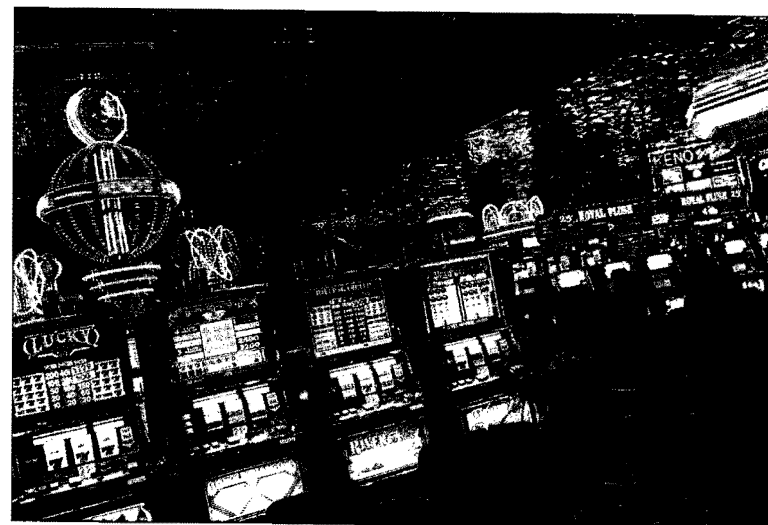
[We] have the lowest per capita income of any population group in the U.S. We have the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest level of educational attainment. We have the highest rates of malnutrition, plague disease, death by exposure and infant mortality. On the other hand, we have the shortest

life-span. Now, I think this says it all. Indian wealth is going somewhere, and that somewhere is definitely not to Indians. I don't know your definition of colonialism, but this certainly fits into mine.

Unemployment and dependency on welfare are the results of economic discrimination (Tinker and Bush, 1991; Ainsworth, 1989). Morris (1992:70) emphasizes that what makes the economic condition of Native Americans unique is the amount of political and economic control as well as manipulation exercised by the BIA. The BIA often creates employment opportunities for Native Americans that keep them tied to governments. According to a report prepared by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1975, on the Navajo reservation, for example, 35 percent of the working-age population was employed year-round, leaving 65 percent of the working-age population unemployed; of the 35 percent, the majority (over 60 percent) was employed in government programs. The unemployed are likely to depend on federal subsidies (e.g., welfare) for their livelihood, and federal programs employing only a small proportion of Navajo people ensure the dependence of a larger proportion on the welfare system. Churchill and LaDuke (1992) argue that this pattern of maintaining Native Americans at a subsistence level continued through the 1980s and into the 1990s. Indeed, the budgetary cutbacks in social services during the Reagan and first Bush administrations threatened even the base subsistence of Native Americans.

One effort to increase the resources available to Native Americans, and in turn to increase their degree of independence, has been to seek agreements with corporations to extract resources from reservation lands in exchange for rents

Casinos offer some hope for economic viability on Indian reservations. However, it will take more than casino revenue to offset the cumulative effects of past economic, political, and legal discrimination.





and profit shares. Although the BIA has led the way in this effort, the economic condition of Native Americans (largely created by past BIA actions) places them in a poor bargaining position. Moreover, the corporations often gain a low-wage labor force and a nonregulated work environment, especially with respect to safety and health codes for workers.

The economic dependence of Native Americans on federal employment programs and social services increases their colonized status in the United States, even when negotiating with private corporations. Native Americans thus experience economic discrimination that prevents them from utilizing their central asset—land—to become economically self-sufficient. As a consequence, they remain economically dependent on government, on the one side, and potential victims of predatory practices of economic enterprises, on the other.

The proliferation of casino-style gambling on some Indian reservations is often seen as a potential way to overcome the cumulative effects of past economic discrimination. One hundred sixty-six of the 550 tribes had casinos in 1996; twenty-eight tribes were losing money; and fifty-four were making only enough money to offer \$10,000 per tribal member. A report written in 1999 by the BIA concludes that “the results of shifting federal Indian policies, coupled with limited resources and investments in Indian communities and Indian people, cannot quickly be reversed by a few good years of casino revenues” (quoted in Barlett and Steele, 2002). Moreover, even with casino revenues, the BIA calculated that in 1998, tribes received only about one-third of what they needed for basic problems, such as child welfare, courts, land management, and assistance to the elderly. Funding fell short by at least \$1.2 billion in meeting the needs of Native Americans. In asking for the BIA report, Congress wanted to consider shifting the allocation of federal monies to the poorest tribes, because some smaller and more affluent tribes get much more funding per person than larger, poorer tribes. Yet the report cautioned against this policy, and Native American leaders are adamantly against reallocation. Their reasoning is that all Native American tribes are underfunded and that to take from one tribe to give to another is simply a way “to equalize poverty.”

More recent data from the Urban Institute indicate that in 2001 this mixed picture of the economic effects of gaming operations persists. Many nations continue to lose money. Most make only small profits and, hence, can offer only modest salaries, stipends, and basic services to their members; and most nations do not receive any benefit from gaming operations (Hillabrant, Earp, Rhoades, and Pindus, 2004; Zelio, 2005).

**Educational Discrimination** Education was a key element in efforts to colonize Native Americans. In general, formal education was designed to facilitate submission; it is not surprising, therefore, that the “education” of the Native American population began very early after the arrival of the Europeans (Cross, 1999). For example, as early as 1611, French Jesuit missionaries established schools along the St. Lawrence River to educate Indians in the French manner (Mulvey, 1936). During the early 1600s, Spanish Jesuits in California developed

a system of mission schools that focused on teaching Indians in Spanish as required by the Spanish government (Bishop, 1917). These early educational efforts emphasized “conversion” of the native to European culture and language, with the result that Native American languages and cultures were suppressed. Noriega (1992:373–74) has noted:

In effect, the system by which Native Americans are purportedly “educated” by Euroamerica has from the onset been little more than a means by which to supplant indigenous cultures. This has had, or at least has been intended to have, the predictable effect of demolishing the internal cohesion of native societies, thereby destroying the ability of these societies to resist conquest and colonization.

**The Educational Model** The educational model imposed on Native Americans by Europeans was rooted in the boarding school. Children were required to attend schools away from their homes, and they were rarely permitted to visit their families. The Bureau of Indian Affairs promoted the boarding schools as the best vehicle for assimilating Indian youths into American society (Trennert, 1982). As a result, Indian youths were often removed from their homes at the age of 6 and were not returned to their homes until their schooling was completed around the age of 18. When “educated” Native American children returned home, they had often lost much of their own culture and their place in this culture. As Noriega (1992:381) notes, “Altogether, the whole procedure conforms to one of the criteria—the forced transfer of children from a targeted racial, ethnic, national, or religious group to be reared and absorbed by a physically dominating group—specified as a Crime Against Humanity under the United Nations 1948 Convention on Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide.”

Native American families attempted to prevent the dislocation of their children by hiding them from education authorities. Lummins (1968) documents efforts by the Hopi to prevent Mormon missionaries from sending their children to the Intermountain School in Utah. After Hopi parents refused to hand their children over to the Mormon missionaries, federal troops were called in to round up the children. The Hopi greeted the troops by showering them with rocks. The troops subdued the Hopi, rounded up the majority of their children, and sent them to a boarding school in Utah. One result of the Mormon missionaries’ involvement in Indian education was the fracturing of the Hopi into two factions—Mormon Hopi and traditional Hopi (Titiev, 1944; Thompson and Joseph, 1944).

**Higher Education** While boarding schools were designed to dislocate native youths from their tribes and families, higher education focused on two concerns: (1) vocational training rather than advanced academic studies and (2) the mainstreaming of Native Americans into white society (Wright and Tierney, 1991). Despite the efforts of Dartmouth and Harvard to educate select Native American students, tribal resistance to higher education was widespread.

Historically, Native American tribes have regarded the higher education of their youths as a last step in their isolation from the tribe. For example, the Six Nations' response to an invitation from the College of William and Mary in 1744 to send their sons to the college was (as quoted in Wright and Tierney, 1991:13) the following:

We love our children too well to send them so great a Way, and the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us.

The **Indian Reorganization Act of 1934** was the U.S. government's first step in shaping higher education policy for Native Americans. Until then, religious missionaries and charities had initiated efforts in this area. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 attempted to increase Indian participation in higher education by establishing loan and scholarship programs, but students remained reluctant to pursue a higher education because they regarded college as a hostile and alienating environment.

It was not until the 1970s that Native Americans were able to address the issue of tribal colleges. The **Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975** and the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 were instrumental in shifting control of higher education from the federal government to the tribes. Native Americans could now develop a higher education system that was neither paternalistic nor assimilationist in its goals. As a result, there are now thirty-two tribally controlled colleges in twelve western and midwestern states (American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 1999). Together, these institutions service about 11,000 students and enroll about 9,200 students on a full-time basis. However, these colleges are dependent on the U.S. federal government for their financial existence. It may be that higher education for Native Americans may not survive as long as it is dependent on a government that has a history of ignoring the cultural and social rights of the tribes. As Wright and Tierney (1991:17) have observed:

Because Indian students most often live in economically poor communities, tuition is low and local tax dollars do not offer much assistance. Congress has authorized up to \$6,000 per student, but, in reality, the amount released to the colleges decreased throughout the Reagan era so that by 1989 the amount generated for each student was only \$1,900. . . . One would think that if the government was serious about increasing opportunities for Indian youth, then colleges would be provided the funds necessary to aid those youth.

The history of formal education for Native Americans has been marked by repression of their cultural, linguistic, and social identity (Davis, 1998; Deloria and Laurence, 1991). Boarding schools were developed with a paternalistic goal—to civilize the "savages" by having them trade in their moccasins for shoes, their language for English, and their cultural beliefs for traditional western religion (Bartelt, 1992). Overall, higher education has not created the same opportunities for self-fulfillment and advancement available to white Americans or other minority groups.

## STRATIFICATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

By almost any indicator—median income, years of schooling, job classification, housing, medical care, life expectancy—Native Americans are at or near the bottom of the resource-distribution ladder. Their socioeconomic position is perpetuated by the reservation system: Native Americans are isolated from the broader society in the government's effort to maintain bureaucratic control and in their own attempt to preserve what is left of their indigenous cultures. Coupled with the fact that much of their land (which could serve as an economic base for mobility within and between Native American and non-Native American class systems) has been lost, the prospect for economic development on reservations is uncertain. Those nations located on land rich in natural resources have some hope if they can secure capital and avoid nonexploitative relations with both the government and the private sector.

The impoverishment of the Native American population emerged and persisted because of the dynamic processes outlined in Chapter 2 (see especially Figure 2.3 on page 52). Native Americans were readily identifiable because of their cultural and organizational distinctiveness, and they have historically posed threats to white Americans, many of whom saw them as potentially inhibiting the growth and expansion of society (Russell, 1994). As a result, a range of negative stereotypes—from "the savage" to "the fat cat"—has legitimized discriminatory practices: attempted genocide under the guise of war, continued acts of violence and murder, isolation on reservations, land-grabbing, denial of voting rights, removal from traditional lands to new and unfamiliar reservations, efforts to force Native Americans to conform to European culture, stealing of mineral and resource rights, and rigid bureaucratic control by agencies of the federal government. All these forces sustained the identifiability of Native Americans while denying them resources. The result was the creation of not only a colonized population but also an ethnic caste.

To break this cycle of discrimination, individual Native Americans face difficult choices: to stay on impoverished reservations and try to preserve what is left of their culture or to enter a Eurocentric society that is not prepared to facilitate their upward mobility. In either case, the majority of Native Americans will remain isolated either in the lower socioeconomic stratum of mainstream society or in the impoverished reservation system (see Box 6.7).

## RESPONDING TO DISCRIMINATION

### War as a Nonviable Response

The initial response of Native Americans to the European invasion of their homelands appears, on balance, to have been one of cooperation and accommodation, punctuated by acts of violence. As it became evident to Native Americans that their territories were to be occupied and that they were to be displaced, more conflict occurred. Given their numerical and technological

**Box 6.7****Problems Faced by Indian Youth**

While Indian casinos attract a lot of public attention, other aspects of the American Indian community are ignored. It is often assumed by the American public that Indian gaming provides Indian communities with financial resources that allow them to live better than most Americans. It is also believed that Indian gaming results in financial gains that enable Indian communities to rid themselves of social problems.

One social problem that has been increasing in Indian communities is violent crime, especially among Indian youth. Indian youth are facing challenges that often result in violence as well as drug and alcohol abuse. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell has stated, "The greatest challenges facing American Indian youth are overcoming the obstacles to living a normal childhood, receiving a sound education, and being equipped to compete for jobs in the modern economy. Obstacles such as violence, drug and alcohol abuse, poorly funded schools, discrimination, and racism place incredible burdens on American Indian youth." Senator Campbell has identified social forces—normal childhood, a sound education, and job skills—that are important to altering the life experiences of Indian youth away from negative social outcomes. Accordingly, Senator Campbell identifies some of the social correlates that are associated with negative social outcomes for Indian youth—violence, drugs, and alcohol abuse.

**VIOLENCE**

There is no question that one outcome of participation in gang activities is violence. The number of Indian youth involved in gangs became more noticeable after 1990. Before 1990, less than 10 percent of Indian communities reported gang problems among youth. The Bureau of Indian Affairs noted in 1997 that 132 tribes reported 375 gangs with almost 5,000 members operating on or near Indian reservations. In 2000, 23 percent of sixty-nine Indian communities reported active youth gangs, with

disadvantage, however, war was not a viable response for the Native Americans. Indeed, war led to near extinction. By 1871, the remaining Native Americans and their nations had been conquered, moved to reservations, and made wards of the federal government.

**Retreatism as Another Nonviable Response**

One response of colonized populations is to mount retreatist social movements in the belief that supernatural powers will intervene and return the people to some idealized era. Among Native Americans such **millenarian movements** occurred frequently in the latter part of the nineteenth century and remain in some form to this day.

The most famous millenarian movement occurred in the 1870s among the Great Plains natives in **Ghost Dance groups** who were responding to a vision that Native Americans would return on a train in great numbers just as the earth swallowed up all white people. When this did not occur, the movement

the majority (59 percent) of Indian communities reporting the presence of between one and five gangs. The offenses that Indian youth gang members are most often involved in (by order of decreasing frequency) are: graffiti, vandalism, drug sales, aggravated assault, burglary, theft, and robbery.

**DRUG AND ALCOHOL ABUSE**

The alcoholism death rate for Indian youth between the ages of 15 and 24 is 5.5 deaths per 100,000 compared with 0.3 for other minorities and whites. Indian youth are arrested at twice the national average for alcohol-related crimes. The drug-related death rate for Indian youth is 3.3 deaths per 100,000 compared with a death rate of 3.0 for other minorities and 2.3 for whites.

**DEATH**

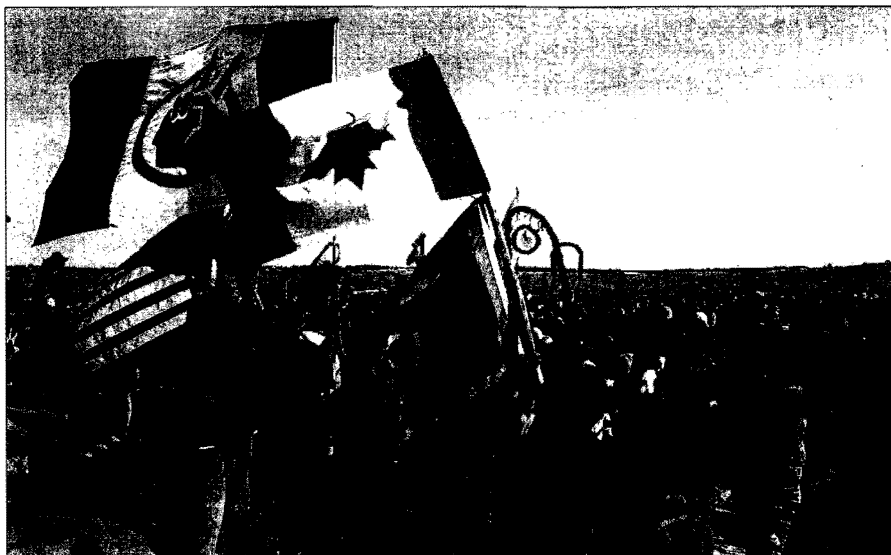
Indian youth are 58 percent more likely than either black or white youth to become crime victims. Indian youth account for 13 percent of all Indian deaths, compared to 4 percent for other minorities and 3 percent for whites. The suicide rate among Indian youth is 2.7 times the rates for other minorities and whites. Indian youth under the age of 15 are murdered at a rate of 2.6 per 100,000 compared with a rate of 1.8 for other minorities and 1.2 for whites.

There is increasing concern in Indian communities that the needs of Indian youth are being ignored. The preceding statistics suggest that Indian youth are at risk in American society, probably more than other minority or white youth. Tribal leaders are concerned that the increasing participation of Indian youth in criminal and deviant activities puts the Indian community at risk. In particular, the participation of Indian youth in criminal activities challenges Indian community notions of collectivism and sharing. Indian youth are vital to the continuity and strength of the Indian community. As such, American society must not lose sight of what needs to be done to help Indian youth meet the challenges they face.

Sources: Arrillaga, 2001; Campbell, 2000: 1–5; Major and Egley, 2002; Wound, 2000.

died down, but a decade later, a new Ghost Dance vision stimulated another movement. Although these movements did not persist, they initiated some cooperation among tribes, an initiative that would have increasing significance.

As the Ghost Dance movement receded, **peyotism** spread through the Great Plains. A mild hallucinogen, peyote gave religious ceremonies a new power because of the experiences induced. This movement sought to develop an intertribal religion, mixing some elements of Christianity and Mormonism that had been forced on them with holdovers from their own religions. This movement was assailed, especially because drugs were involved; nonetheless, under the constitutional protection of religious freedom, it became organized as the Native American Church in 1918 and affiliated with Christian groups (Price, 1978). Over the decades, Native American criticism of Christianity has mounted, but membership continues to increase. The Native American Church was the first successful effort at **pan-Indianism**, the unification of Native American nations for explicitly political purposes (Stewart, 1987).



One of the more radical movements seeking to rally Native Americans in pursuit of political goals, the American Indian Movement is known for its confrontations with the federal government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 2003, a crowd gathered to mark the thirtieth anniversary of AIM's standoff against the government at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

### Pan-Indianism and Ethnogenesis

In a sense, the Ghost Dance groups represented pan-Indianism; the peyote sacrament evolved into the Native American Church, which has taken on explicitly political goals. The Iroquois Confederation represented an earlier version of pan-Indianism but was confined to the Iroquois, as were a number of similar confederations dating back to the time of the first contact with Europeans. In many ways, pan-Indianism is a form of **ethnogenesis** whereby subgroups who have certain common traditions and have experienced similar patterns of discrimination seek to form a new kind of ethnic identity. Historically, Native American populations were very different in language, culture, and social structure, but they all experienced similar patterns of discrimination, which have given them a basis for forming a new ethnicity that mixes elements of their traditional cultures with new beliefs about how they have been treated by the institutional systems of "white America."

It was only after decades of BIA domination that Native Americans began to unite in significant numbers (Snipp, 1986). The **National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)** was the first truly nationwide organization to represent Native Americans and to engage in active lobbying in Washington (much as the NAACP and Urban League have done for African Americans).

This organization has had numerous successes in overcoming restrictive laws and abusive bureaucratic practices by the BIA. Perhaps its greatest accomplishment was to establish the Indians Claims Commission, which has been active and successful in returning land to Native Americans and in remunerating Native Americans for past abuses.

The **American Indian Movement (AIM)** represents a more radical movement to organize Native American nations to pursue political goals, a movement dominated by Plains tribes. The founders, Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks, began by using both confrontational tactics—such as patrols to monitor the police—and more subtle strategies such as alcohol rehabilitation and school reform. The AIM is best known for its confrontations with the federal government and the BIA. **Fish-ins** to protest government interference with traditional Native American fishing areas, seizing Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay in 1969, and the Wounded Knee confrontation brought considerable media notoriety to the AIM and, perhaps even more important, sensitized many white Americans to the plight of the descendants of the first Americans (Eagle, 1992).

Under President Nixon in the 1970s, some progress was made in addressing Native American grievances. But the intensity of confrontation has not diminished; indeed, it has intensified because of the accurate perception that the progress of the 1970s waned in the 1990s and that the government relies on conservative tribal leaders' judgments in making policies. Moreover, infighting among factions of Native American militants has escalated the violence, as has the perception that a civil rights movement much like that among African Americans could be more successful (Schaefer, 1990:196). Yet the influence of the AIM appears to be waning, and a new point of conflict has emerged: control and development of the resources on and under Native American land.

### The Economic Battle

In 1975, the **Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT)** was formed, with the goal of forming an OPEC-like cartel to coordinate the development of, and perhaps manipulate the market for, the resources on reservation land. Vast reserves of oil and other key resources are located on Native American lands. Yet the effort to develop and control these resources has not been highly successful. A few notable exceptions can be found, but CERT has threatened many people and mobilized large mineral and energy companies in ways that may be counterproductive to Native American economic advancement, although the long-term efforts of CERT may prove otherwise.

Other economic development programs are based on the special status of reservation lands as sovereign nations—albeit easily invaded and highly regulated nations. The use of reservations for gambling has increased over the last decade; the shift from bingo and card parlors to much more sophisticated gaming resorts has been financed and managed by hotel and gambling interests from nonreservation locations, such as Las Vegas and Atlantic City. These new

kinds of enterprises provide employment and cash flow for tribes, but they rarely lead to independence from outside economic interests, who take the lion's share of profits and who maintain management control of the hotels and casinos. Moreover, gambling invites further government regulation in an effort to avoid the infiltration of organized crime and other illegal activities.

Thus, through organized protest, punctuated by sporadic violence, Native Americans have significantly reduced the government's abusive practices. But a basic dilemma remains: Much of Native American culture is gone, yet assimilation into the Eurocentric mainstream is difficult and, for many, undesirable. If economic development, self-governance, and increased prosperity are to be achieved on the reservation, then new cultural traditions, new sources of start-up capital, and new relations with government and industry will have to be created. Pan-Indian organization, effective lobbying, and strategic protests offer the best hope for the future.

## SUMMARY

Long before Europeans discovered the Americas, earlier immigrants from Asia had settled and established viable societies. These societies were, however, comparatively simple; though they had existed for thousands of years, they were no match for the Europeans, who by 1850 had nearly eliminated the native populations of the Americas. The conquest of "American Indians" and their subsequent confinement to reservations has left a legacy of discrimination rivaled only by the treatment of African Americans, who were imported as slaves. In income, access to jobs, educational attainment, rates of poverty, standards of housing, and life span, the original Americans rank at the bottom on almost all shares of valued resources in the society.

This condition has been sustained by the identifiability of Native Americans and by the embellishment of "distinctiveness" by the government's emphasis on "blood" and other biological features (rather minor ones). Such identifiability has been accompanied by derogatory stereotyping of Native Americans as savages, cigar store Indians, fodder for killing by "noble" cowboys, reservation drunks, fat cat capitalists, and many other vicious stereotypes. Only recently have these stereotypes been mitigated by some superficially more favorable portrayals of Native Americans. They still must endure the humiliation of being used as athletic team mascots and disrespect to their burial grounds via archaeological assaults. Identifiability of Native Americans has been encouraged by a system of government categories and policies, which, along with negative stereotyping, has legitimized discrimination via treaty agreements that have been routinely violated by Anglos, forced transfers of populations, mendacious practices by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, bans on voting, diminution of citizenship rights of the first Americans even on their reservations, loss of landownership and the economic potential of these lands, bias in hiring, and inferior schools on and off the reservation. By any indicator of well-being, Native

Americans are worse off than any other ethnic population in America because of discrimination.

Native Americans have fought this discrimination, first by unsuccessful wars, then by retreatism in the face of their conquest, and recently by active movements to foster a pan-Indian culture. The call of pan-Indianism engages Native Americans in political and legal protest and, most important, develops administrative expertise which can, perhaps, enhance the potential wealth of the remaining native lands.

## POINTS OF DEBATE

Many Americans see the conquest of the native population as an outcome of war fought fair and square. Yet no other population conquered by the Anglo-Saxon core has had to endure the discrimination experienced by Native Americans. Indeed, in the twentieth century, efforts were made to help rebuild the conquered nations around the world and to establish friendly and mutually beneficial relations with their inhabitants. Such has not been the case for American Indians, who were displaced from their land, confined to reservations, regulated by government, and cheated at almost every turn by both government and large-scale economic enterprises. The legacy of this treatment of America's true natives now raises important points of debate.

1. Should the lands, or at least portions of them, that were taken in violation of treaties be given back to the Native Americans, or should they be compensated for the loss of their most valuable asset? Most white Americans are against any such effort; but in a society that values the principle of justice within the rule of law and order, should not past violations of the law be redressed in some way?
2. Should Native Americans be encouraged to enter the mainstream of society or stay somewhat isolated on the reservations, preserving what is left of their cultures? To do the former would require enormous expenditures in creating new educational and job opportunities, whereas the latter, without subsidizing the economic development of the reservations, would perpetuate the current situation. How can either policy mitigate white Americans' resistance to public expenditures for welfare or their increasing fear of the development of Native American lands? Even more recent use of lands for gambling, which whites and other ethnics use and enjoy, generates protest from adjacent communities who fear a change in their lifestyle. Is such protest legitimate in light of the lifestyle adjustments forced on the first Americans over the last two centuries?
3. Is it time to dismantle the Bureau of Indian Affairs and allow Native Americans to go their own way? Or is the bureau necessary to protect Native Americans from predatory practices and to facilitate economic development? Or is some other form of government assistance needed, a form not so rooted in past patterns of exploitation?

## KEY TERMS/KEY LEGISLATION

- Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971), 163  
 American Indian Movement (AIM), 177  
 blood quantum measure, 156  
 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 164  
 Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), 177  
 Dawes Act of 1887 (General Allotment Act), 156  
 ethnogenesis, 176  
 fish-ins, 177  
 General Allotment Act (1887), 162  
 Ghost Dance groups, 174  
 Indian Citizenship Act (1924), 162  
 Indian Claims Commission Act (1946), 163  
 Indian Removal Act (1830), 161  
 Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, 172  
 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, 172  
 Indian-white miscegenation laws, 162  
 Major Crimes Act (1885), 162  
 Manifest Destiny, 161  
 millenarian movements, 174  
 National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), 176  
 pan-Indianism, 175  
 percentage of Indian blood, 156  
 peyotism, 175  
 Relocation Act (1956), 163

Visit our text-specific website at [www.mhhe.com/aguirre6e](http://www.mhhe.com/aguirre6e) for valuable resources for both students and instructors.

## Latinos

By the midpoint of the nineteenth century, the existence of Spanish-speaking populations posed a new front for ethnic conflict—adding to the ethnic tensions arising from the persistence of slavery and the “wars” with Native American nations. The Spanish had exerted their influence on the southern portions of the Northern Hemisphere, Central and South America, as well as the island populations off the shores of Florida and the Deep South. Inevitably the uneasy relations between the two cultures, the Anglo-Saxon core and various white ethnic groups from other European societies on one side, and Latinos on the other, would culminate in a clash.

The term **Latino** does not denote a unified ethnic population (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Saenz, 2004). Although the Latino population in the United States consists of three major groups—Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans—it also incorporates immigrants from Central and South America who immigrated in noticeable numbers during the past two decades (Munoz, 1989; Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, 1980; Johnson, Johnson-Webb, and Farrell, 1999; Lopez-Garza and Diaz, 2001).

Today, there are over 40 million Latinos living in the United States. As Table 7.1 documents, this population constitutes 14.8 percent of the total population in the United States, which is almost double its percentage of three decades ago. Sixty-four percent of the Latino population is of Mexican origin and ancestry; 9 percent is from Puerto Rico; and 3.4 percent is from Cuba. In this chapter we focus on these three Latino populations because they represent the most coherent subsets of Latinos living in the United States. But, as Table 7.1 shows, the numbers of Central and South Americans together constitute a larger group than Cubans and a group almost as large as Puerto Ricans. However, because they originate from a diverse set of nations, they do not form a coherent ethnic subpopulation—other than their status as Latino immigrants.

What concerns non-Latinos, of course, is the rapid influx of immigrants from Spanish-speaking nations into the United States and their comparatively high birthrates. The result is that between 1990 and 2006, the Mexican-origin population increased their representation in the Latino populations by 4.7 percent, the Puerto Rican population decreased by 0.7 percent, and the Cuban population decreased by 0.1 percent. Factoring in all Latinos from other nations, the growth rate of Latinos between 2000 and 2005 was 12.5 percent, compared to a