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BLACKFEET REVITALIZATION:
AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
MOVEMENT AMONG BLACKFEET COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

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B.A., Parsons College, 1967

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of


Master of Arts

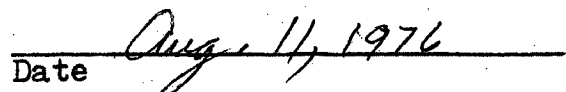
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Anthropology

Blackfeet Revitalization: An Interpretive Study of the American Indian Movement Among Blackfeet College Students (95 pp.)

Director: Frank B. Bessac *F.B.*

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, it attempts to examine the American Indian Movement from the perspective of a single part of a group of Native American people. Secondly, it arrives at some conclusions regarding the desire of Blackfeet college students to participate in an activist movement such as AIM, or in another endeavor, higher education.

The data was obtained from fifty structured interviews, twenty interviews of Blackfeet students and thirty interviews from several groups of Caucasian students, all of whom were in attendance at the University of Montana during the academic year 1975-76.

Briefly, it can be said that as a general concept, the Blackfeet student group invisions AIM as a helpful and worthy effort to make known to Indian people, and all races, the inequities of the social system in which the Native American lives. However, the Blackfeet student group believes that their participation in higher education will likely produce the greatest benefits for themselves and all Native Americans. Active participation in the movement is given a low priority.

For the most part, however, higher education is seen as the most viable, productive alternative for improving Native American status, retaining a measure of ethnic identity and securing equal rights for all Blackfeet.

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PREFACE

The intent of this paper is to examine the American Indian Movement from a Blackfeet college student perspective. In addition, Blackfeet student attitudes about activist movements and higher education is presented in an effort to arrive at some conclusions regarding their desire to participate in activist movements and college level work. Generally, the position taken is that the American Indian Movement is a movement of revitalization. However, the theories of Ralph Linton indicate that the American Indian Movement can better be identified as rational-nativism. The research is based on fifty structured interviews obtained from twenty Blackfeet college students and thirty additional students enrolled in required courses at the University of Montana during the academic year 1975-76. The Blackfeet students responded to a ten-question interview, in booklet form, and the comparative student group recorded their answers to seven questions that were also presented in an interview booklet. A brief compilation of the responses to the interviews is found in the data pages in the appendix.

I would like to acknowledge the teaching skills of Mrs. Edna Tunure, secondary education instructor, retired, Dunedin, Florida for her extraordinary ability to inspire young minds and fascinate students with demonstrations of

the basic laws of science. Special thanks to Carling I. Malouf, Dee C. Taylor, Charlene G. Smith, Floyd W. Scharrock and in particular Frank B. Bessac, for their continued encouragement that resulted in the completion of this paper. Finally, appreciation is extended to Gary N. Kimble, Montana State Legislator and instructor in the Native American studies program at the University of Montana, for his assistance during the academic year 1975-76.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

This thesis seeks to arrive at some conclusions regarding the interrelating effects of the American Indian Movement and higher education on Blackfeet ethnic identity, ideals and attitudes.

This thesis will show that efforts to make life better for Blackfeet and all Indian people have created a need for the Blackfeet and a desire by Blackfeet young people to do something to improve their condition. The question of whether activists movements or higher education or both can help achieve the desired goals is discussed by this paper.

PROBLEM

Primarily, I propose to show that AIM is in fact an example of revitalization, namely a cultural innovation that should be considered a deliberate organized effort by members of a society to impart a more acceptable cultural environment while partially retaining elements of the old.

Secondly, it is argued that regional differences affect the impact and dissemination of information about any nativistic movement and play a large part in determining if

that movement will find acceptance. These differences will also determine the form in which the movement presents itself. In this view, then, AIM is seen as an effort to place at a distance foreign persons, to eliminate non-Indian customs and values, and it is a movement that seeks to emphasize traditional values that are thought to be important.

While AIM will be examined as previously stated, it should be noted that its effects will be thought of primarily in terms of the Blackfeet in Montana. Although AIM has not generated much force on the Blackfeet Reservation, many of those Blackfeet who have had experiences with the movement are currently living in Missoula, and a good number are or have been students at the University of Montana located in Missoula.

In addition, Blackfeet students seem to be involved, active young members of their tribe. Their attitudes and opinions appear to reflect a considerable concern for themselves and for all Blackfeet.

It should be noted that AIM and its effects on attitudes and the esteem for which it may be held will likely vary from tribe to tribe. During the initial interviews I learned that this was indeed the situation after I investigated the matter with a former member of the Southern Cheyenne-Arapaho tribal council, and had an interview with a Blackfeet student, a graduate in anthropology. Whether or not conclusions from this study

can be applied to other Plains groups will remain for future investigation. This study should be viewed as a preliminary one but may aid others in research projects in other areas of the country in efforts to determine the effects of AIM on Native American motivations.

METHODS-PROCEDURES

Techniques to obtain information were direct observation, informal interviews, structured interviews, discussions, use of historical records, and on occasions there were direct participant situations. Opinions about AIM, the relationship of individuals to the tribe and AIM effects on Blackfeet tribal identity were clearly similar among the Blackfeet student response group.

In 1973 and early 1974 AIM in Missoula was an organization in which civil disobedience and direct confrontation were not excluded as part of its program. During 1975 I found that as the movement aged, some of those interviewed in 1973 and 1974 had tempered their attitudes slightly, although in some cases they had significantly changed. That is to say, many young Blackfeet see education as a way to meet whites on their own terms. The violence that many immediately associate with AIM has not been productive in the sense that hardcore results benefiting Indian people are not to be found. There are those Blackfeet who will continue to participate in the activist aspect of AIM, but there are also many that believe education will

produce the more positive results for Blackfeet people. One such person, who in 1973 was an active civil disobedient, now is enrolled as a full-time student and hopes to complete an undergraduate degree while at the same time maintaining an active role in AIM.

Many direct questions prompted honest, straightforward responses. Of approximately 35 Indians with whom I had conversations and interviews, most were Blackfeet, 2 were Oglala-Sioux. Over a two-year period several re-interviews were conducted. The new material did not appreciably differ from the earlier discussions. All the persons interviewed cooperated, although in early 1973 several were skeptical about my intentions. Those Blackfeet who were students at the university seemed anxious to participate in the research, and simultaneous interviews with one to three persons produced some of the finest discussions. In general almost all of those interviewed seemed eager to give opinions and responses when questioned about AIM and their relationship to it. All had very definite opinions and their replies reflected little hesitancy in responding to questions.

A literature survey revealed that few anthropologists have devoted time to the study of recent revitalization movements. There are many who write on the examples of such movements but theoretical writings are scarce. I have attempted to present a conceptual section containing the theoretical orientation of three major theorists in the field

with respect to revitalization, F.C. Anthony Wallace, Ralph Linton, and A.F. Hollowell. The remaining research perspective is influenced by those listed in the bibliography.

This paper is organized as follows. An ethnographic sketch is presented to acquaint the reader with Blackfeet pre-history, white contact times and the turbulent treaty years. Also included is a brief description of current reservation life and environment.

The conceptual background section attempts to sort out the major theories regarding nativistic movements. Attention is given the major theorists in hopes of clarifying information and placing AIM in proper perspective with respect to its own particular circumstances and Blackfeet viewpoint. Following is a section reviewing the interviews and analysis of each question asked twenty Blackfeet students and seven questions asked thirty Caucasian students. The data collected and representing the responses of the two interviewed groups is found in the appendix. The recorded responses in the appendix are not the total response given by each respondent, but that which appears is exactly quoted and is representative of statements best characterizing the response of each person interviewed.

Chapter 2

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH

It is believed that the Blackfeet are the earliest Algonkian residents of the Plains (Ewers 1958:6). It is not known whether the Blackfeet moved west from the Woodlands because they were driven there by other Algonkian tribes or if their westward movement was due to other expanding populations around them. Migration was probably affected by both factors and was certainly accomplished without the aid of the horse. They may have lived as far north as the upper Saskatchewan, roaming between the Lesser Slave Lake and the Peace River. Their northern neighbors may have been the Beaver Indians. It is possible that the Blackfeet were driven west and south by the Chippeway, a tribe inhabiting areas to the east of Blackfeet territory (Grinnell 1962:177).

Linguistically, Blackfeet dialect differs greatly from the parent tongue of the western Great Lakes tribes. Carl F. and E.W. Voegelin believe this difference may be due in part to Blackfeet isolation from other Algonkian tribes and extended contact with people of differing tongues (1946: 181, 189-90). There were six Algonkian-speaking tribes living on the plains prior to 1830. The Plains Crees, Cheyennes, and Plains Ojibewas migrated westward during the

historic period. The older peoples of the grasslands were the Arapahoes, Astina or "Gros Ventres", and Blackfeet, the oldest.

Traditionally and historically, there have been three Blackfeet tribes. For more than 200 years whites have referred to the Piegan (Plains), the Kainah or Blood, and the Siksika or Blackfeet. Although these three were politically independant, they intermarried, had similar customs, spoke the same language and fought common enemies (Ewers 1958:5). Of the three groups, however, this study concentrates on the Montana Blackfeet or Piegan.

Blackfeet social organization was a recognition of three tribes each with a sub-ethnic status and each considering itself as part of the Blackfeet nation. Every tribe was divided into a body of consanguineal kindred or gens (Grinnell 1962:208). Leadership of each gens was determined not by heredity, but by a man's bravery and generosity. It is interesting to note that the final qualification for leadership of a gens was generosity, how willing was a man to share his good fortune with those less fortunate than he (1962:219).

The Blackfeet camp was a well-ordered arrangement of lodges. The outer circle of lodges was occupied by the chief of the gentes of the tribe. The lodges found in the inner circle served a number of purposes. They were recreational, for eating or for resting. When breaking camp the Blood people left first, then the White Breasts and so

on until the end of the circle. Camp was made in reverse order (1962:224, 225).

Blackfeet early history can best be described from writings by a fur trader named David Thompson. Thompson wintered in a Piegan village in southern Alberta in the years 1787-88. Thompson's description of these people leads one to conclude that they were nomadic, hunted game, travelled on foot, their only domesticated animal being the dog (Thompson, 1784-1812, ed. by Tyrell 1916). In these early days of Blackfeet history, life was spent primarily hunting buffalo and other game and trapping small animals. As the buffalo moved from the grasslands to wooded valleys in the winter, the Blackfeet bands moved also.

Ewers (1958) tells us that most likely the Blackfeet hunted in bands of twenty to thirty families, totalling from 100 to perhaps 200 persons. Families moved carrying all possessions with them the amount being determined by the amount that the family dog could drag on an A - shaped travois (Grinnell 1892:187):

The dogs carried the provisions, tools, and utensils, sometimes the lodge strips, if these were small enough, or anything in small compass; for since dogs are small animals, and low standing, they cannot carry bulky burdens. Still, some of the dogs were large enough to carry a load of one hundred pounds. Dogs also hauled the travois, on which were bundles and sometimes babies. This was not always a safe means of transportation for infants, as is indicated by an incident related by John Monroe's mother as having occurred in her father's time. The camp, on foot of course, was crossing a strip of open prairie lying between two piecez of timber, when a herd of buffalo, stampding,

rushed through the marching column. The loaded dogs rushed after the buffalo, dragging the travois after them and scattering their loads over the prairie. Among the lost chattels were two babies, dropped off somewhere in the long grass, which were never found (1892:187).

It must have been a demanding, rugged life for Blackfeet women in these times. A women's responsibilities included cooking meals, dressing hides, making camp, and loading the travois for travel--not to mention bearing and raising children. Maybe 50 percent of Blackfeet foodstuffs were plants, gathered usually by women. Men were the hunters, the warriors, and the chiefs. As horses were unknown at this time, the young men must have been very good runners, and physically quite fit. Blackfeet subsistence was maintained by the buffalo. This animal was utilized almost totally by the tribes for shelter, all manner of dress, coverings, utensils, and defensive weapons such as shields. As the buffalo grew increasingly more scarce the nomadic life of the Blackfeet slowly waned away.

It is thought that religious beliefs in these early times were similar to the commonly shared beliefs of most forest Algonkian tribes. The Blackfeet held a basic belief in the supernatural ability of birds and animals to transfer their power to men. Even inanimate objects could give powers. In all likelihood cults were formed, the most important of these, for the Blackfeet, the beaver cult (Wissler 1912:282). It was through the efforts of the beaver medicine man that the buffalo was lured into a corral,

thereby bringing food to the tribe in time of need.

The Blackfeet version of the creation is basically an Algonkian myth found in many tribes from the east coast to the Rocky Mountains (Grinnell 1962:273).

In the beginning, all the land was covered with water, and Old Man and all the animals were floating around on a large raft. One day Old Man told the beaver to dive and try to bring up a little mud. The beaver went down, and was gone a long time, but could not reach bottom. Then the loon tried and the otter, but the water was too deep for them. At last the muskrat dived and he was gone so long they thought he had drowned, now he finally came up, almost dead, and when they pulled him on to the raft they found in one of his paws, a little mud. With this, Old Man formed the world, and afterwards he made the people.

Interestingly, this story is infrequently told by the Bloods or Piegan. It may be that only the Blackfeet knew the story having obtained it from the Crees with whom they had close relations (1962:272).

Most students of Blackfeet history will agree that the Sand Hills, an area south of the Saskatchewan River is the place where shadows of the dead are said to remain forever. However, all are not in agreement as to whether this is a happy hunting ground or a place of boredom and monotony. Grinnell in Blackfoot Lodge Tales believes that the Blackfeet are one of just a few American Indian tribes that do not emphatically state their beliefs in a happy and pleasant future existence.

The early Blackfeet did not practice the later known religious activity, the sundance. They were a nomadic and self-reliant people, their life style and subsistence governed largely by their main staple, the buffalo. This

life-style is commonly referred to as the "dog days" (Ewers 1958:8).

The Blackfeet were one of the last Indian peoples on the continent to meet "Napikwan", meaning Old Man Person, the Blackfeet name for the white man in Canada (1958:9). The Blackfeet had remained isolated in central North America while to the southwest and southeast Spanish horsemen pushed north and inland, and to the east English and French settlements moved westward past the Alleghenies. Preceding this ever-encroaching tide of settlements were the fur traders and trappers. It was these trader-adventurers who eventually pushed deep into the Canadian plains, but not until the late eighteenth century.

If we can rely on David Thompson, it was not until the early eighteenth century, about 1730, that the Blackfeet first saw a totally new aspect of an alien culture, the horse (Tyrell 1919). Thompson also reports that the horses were ridden by Shoshonis during a surprise attack on the Piegan in 1730. It is believed that the first guns were seen by the Blackfeet at about the same time that year.

From 1748-1760 the French continued to establish trading posts at points west in the lower Saskatchewan. While the Hudson Bay Company officials viewed their rival's westward progress suspiciously, it was not until 1763 that the French gave up their Canadian possessions to England by the Treaty of Paris.

In 1772 the upper Saskatchewan tribes were identified by Mathew Cocking of the Hudson Bay Company (Ewers 1958:27). His Cree Indian guides described the "Bloody" Indians, Koskitow-Wathesitock or Blackfeet Indians, Pegonow and Suxxewuck, the Gros Ventres, Bloods, Blackfeet, Piegan and Saris. Not until 1780 could it be said that traders had successfully reached Blackfeet country. With the construction of Buckingham House over 500 miles up the Saskatchewan from Cumberland House, the Hudson Bay Company felt sure that new trading partners had been firmly established when the first of two great smallpox epidemics swept from the Shoshoni country from the south. The scourge of 1781 left thousands dead. The Piegan were said to have contracted the disease when, unawares, a raiding party came upon a decimated Shoshoni camp (1958:29).

From 1781 until the turn of the century the trading companies continued their expansion and slowly gained a foothold in central and northwestern Canada. Rival companies built their posts within sight of each other in order to share in mutual protection. These posts were, in effect, forts similar in style to those of the French in Eastern Canada. Generally, relations were good between the French and English traders and their Indian counterparts up until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Ewers states in his book, The Blackfeet, that the Indians distinguished sharply between the traders of the Saskatchewan and the American traders of the Missouri River

Valley. The Blackfeet tribe continually referred to the English as "the Northern White Men", and the Americans as "Big Knives" (1958:45). The Americans were given this name in reference to the large hunting knives carried by most of the trappers.

During the years from 1800-1810 continual skirmishes took place between Indian and white in the Missouri River Valley. So violent and consistent were the Indian attacks on white fur traders that the Missouri Fur Company, formed in 1810, abandoned the Montana region after only a year of operation. In fact, in 1811 killings, fights, and general disruption by the Northern Blackfeet of trading operations and their constant battle with the Cree and Assiniboine's bands and the Flathead caused the withdrawal of American traders from the upper Missouri Valley and the eastern base of the Rockies (1958:53).

The years 1811-1821 saw the Blackfeet free to roam and fight their neighbors. It was not until 1821 that an American trading company came once again into Blackfeet country. The decades of the 1820's and '30's saw many battles take place between white fur traders and Indian but the persistence of men like Alexander Culbertson, Edwin T. Denig, Meriwether Lewis, and Francois Chardon kept white contact and trade with the Blackfeet sporadically successful up through the 1850's.

The Blackfeet had by now begun to adopt many items of the white culture. Clay pots were replaced with metal

ones, iron arrowpoints replaced ones of stone, guns were becoming much more common while the buffalo was becoming an endangered species.

Between the years 1860-75 the governments of both Canada and the United States began to take an ever-increasing interest in the affairs of the Northwest Plains Indians, with their own trappers and traders. The international boundary between Canada and the Montana Territory became the forty-ninth parallel. The Indians called this the "medicine line" (1958:254). This line, however, was the scourge of both countries as it was decided that Montana authorities could not cross to apprehend criminal offenders of any kind. Consequently the marauding activities of the Indians was impossible to control. White traders began running liquor across the "line" in the summer of 1869 (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1868:204).

In the early 1870's the United States government decided by way of congressional vote that the only way to restore law and order among the Northwest Plains tribes was to feed them, not fight them. The Indian Bureau was removed from military control, and in effect, Indian affairs were turned over to the churches of the country. It was the responsibility of these Christian denominations to select agents to be sent to certain tribes as determined by the federal government. The Blackfeet and other Montana tribes were to receive Methodist agents (Ewers 1958:266). Needless to say this method of acculturating the Indian met with

limited success. Agents generally were unable to motivate the Blackfeet. Farming was not taken seriously because many families continued to participate in long but decreasingly effective buffalo hunts.

The 1870's saw Blackfeet territory further reduced in size. The Treaty of 1855 gave the Blackfeet and Atsina (Gros Ventre) much of their old hunting grounds, however, in 1873, in order to make clear the status of Indian land, President Grant established the Blackfeet reservation. Another cessation of land in 1874, however, further reduced the reservation to its present size.

The 1880's and '90's found the buffalo gone forever as huge herds of roaming beasts, although stray bands were present here and there. Reservation schools were the instrument of "white conversion". Teachers showed the Blackfeet children how to dress, act and be "civilized". Boys learned crafts or farm skills, while their sisters learned the ways and crafts of white women. The greatest difficulty the United States Government and missionaries encountered with the Blackfeet was in teaching the adults new ways of living. There were many reasons for the continued practice of the old ways but the underlying causes must be seen in the light of Blackfeet refusal to abandon traditional ceremonies and customs.

In 1875, by executive order, the Blackfeet Reservation was increased in size, but by 1880 the increase, for the most part, had been restored to the public domain.

The 1880's in Montana saw the Blackfeet posing little threat to the white landowners, and through the efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs a policy of pacification by starvation and an unregulated bureaucracy had begun to have its effect (R.A. Allen, Agt. 48th Cong. 2nd Sess. H. Ex. Doc. #2287 Report of Sec. of Interior, Vol. #2, p. 151, 1884).

By the middle 1880's the buffalo was nearly non-existent, the government had to feed the Blackfeet or they would surely starve. Statements by an agent in charge that the Blackfeet were self-supporting and required little in the way of supplies nearly saw the extinction of the Blackfeet nation. Officers at Fort Shaw and other Montanans came and offered aid to the end that the epidemic of starvation slowly ebbed.

It soon became apparent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that the Indian could not be "civilized" until the close ties among tribes were in some way altered. In 1887 the Dawes Act provided for individual ownership of land and the treaty of February 11, 1887, ceded seventeen million acres to the U.S. Government, with the immediate effect that the Indian tribes now had separate reservations and permanent homes. When this treaty was ratified on May 1, 1888, the Blackfeet frontier was no more. The Blackfeet had been effectively restrained, or starved, contained, and the dominant-superior white population expanded in all directions. The Blackfeet, reduced to helpless wards of the government, no longer hunted on the

plains. Their numbers reduced, their hunting grounds gone, the buffalo gone, even their independence as nations gone forever, the Blackfeet were contained.

Since 1900, when Blackfeet children began being placed in public schools, a certain strengthening of traditional values has taken place. The old boarding school concept had accomplished nothing in terms of assimilation (Adams 1946). It was not until the Reorganization Act of 1934 that any real progress was made on the reservation. Prior to 1934 the reservation life was a stagnant one. Lack of jobs and Brownings isolation from the mainstream of world affairs produced a lethargic life style (Robinson 1967:72). Only a minority of tribal members indicated interest in tribal affairs and in improving reservation conditions. Moreover, few Blackfeet were prepared to enter a competitive world and a listless way of life was nurtured.

Approximately 12,000 tribal members live on the reservation and about 2,500 of them within the town of Browning. Now, all children attend school. All of the schools are public ones, with the last government school closing in 1965. There is, however, a "boarding facility" for children from isolated areas, but they attend public schools.

White interaction on the reservation is minimal, but they are viewed by most Blackfeet as opportunists, simply there for what monetary gains can be made. Social organization on the reservation seems to have remained fairly

consistent over the years. White, full-bloods and half-bloods distinguish the social levels with the half-bloods the beneficiaries of the tribal positions and government jobs (Stevens 1969:30). Some nepotism exists with respect to job opportunities because Blackfeet families are close-knit and remain close throughout the years.

The Catholic Church is the primary Christian religion but the church gives little attention to current reservation conditions. Catholicism seems to be practiced in a ritualistic way without much understanding. Aside from the selected questions of the structured interviews I did occasionally ask several Blackfeet students if, when they thought of religion, was it a contemporary Christian one or a traditional ethnic religion of their ancestors. Most replied that the "old" traditional religion was more in their thoughts than any current Christian sect. Many Blackfeet view life in terms of their own personal ability to organize their daily routines without the aid of the church or governing federal laws (1969:32).

Unemployment is still high and many persons are idle much of the year. Many depend on welfare payments primarily, some recipients receive them only during certain months, others all year. Alcoholism continues to be a serious problem. Combined with a low level of ambition and general inactivity, alcohol is a very debilitating social problem. Moreover, there appear to be few cultural factors to inhibit the consuming of great amounts of alcohol.

Generally, motivational factors for improving living conditions and raising the standard of living are absent. Nevertheless, there is an increased awareness of educational needs and in particular the need to return to the reservation with these new skills appears to be gaining momentum. This trend is, I believe, indicated by the information to follow.

Chapter 3

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Early approaches to the examination of revitalization generally were contained in the term "nativistic". Nativistic was defined as, "Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Linton 1943:230). Responding to a recognized need for clarification Linton attempted to offer a systematic analysis of identifiable nativistic phenomenon. Linton's contention that nativism seeks to restore or perpetuate only specific aspects of a culture, and is not concerned with culture as a whole was countered by Wallace who conceived it as only one part of a general concept of revitalization (Wallace 1956:256). Linton further reduced nativism into two separate elements, magical nativism and rational nativism. Speaking of magical nativism, he was proposing that members of a society may attempt to modify their environment through spectacular means and psychological pressure in an effort to perform as the societies' members once lived. The thought is that the past ways represented a more secure period of time and a retention or maintenance of past culture elements should produce the desired results, i.e., a stress reliever.

It is likely that this form of nativistic movement is more commonly studied and recognized due to its spectacular nature. However, a clearly relevant and functional approach to nativism would seem to emphasize a study of the rational revivalistic alternative (Linton 1943:233). The concept is one of psychological effect. The primary definitional distinction between magical nativism and rational nativism is that magical nativism generally produces a prophet character who finds acceptance by encouraging belief by performing acts of a supernatural and spectacular nature. A conscious effort to sustain or revive desirable cultural elements are then thought of as symbols from a time of reduced cultural stress and societal well-being. Self esteem is maintained, identity clarified and stress reduced. Collectively desirable elements from the past may act as a cohesive force in bonding together a society's members.

Linton reasoned that in the stages of nativistic movements the rational aspect is followed by a perpetuative-rational stage. Here, all the desirable elements necessary for coping with current stress and frustration combine to promote social solidarity and maintenance of a unique ethnic identity. Basic to Linton's theories on types of nativistic movements are the situations of inequality in societal contact, inequities derived from attitudes of superiority and inferiority and of overt physical domination. It can be safely said that it is very unlikely that a nativistic movement would be produced from a situation in which both

societies see relationships as satisfactory and feelings of societal dominance are not present. In fact, nativistic responses arising from a dominant-superior group may initiate a like response from an inferior cultural group. History has shown that during the period of European colonialism, European settlers enjoyed a dominant-inferior status in varying parts of the world. Their ability to maintain "outside" world contact through the latest methods of communication and transportation insured, for the most part, superior treatment while their total numbers were diminutive. Conversely, a dominant-inferior society may respond with magical nativism in an effort to maintain solidarity and to reduce the stressful conditions arising out of cultural-value deterioration.

Linton's thoughts and ideas were primarily based on the hypothesis that societies are whole entities and generally react as an organism to adverse stimuli or culture contact. He recognized that this is not always the case and that a well structured, class-developed society may find itself threatened by individuals who themselves feel threatened by cultural change. He gives colonial America as an example of a people of similar ethnic identity producing a group attempting to maintain social-cultural values of Old European society while others were engaging in the new life style of settlers in America.

Generally, rational revivalistic movements and rational perpetuative movements, by definition, seem to be

so closely aligned that they are one in the same. Both attempt to deal with the frustrations of a society's members, and seek to insure social solidarity.

Linton certainly aided in the conceptualization of this field of cultural dynamics and in providing would-be models for systematic study. However, an examination of Wallace's paper on revitalization movements proposes that this kind of culture change phenomenon is also religiously inspired and can be examined in terms of an unsatisfactory cultural system, resulting in an attempt to form a new Gestalt.

Wallace uses the term revitalization to include all phenomenon in the process of total cultural-system innovation. Essentially Wallace has constructed a working definition for revitalization that is identical to Linton's with regard to nativism. Generally, societal participants perceive that all or some major aspects of their cultural systems are in some way unsatisfactory, and that these persons seek to innovate new relationships and traits (Wallace 1956:265). The view here is that overt intentions need not have a gradual effect. Society is viewed as an organism reacting, when necessary, to adverse stimuli in a positive way to preserve its integrity and to secure its existence. Any condition that may threaten societal structure in equilibrium or homeostasis is viewed as stressful. Similarly, society may be thought of as cellular, in that the total organization is composed of subsystems.

As from a cell to a complete organism so it is from a group of persons to a society or nation. A crucial difference is noted, however, while an individual's genetic make-up is virtually inalterable, a society may make adjustments and changes necessary to reduce stress and maintain integrity. That an individual retains a mental concept of his relationship to his society and culture is basic to Wallace's term "the mazeway" (Wallace 1955:266). In Hollowell (1955) and Wallace (1955 and 1956) an extended treatment of this subject is given. What is proposed is that an individual holds several views of himself with respect to: 1) society at large; 2) culture; 3) nature, and their own idea of their personality. This is the very basis for the revitalization concept: as a person receives input that any one or all of the above aspects of mazeway formation is inactive, stress is intensified and the organism, the individual, reacts to reduce or relieve the encountered stressful circumstance. Stress introduced at one level is stress felt at all levels. Even as an organism is able to detect a deficiency somewhere in the system such as the loss of vital fluids, so is a society, through communication, able to recognize a stressful event. The individual is viewed as the central-nervous system of a society (Wallace 1956:266). Individuals perform the part of passing on and coordinating information about patterned behavior, i.e., culture. Just as an organism attempts to reduce potentially life-threatening events, such as lowered blood sugar, individuals in a society attempt

to maintain self-concepts of themselves and their culture that are reassuring. Behavioral irregularities produce stressful events. The "mazeway" (Hollowell 1955), self-concepts, or mental images that individuals have of themselves may be threatened by stressful information, information that appears to the individual as intolerable or unacceptable in view of his present mazeway concept. The solution is a change in the system, to place "reality" in line with concept, to reduce stress, to relieve psychological and physiological stress to form a new Gestalt. This collective action by individuals is viewed as revitalization, a revitalization movement. Wallace concludes that the process is on-going and that all organized religions are examples of previous revitalization movements.

A structure for changes has been postulated. Five stages or events are formulated as varying lengths of diachronic sequences. From a Steady State Stage, a period of Individual Stress, a period of Cultural Distortion, through a Period of Revitalization and finally a New Steady State level, Wallace constructs a new behavior unit, a new organism (Wallace 1956:268).

One must recall that Wallace was proposing structural processes and concepts for better understanding religious movements as phenomenon found everywhere. The spiritual aspect of the American Indian Movement is as yet a difficult area to identify. Several Blackfeet were unable, but I believe willing, to make any conclusive statement regarding

this subject. However, a Southern Cheyenne-Arapaho, well respected and who had been a tribal council member, unquestionably felt that the original acclaimed leaders for the American Indian Movement did reflect and include in their behavior a spiritual aspect.

Initially I suggested that the American Indian Movement would be represented differently in various areas of North America. Thus, Native American attitudes and beliefs about AIM ideals could be expected to vary. The Blackfeet information seems to support this notion.

The question arises, what are AIM characteristics? As far as the major portion of those interviewed is concerned, the nationally known leaders of AIM are not of the charismatic genre. Simply stated, AIM is less religiously revitalistic than many other movements but it is not purely political. In the early 1970's AIM leaders did apparently appeal to the Lutheran Church for support but this is generally viewed as an effort to secure unattached funds and not an attempt to attach a religious connection to the movement. There are, of course, records to indicate that there have been hundreds of religious revitalistic movements in the course of human history. As yet, however, there is nothing to conclusively place the American Indian Movement in this category, and for the most part the Blackfeet would concur.

The movement is not viewed as an attempt to establish a future utopia, and the efforts of the leaders to construct

viable relationships with all Indian tribes has not materialized. Stated differently, the degree of success or failure may be correlated to the amount of resistance the movement encounters. If viewed as a viable alternative, active participation in the movement could be high. However, the dominant-superior white culture expectedly would resist, viewing the movement as unrealistic and doomed for collapse. My investigations have shown there to be little active participation by Blackfeet generally, and that most view the political aspect of the movement as unrealistic. Therefore, if we place AIM in a two-phase success or failure category, the movement would be seen as in an unrealistic, high-resistance stage of failure.

If we accept Wallace's general view of revitalization and that the movement tends to be non-religious, we are left with a highly secular movement that has little hope of inducing a total cultural change. Strictly speaking, Wallace's definition for revitalism implies a new cultural system not changes of a selective nature (Wallace 1956:526). Therefore, based on general Blackfeet attitudes and views, the American Indian Movement ideally attempts to revitalize certain current and remembered elements of Indian culture (Linton 1943:231).

As previously stated, it is difficult to categorize nativistic movements conclusively as of one kind or another. It certainly is helpful, however, in studying such movements, to place them in some kind of framework for research.

AIM is one of those revival-nativistic phenomenon that seems to fit several criteria. The movement is nativistic, it is concerned with aspects of the "old ways" and attempts to give selected remembered or present cultural elements symbolic value. The movement is revivalistic as it attempts to include cultural elements in current use but derived from the past. The movement is rational in that it appears to be a result of societal frustrations and represents an attempt to help Indian people deal with their frustrations.

AIM is all of these and yet it is possible that it also has a spiritual aspect. The religious phenomenon associated with the movement seems to fall into a revivalistic context. The Blackfeet students indicated that the movement is not messianic. For the most part, any religious ideology is borrowed from the past, in particular the sundance and sacred hoop ceremonies. *

Recall that the term revitalization, as used by Wallace (1956:261), is a word seeking to include into its scope all that is seen as nativistic, revivalistic, vitalistic, and messianic. I have made an effort to narrow the definition somewhat further, and my research among the Blackfeet tends to support the contention that the movement is revivalistic in character. Distinguished from the collective category of revitalization, revitalization appears to be more appropriate in describing AIM from a Blackfeet viewpoint. AIM, at least in the Montana Blackfeet region, does not seem able to produce a completely changed mazeway.

an alteration of the total Gestalt and is definitely lacking a messianic component.

None of the terms used to describe movements of revitalization are absolutes. In each area of the United States where AIM has found support the movement might conform to slightly different categories for description. In conversations with Blackfeet students in Montana I have concluded that AIM falls into Wallace's general reference of a revitalization movement, but can be better identified by Linton's terms, rational-revivalistic (Linton 1943:233).

In accepting Linton's terminology with reference to AIM and its possible regional differences one must recognize that functionalism indicates the dynamics operating within a culture. Each aspect of a culture is part of a larger whole, to some degree, and all contribute to the maintenance of the entire system. The alteration, completely or partially, of select elements within a cultural system will likely perfect the developmental process so that the process of integration is really a matter of perfecting certain select elements in ever progressing cultural growth.

The degree of success or failure of AIM cannot be compared to the nurturing of an organism. The effect is socio-psychological. The modification of individual behavior patterns is much easier to control than the alteration of entire cultural patterns. Of course, environmental changes can have a profound influence upon cultural components and the degree to which they are

compatible but individual behavior is flexible yet controllable by environmental circumstances and cultural structure (Linton 1936:348-365).

AIM is a conflict system, for some, a disturbing aspect of contemporary Native American culture. Although it may produce conflict, it remains to be seen if its impact will disrupt the core values of the Blackfeet student group. The movement may alter overt behavioral patterns and superficial associations, but for the moment it is unlikely that it will affect sub-conscious values.

Bronislaw Malinowski strived to originate a field methodology for accurately observing and recording field data in terms of the varying parts of culture. It is of importance that what people do is recorded, but equally important are reasons why people do what they do. Even as Wallace (1955) proposed that religion and magic are a psychological effect, Malinowski stated that religion arises out of social need and that the social value of religion must be considered in terms of the individuals psychological need and the persons integration within society (Malinowski 1931:641).

A belief in function and integration along with the belief that stresses in structure occur are the basis for a functional theory of cultural change. Functionalism finds that specific cultural traits operate within a society to bring about change but that this change is integrated into the whole society.

Specifically, the movement appears to be a loosely formed image of a revivalistic nature. Its common aspects are found in the similar kinds of description given by the Blackfeet students in twenty structured interviews. What is thought about the movement and its goals is of most importance in attempting to judge the impact of AIM on the Blackfeet student or any Indian people.

Their knowledge of the movement varies some, but not appreciably. All were able to verbalize to some degree on the effects of AIM upon themselves. It is of great importance that the reader remember that AIM has not had its effect in areas of community life, building projects or significant treaty re-evaluation. Its measurable effects will be demonstrated to be an alteration of ideas about Indian life and destiny. It has, for the most part, brought some cohesion in thought about contemporary Indian life and their place in society.

The structured interviews are an effort to elicit specific responses from persons about AIM. The Blackfeet interviews to follow will indicate a common vocabulary about what the movement is to Blackfeet young people. Also, because Blackfeet participation in education, after high school, seems to be a priority, education as an alternative to participation in an activists movement is given attention.

Chapter 4

THE STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

BLACKFEET STUDENTS

The Blackfeet response group was selected from a large group of Blackfeet students who were in attendance at the University of Montana during the academic year 1975-76. Many were admitted by way of an "open door" admittance policy. The beginning of the school year found nearly eighty Blackfeet students on campus, however, by spring quarter of 1976 that number had been reduced to about fifty persons. The drop in enrollment is attributed to a reasonable amount of attrition, illness and other problems that cause a student to withdraw from school. Three of the written interviews were completed by persons who had taped an interview in the fall of 1975. It is noted from their responses that their attitudes are consistent with the more recent interviews conducted in the spring of 1976.

The method of presenting the questions was in booklet form. Each Blackfeet respondent was asked if he or she would care to respond to a ten-question essay form of interview about Blackfeet perspectives of AIM and higher education. The respondents were located in a fairly hit-and-miss way. By spending time in the University Special

Services office, meeting people in class and generally being available, I was able to complete twenty interviews of 10 questions each for a total of 200 separate responses. I had hoped to seek out those Blackfeet who were verbal on the issues or had the capacity to verbalize well in such a survey, but I believe that the general makeup of the response group is quite representative and a good cross-section of the Blackfeet student group on campus during the academic year of 1975-76.

The manner in which the booklets were organized and presented lent credibility to the project as it was initially well received by all but one person who was asked to respond. I was given a "no" response to a request to complete a booklet by only one person and only on one other occasion did I find it necessary to give further details of what I was doing in order that I might acquire a completed booklet.

There was no attempt to control the number of males and females responding to the survey. I gave the interviews as the people were presented or made themselves known to me. When completed, the sampling revealed thirteen male and seven female respondents. After extensive re-reading and analysis of the material, I can find nothing significant in the manner in which the males responded or the females responded. In many cases the answers are nearly identical with regard to content and main thought. For purposes of delineating the male and female respondents and to more

clearly and neatly place the sample responses on a single page, the sample responses are formed into two columns, male and female.

The manner in which the answers to the questions are noted in the appendix is in sentence or paraphrased form. However, the answers recorded are the words of the respondent. The researcher's own words are not found anywhere on the page except where a student was unable to respond, for example, female respondent #6, question #3, Blackfeet response group. Her response was felt to be an undecided one but indicating a positive inclination. It should be noted that all students, both groups, were aware that names would not be attached to any of the completed booklets, that each person would receive a number and only that number would appear on the booklet face. Also, since the interview booklets were not numbered at the time the questions were answered, no respondent knows what his or her number might be and will only be able to determine that by reading and locating the response sheets in the appendix.

In reading the responses to each question the reader should recall that some questions call for an initial one- or two-word response. Not all questions asked for a detailed explanation of the initial response but in many instances an explanation was freely offered by the respondent. This researcher has attempted to record the word, words or phrases that best indicate the main theme each student presented for each question. The recorded

responses are the exact words, where possible, the Blackfeet students used in answering the questions.

Question #1: In your opinion, what is the American Indian movement?

Responses to this question did not produce a great deal of variety in vocabulary. The words most often used to describe AIM was organization, violence, Indian rights, Indian problems, a cause and a radical group. One respondent, a college senior just graduating, felt AIM was communistic, that the original leaders wanted Indian people to give up everything for the cause. Generally, however, nearly all Blackfeet respondents, with the possible exception of one, felt that AIM was an organized, legitimate group of Indian people engaged in an effort to identify Indian mistreatment by the federal government. All but two saw the violent aspect of the movement as something acceptable. All respondents, but for one, stated that the movement was for promoting Indian people, Indian rights and served to make non-Indians aware of the federal government's mistreatment of Indian people. It seems that most accepted the violent beginnings of AIM as a necessity. One male respondent, a Trail of Broken Treaties participant and Wounded Knee occupant, believed that the federal government was largely responsible for the violent activity at Wounded Knee in 1973. Most Indian people at that encampment would have viewed their

temporary residency there as a success without any shots having been fired. One respondent saw AIM as a farce, a disorganized group of people attempting to direct and guide all Indian people.

Over all, the responses (by 80 percent of the respondents) are best characterized as direct and detailed and to the point. The main theme of the answers was that AIM sought, by any means necessary, to gain recognition by all non-Indians of Indian problems and discrimination. While some saw AIM organizers as "loose-knit", a radical group, or a courageous group of Indian people fighting for what they believe, all but one would support it to some extent, and give verbal support to the movement.

Question #2: As a Blackfeet, has the American Indian Movement changed you in any way?

The one-word "yes" or "no" response was evenly divided. Nine responded with a definite "no". Nine answered with a definite "yes" and two replied with a "yes and no" response. All respondents, except two, gave a written explanation for their answer. The "no" responses seemed to be centered around several ideas. One male was unchanged by anything that AIM has to offer, another felt that his education had made him aware of that which AIM was saying, another reiterated his view that AIM was a radical movement serving no good purpose and the two "yes-no"

type responses interpreted in the "no" response to mean they are not actively participating. Since these two persons were not actively taking part in AIM functions they responded "yes and no". More interesting were the reasons for the "yes" replies. One word characterizes written explanations for "yes" responses, awareness. All but three of the nine stating "yes" to the question used the word or word group, "more aware". In context they were saying that the movement has alerted them to Indian problems, Indian history and Indian pride. Concern for identity, motivation, and pride was expressed several times, but only in conjunction with a new awareness do these other words seem to have meaning.

Question #3: In your opinion, has the American Indian Movement had a positive or negative affect on you as a Blackfeet?

This question was an attempt to elicit feelings from the respondents about AIM's effect on them as individuals and members of a tribe. Thirteen responded with a positive reply, five stated negative and two were undecided. However, two of the thirteen positive replies split the response to a positive-negative answer. I have interpreted the remainder of their written responses as indicating a positive inclination.

It appears that the violent aspect of AIM is the main criteria for positive or negative feelings about AIM.

While negative responses indicate a rejection of the violence associated with AIM, many of the positive responses indicate violence acceptable if it achieves the desired end. Some, example #4, male, qualified his statement by saying, "Using violence to handle the issue is negative, but possibly the only way."

Even in the answers to this question the concern for Indian rights is a main thought but the single outstanding criteria for a positive or negative reply seems to be the degree to which the respondent can accept the notion of a violent method to achieve a desired end.

Question #4: What do you think should be the goals of the American Indian Movement?

This question sought to find what these young people felt the goals of AIM should be according to their thoughts. I discovered in my initial interviews in 1975 that Blackfeet students had no sure idea of what AIM's goals were but all had opinions as to what they thought they should be. No Blackfeet student that responded to the structured interviews or that I held informal talks with had ever recalled seeing specifically stated goals concerning AIM anywhere.

The answers to the question were surprisingly to the point. All respondents but one gave a specified reply, a list of goals or in some way was quite specific as to what

AIM activity should be. Violence was again mentioned in these responses or was alluded to with such comments as, "to help Indian people, but they went about it wrong", or "to stand up for their rights at any cost". Basic to all responses was the thought that AIM should assist all Indian people in gaining recognition of their uniqueness, their mistreatment by the federal government and that Indian people must unite to help themselves. Everyone but two had an explanation for their positive or negative answers.

Question #5: In view of your response to question #4, has the American Indian Movement failed or succeeded, give reasons.

All but one of the twenty respondents to this question gave reasons to support a failed or succeeded one-word answer to the question. Some did respond, failed-succeeded. Seven persons said flatly that the movement has failed to achieve any goals. Seven said it had succeeded and five saw the movement in a succeeded-failed position. One person could not view the "movement" in a failed-succeeded condition but at a point of standstill. Again, with question #5, as with previous questions, positive views of the movement seem to depend on how far-reaching one sees AIM efforts for establishing Indian rights.

The persons responding positively to question #3 and answering succeeded to #5 do not seem to be as critical of the movement as those who see the movement as a negative

thing, a failure. The combination-type answers cover both patterns of response for question #5, in that supportive reasons for a successful movement are usually that the movement has indicated specific Indian problems. Also, that by indicating Indian problems, discrimination by the federal government through mistreatment and white failure to acknowledge and act on apparent Indian loss of civil rights, AIM for some can be termed a successful activist movement. On the other hand, failure of the movement is best characterized by those who have a low regard for the old AIM leadership, and once again, the violence associated with the movement. In addition, a new element in the answers by those who have a low regard for the movement is found, humiliation and embarrassment. Although the words humiliate and embarrass were not found in any of the failed answers, they are indicated by such phrases as "make us look worse", "It has made people look down on us", or "It is suppose to do good, it has hurt". That the movement may have failed was further indicated by such comments as, "The movement is not legitimate" or "because of present leadership" as of October 1975.

Explanations for failure of AIM were termed in the words radical and disorganized. Only one student enumerated conclusive reasons for the movement's success.

Question #6: Do you view the American Indian Movement as a religious or a political movement?

In answer to this question thirteen of twenty responded political. Most were quite definite in their supportive statements and only three students felt the movement was both political and religious and just three saw the movement as purely religious. Male respondent #8 was placed in a political group after several readings of his answer. The response was detailed but his position on the matter was not entirely clear. In view of the responses, Blackfeet college students are not aware, except for one student, of any overt religious activity by the original or present leaders of AIM.

Question #7: Do you know other Indian people who are active American Indian Movement members? If so, how many?

Only four Blackfeet students did not know anyone who was a member of AIM. Ten persons gave specific numbers ranging from 2-100 and six responded, "a few", "many" or "all Indians are a part of AIM".

The question did not ask for a detailed or even a general response to follow a "yes" or "no" answer, however, many did give a brief explanation of their responses. One individual replied that he felt all Indians could be considered part of AIM. Another stated that among the Blackfeet tribe AIM members were not thought of highly due to their

trouble-making stigma. These two responses are of more than general interest because they represent completely opposite conclusions about the movement.

Question #8: Given a choice, which affords a better opportunity to help the Blackfeet: 1. Higher Education, college, etc., or 2. Activist movements such as the American Indian Movement. Explain if desired.

If one counts those who responded "both", nineteen persons felt higher education offers a better opportunity to help Blackfeet people. Seventeen persons unequivocally answered higher education and only one felt an activist movement was the best alternative.

In view of the written explanations the concluding thought is that to be effective in dealing with white society, or the federal government, higher education gives Indian people an equal chance in the battle for Indian rights. In addition, those who saw higher education and activist movements as compatible seem to think that one might include the other and in the overall picture everyone should participate in the cause.

After many informal conversations with Blackfeet students over a period of an academic year I must conclude that the majority think higher education is the single best way to elevate the Indian and restore him to an equal place in a white-dominated society.

Question #9: If you could re-state the goals of the American Indian Movement, in your own way, could you then become an active participant in the American Indian Movement?

Slightly less than half, nine persons, could join AIM if the goals of the movement were consistent with the respondents' own thinking. Seven could not join the movement and I was not able to place four in terms of the question. These answers were characterized by vague statements or a response that for some reason skirted the issue. Five of the nine answering "yes" qualified their statements. These five indicated that through some change they could participate or felt that they were already participants in the movement.

Of the seven responding "no" to the question just three gave reasons. These answers indicated a certain independence from activist movements, that many respondents were best able to help through some independent means.

Question #10: Place the following words in order of importance with #1 as the most important.
a. self b. Blackfeet c. Indian People

Initially this question was an attempt to construct some thoughts about an "I" - "Us" - "They" concept or outlook of the respondent. I really had no pre-conceived notions about the results other than possibly an unidentifiable "I" or self-concept and its place relevant to a "they"

or "them" position, i.e., other tribes. As the interviewer and a Caucasian I am inclined to view self and Blackfeet, as in nation or tribe, as nearly one and the same.

Of twenty responses, less than half, nine, put self before the other two choices and only two placed Blackfeet in the number one position. Just two Blackfeet felt that the Blackfeet choice was of a number one priority.

After responding self for number one, Blackfeet as a second choice occurs only four times but Indian people also occurred four times. The two choices for position of number one importance appears to be either self or Indian people, Blackfeet falls second nearly 50 percent of the time in all combinations of responses. With Indian people the first choice 35 percent of the time, self was placed in the third position of importance five times or 25 percent of the time.

I've concluded that while self-importance and the feelings for all Indian people is great, the tribal feeling is very strong. This position is further supported by the indicated responses in general questions numbers 8 and 12. In other words, one seeks to fulfill a personal need for achievement and yet continues to remember those at home and everywhere, all Blackfeet that must be helped and assisted in attaining a better life.

NON-INDIAN RESPONSE GROUP

For comparative purposes and to seek indications of how persons other than Blackfeet students view AIM, its goals, successes, failures, etc., I constructed seven questions similar to the Blackfeet questions and sought out thirty respondents. Three questions from the ten original asked the Blackfeet students were omitted from this comparative booklet. These three questions were numbers 2, 3, and 10, so that this second interview booklet comprised seven questions similarly constructed to the original ten in the Blackfeet booklet.

The 30 students responding to these seven questions were randomly located and selected from a one hundred level required course at the University of Montana. Again no deliberate attempt was made to even out the number of male and female students answering and the division into two groups is for clarity only. The makeup of this second group was diverse. In grade the range was from freshman to senior, in age from 18-26 years. Most were Caucasian and a few were from the eastern United States. A deliberate attempt was made to obtain responses from this group during spring quarter. This effort had the immediate effect of finding all kinds of major areas of learning and age in the classes. Because the particular course that I selected respondents

from is a required one, I received responses from economics, business, art, botany, sociology, pre-med, and forestry majors to name a few.

Once again, none of the booklets were pre-numbered and when asked for a show of hands of those wishing to respond, I distributed the booklets in such a way that, when possible, persons filling out the questionnaires were not sitting next to each other. This eliminated any correspondence and "getting together" on answers.

The answers to the seven questions were analyzed in the same manner as the other responding group. The words and phrases are recorded as they were written. In each case that word or group of words that best indicates the thought of the respondent is recorded.

Question #1: In your opinion, what is the American Indian Movement?

Some, stating they knew nothing of the movement or not knowing there was one did attempt to describe apparently what they thought the movement should be.

Six of the thirty persons answering stated that they did not know of the movement or were so uncertain as to what the movement is that their response was only conjecture. Eight persons actually used the word "rights" in describing the movement and just three felt the violence was an aspect worth mentioning.

Generally, the responses would have to be described as favorable to the movement. Most seemed concerned with the upgrading, politically and socially, of the Native American and they seemed aware of a need for Native Americans to retain their past cultural heritage. Several of the respondents appeared to respond condescendingly to the question. On the verge of obvious ethnocentrism one individual responded that the Native American was after more than equal rights, superior rights, which was more than they deserved. Not one respondent used the word religion to describe any aspect of the movement but several saw it as radical, extreme and as previously mentioned, violent.

Responses appear to fall into three groups:

1. Those who see AIM as an aid in securing Indian rights;
2. Those who are not aware of AIM; and 3. Those who see the movement as violent, extreme and very political. Only one person, male respondent #7, saw AIM as one of revitalization and whenever the movement was described as violent or extreme it appeared to the researcher that the respondents were viewing the movement as a negative thing, non-productive and in no way an aid in Native American social efforts.

Question #2: What do you think should be the goals of the American Indian Movement?

Nearly all answers reflected a general feeling that AIM should work for the betterment of Indian people, non-violently, and that some kind of Indian identity should be retained. Only one respondent stated that AIM should have no goals, that Indian rights should be no different than the rights of white society because, "They live in the same country as us."

If there was one continuing theme it would be that nearly all answers reflect the view that the Indian will or must be assimilated into white society. Only one respondent indicated that a unique ethnic identity and heritage could be maintained in an equal opportunity society. Most respondents saw Indian equal opportunity as a blending of the Indian into "today's" society, "our" society, and that they should not "push" their traditions around. An ethnocentric position is further supported in the general responses to question #2. Just one respondent saw the preservation of Indian heritage and an improvement of "their condition" as compatible. This is contrasted to the reply of female #11, who saw the betterment of Indian people as a positive thing, "but not at the expense of others".

Question #3: In view of your response to question #2, has the American Indian Movement failed or succeeded? Give reasons.

The failed designations were supported by comments such as, "alienation of Indian people", "equality has not been achieved", "issues have not been brought forth", and "discrimination has not diminished". The two males responding "succeeded" and the one responding "both" recorded answers that could best be characterized as saying that a cultural awareness of Indians is present among whites and that educational opportunities have improved.

Six of the thirteen females saw AIM as a success, four saw it as a failure, two were undecided and one answered "both". The reasons given for each of the above general response groups were nearly identical to the male respondents. Taken as a whole, 50 percent of the total response group viewed AIM as a failure, 26 percent a success with 16 percent undecided. If those responding "both" are added to the "failed" responses then 60 percent of all those questioned see AIM as a failure in some part.

Question #4: Do you view the American Indian Movement as a religious or a political movement?

Twenty-four of thirty responding to the question answered political to the question, i.e., 80 percent of the respondents. Four persons felt the movement was both

religious and political, the two giving reasons gave similar ones, that the movement was producing social change but that any attempt to revive a cultural heritage must include a religious aspect. Only two persons answered religious only.

Question #5: Do you know Indian people who are active American Indian Movement members? If so, how many?

Twenty-two of thirty knew of no one who was a member of AIM. Seven responded yes, accounting for about one hundred persons as members of AIM. One person did not respond. Comparing this response group to the Blackfeet group the number of persons claimed to be known as members of the movement is surprisingly close, if one discounts the one Blackfeet response, "All Indians are members of AIM." The percentage of "no" answers is nearly identical, 70 percent for the Non-Indian Response Group and 73 percent from the Blackfeet group.

Question #6: Given a choice, which affords a better opportunity to help Indian people: 1. Higher education, college, etc.; or 2. Activist movements such as the American Indian Movement? Explain if desired.

From 30 respondents 18 answered that higher education was a better alternative to alleviating Indian problems than activist movements. However, an interesting consensus in

the answers appears. The division between higher education and activist movements is indicated in that most felt higher education is for a few, a few who want to attend college or who have the capacity to do college level work. Activist movements are seen as activity helping all people. The conclusion seems to be that a few might benefit from college and they may in turn help others but activist movements are not excluded as a way of making problems known, rights returned and prejudices reduced. Generally, the non-Indian response group again seems to be placing an ethnocentric value on those who should and who should not participate in higher education. This question, as with questions #2 and #3 seems to elicit some discrimination towards the Indian ethnic minority. Certainly all persons wishing to attend college should be prepared for the work required, but some of the answers indicate a preclusion of the opportunity to attend.

Question #7: If you could re-state the goals of the American Indian Movement, in your own way, could you then become an active participant in the American Indian Movement?

This question once again sought to get the respondents to comment on the substantive aspects of AIM. Having asked in question #2, what are the goals of AIM and with question #7 requesting a re-statement of supposed goals, I believe it can be concluded that this response group

does not know what the goals AIM purports to have. Only eight persons could actively participate if the movement conformed to their own goals. About its intended purpose most answered, "I don't know", because they were unable to determine the goals of AIM.

The "no" respondents, for all the idealism of their initial answers to the first two questions, in the end could not participate actively in the movement. In this way they seem not to differ significantly from the Blackfeet respondents.

Chapter 5

COMPARATIVE DATA

For purposes of clarification and to provide a more detailed examination of the similar questions asked of the two response groups, a comparative section is offered. Not all questions are given comparative attention, only the ones that were identical in presentation and offer substantive comparative data. The questions omitted from the comparative data section are given attention in their respective sections in the paper. Also, by reading the paraphrased response sections it can be determined if the appropriateness of the analysed statements, with regard to each question, is interpreted correctly.

Question #1 - Both Groups:

To be expected, the Blackfeet response group was cohesive in its answers to the question. Opinion is similar and consistent concerning the makeup and reasons for AIM. If the early organizers of the movement have doubted their effectiveness in terms of a general favorable opinion of AIM among young tribal members they can be assured, that among Blackfeet college students, AIM has had a positive

cohesive effect on attitudes. While the movement may have produced some pan-Indianism, generally, most Blackfeet students have not engaged in that kind of activity.

The non-Indian response group revealed a sympathetic understanding towards AIM but many were not aware of its supposed goals. There was definite ethnocentrism in some responses. This was not clear until the third question, a question asking for a statement regarding the success or failure of AIM. The amount of conservatism in the answers was surprising, it had been expected that the responses would have shown greater support for the movement or at least greater knowledge of it.

Question #4(Blackfeet Group) - #2(Non-Indian Response Group):

Question #4, Blackfeet response group and question #2, the non-Indian response group, asked for supposed goals of the movement. The Blackfeet answers are characterized by a feeling of wishing to help all Indian people, some felt that recognition of Indian problems should be attained at all costs and some thought the violence of AIM to be a very negative thing.

The non-Indian response group responded much differently. While most saw AIM as a positive effort, a way to secure Indian rights and improve Indian standards of living, almost all viewed the retention of the Indians unique ethnic identity as impossible in an equal opportunity world. Significantly, just one respondent thought that the Native

American could remain unique and yet participate in all areas of societal endeavor. Some of the non-Indian response group answers continued to be very ethnocentric or at least demonstrated an unwillingness to yield or bend to an organized AIM effort to secure equal rights for Indian people. Most saw assimilation as a one-way street, that Indians "must blend into our society".

Question #5(Blackfeet Group) - #3(Non-Indian Response Group):

Collectively, of 50 persons answering the question as to whether AIM failed or succeeded, just under 50 percent, 22 persons, view AIM as a failure. Fifteen persons believed AIM to have succeeded in its efforts and thirteen were either undecided, answering "both", or did not respond.

Certainly, the movement does not enjoy a clear-cut position as being a total success as indicated by so many persons unable to decide on a response. However, the answers indicate an image of failure in terms of vague goals. It appears that many, Indians and Caucasians, are not taking the general view, the bigger picture. Most contradict themselves and being unable to itemize the specific goals of AIM, take this lack of structure to indicate an unsuccessful activist movement.

Question #6 (Blackfeet Group) - #4 (Non-Indian Response Group):

Overwhelmingly, nearly 80 percent of the total response group stated that AIM is most definitely a politically-oriented movement. The question was posed in an attempt to produce specific factual statements of opinion on the subject.

Early in 1975 I had learned that there were those who viewed the movement in a religious context. Tribal informational differences about the movement are likely to vary from one region of the country to another, this question and the resulting answers seem to support that view. Evidence for an early religious orientation in the movement is good. One of the Blackfeet respondents confirms this fact, but what is noteworthy is that 80 percent of the Blackfeet response group were unable to attach any religious significance to the movement and had received no indications of any kind that would attach religious activity to the movement. I am not so concerned that religious activity may or may not have been a founding stone for the movement as I was with determining what Blackfeet students believed to be the case. From this sampling it is concluded that religious activity is not associated with AIM by most Blackfeet young people and that fact may have contributed to a low initial favorable response to the movement.

Question #8 (Blackfeet Group) - #6 (Non-Indian Response Group):

The responses to this question were not as one-sided as one might have expected. Even though 34 persons gave higher education a clear preference, the Blackfeet response group was more certain of their views, 75 percent placed higher education in a top priority position. The non-Indian response group (NIRG) had definite mixed emotions on the subject. Just over half, 18 out of 30, thought higher education afforded a better opportunity to help Indian people achieve their goals and secure a better life for themselves.

The value-shrouded aspect of the question was discovered in a few responses from the NIRG who indicated that an open opportunity for Indian people to attend college may not be realistic. Without further investigation and on the basis of information gathered, the opinion of many respondents is a supportive view of activist movements, activity that many could engage in as an alternative to higher education. Since the question offered only an either-or alternative to choices of activities seen as beneficial to Indian people, the data collected can only be interpreted relevant to higher education as opposed to activist movements. A final statement can be offered, that the NIRG is not convinced that higher education is the best alternative for insuring ethnic equality and that a certain amount of activist movement participation is necessary.

Question #9(Blackfeet Group) - #7(Non-Indian Response Group):

Responses to this question are surprisingly different from what was anticipated. It was believed that because of the age group responding, many would indicate a high level of need to participate in an activist movement like that of many movements found in the 1960's. However, the level of participation indicated is very low. Only 17 people of the 50 questioned would participate in AIM if they could re-state and make acceptable to them, the goals of the movement.

A good amount of independence apparently dictated the kinds of responses to the question. Individual assistance seems to be the mode. The two groups indicate that a collective effort on the scale of an activist movement is not productive and yet most responded favorably to the movement in question #3 in the Blackfeet response group. The NIRG does answer consistently, however, in that they maintain that the movement has been only partially effective and has met with limited success.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

From the data presented it can be said that the form in which the Blackfeet students have accepted or rejected AIM is primarily secular rather than religious. Although some responses suggest that AIM may have religious aspects, that premise is not found to any significant degree in the Blackfeet response group. Furthermore, the data indicates that as AIM has aged, that as the Wounded Knee of 1973 becomes more remote in memory, AIM and its impact appear to be lessening.

The Blackfeet young people, who were utilized in the research represented an age group of college-age people. None had been denied admission to the University of Montana, for at the time this paper was written an open door admission policy was the rule. Most every Native American wishing to attend college could gain admission and could obtain those funds necessary for basic subsistence. It must be pointed out that I had contact with nearly every one of the Blackfeet registered during the academic year of 1975-76 and there were some that lacked the basic skills needed for functioning academically in college level work. However, even these people viewed higher education as an endeavor more worthy of time and effort than an activist movement such as AIM.

Directly, the effects of AIM on this group of Blackfeet appear to be increased solidarity, a certain "oneness" about themselves and their tribe. A certain awareness of Indian problems and non-Indian attitudes about Indians is revealed by the data from both groups. In response to question #10, a question in which the Blackfeet student was asked to place in order of importance, self, Blackfeet, and Indian people, just 6 students gave Blackfeet people a third position while over 60 percent placed Blackfeet either No. 1 or No. 2. This indicates a real solidarity, a continued unified feeling that young Blackfeet continue to see themselves as part of the tribal system and organization.

Currently, attitudes about AIM are that the movement has increased non-Indian awareness of Indian problems and it has made Indian people aware of government mishandling and mistreatment of Indian people everywhere. However, when an activist movement tends to force a choice against college at this time, college is given the priority. Higher education is seen as an opportunity to advance Indian ideals and aid individual self-awareness. Only a few students considered activist movement participation compatible with higher education.

Most students were unable to see themselves as AIM participants and, at the same time, college students. Even when asked if they could re-state the goals of AIM, would they then participate in the movement, less than half

responded, "yes". For the present, one can conclude that the opportunity to attempt college level work is the one single thing producing a current cohesiveness among Blackfeet students, not AIM.

The course work offered by the Native American Studies program and certain anthropology courses are all the opportunity that the Blackfeet student has for placing himself and tribe in some historical perspective with respect to contemporary society. The Blackfeet students educational opportunity is viewed by them as the one single way to acquire an effective tool for dealing with injustices and political deception. The Blackfeet student is strongly motivated. A common expression of theirs is, "I want to do something for my people." It is also reflected in the major subjects they hope to pursue: social work, law, education, etc.

Revitalization, as viewed by two major theorists, has been discussed as a possible framework for placement of AIM. The movement does appear to meet some of the criteria for a nativistic cultural phenomenon. However, as far as the Blackfeet group studied is concerned, the movement is difficult to place in a revitalistic-religious context. Although there exists some evidence for a religious background, its significance is not recognized by the Blackfeet student group examined for this paper.

The movement clearly conforms to a basic symbolic revival-nativism. All the required elements are present:

the concern for the loss of identity with past customs, the frustration of dealing with contemporary problems, the attempt, pan-Indianism, to include past cultural elements in a contemporary setting, but apparent secularism precludes it as a messianic phenomenon from a Blackfeet perspective.

AIM among most Blackfeet appears to be a symbolic mental construct of revivalism. Ninety percent of the respondents were unable to think of AIM as a religious phenomenon and felt that the movement offers a basic attempt to solidify Indian attitudes about themselves as a unique people. In addition, most envision the movement as one way for a few Indian people to create awareness, among non-Indians as well as Indian people, of past mistreatment and social injustices.

As an organized effort, initially, the movement received a significant amount of attention, culminating at Wounded Knee in 1973. Although the movement saw its early beginnings in the late 1960's the Blackfeet student group gave it no particular attention until two or three years ago. The majority of those interviewed substantiate the idea that the movement was a deliberate organized effort by Native Americans to improve current cultural conditions and yet retain some semblance of a unique ethnic identity and former life-style.

No one questioned that the founders of the movement had in mind a better life situation for Indian people as a goal or that the movement arose out of frustration, but many questioned that the movement was the best method or even

a worthwhile effort for achieving social equality and ethnic identification. Not all students saw education as the only answer and it should be pointed out that not all Blackfeet college students can be considered academically inclined. As indicated earlier, some were having great difficulty in functioning academically at the college level, but what is important is that they were at least trying to function, they were attempting to actively participate in an alternative method of self-improvement. Based on this information it can be concluded that, for concerned young Blackfeet, higher education offers a more viable, realistic opportunity to secure equal rights and a measure of social equality than does a revivalistic movement. Although by attending courses in Indian Studies and anthropology, the student participates to a certain extent in a revivalistic movement even as he attends the university.

Though the Blackfeet response group was critical of its own efforts and of the achievement of AIM the comparative or non-Indian response group was even more critical. A degree of ethnocentrism appeared more than once in response to the questions. That is to say, the value position of the respondents seemed obvious with respect to the manner in which Native Americans seek equal rights and an equal opportunity for success in life.

Many responses indicate a feeling of superiority with respect to educational abilities and more than one respondent felt that the maintaining of a unique ethnic

identity by Blackfeet students or any Native American group was not possible in an equal rights society. A reasonable amount of resistance is indicated towards Native Americans and their efforts in higher education. Curiously, the non-Indian respondents were able to accept a movement by Native Americans seeking to improve social conditions, etc., but when the practical aspects of the movement showed signs of success this group became more conservative in their answers. Several felt that Native Americans are taking advantage of their minority position with respect to higher education and that equal rights apparently means "superior rights". Understandably, these responses are what one might expect when a heretofore quiet minority becomes more vocal and seeks some of the same rights and privileges as the dominant-superior group.

The question of assimilation poses the greatest problem to the Native American seeking to retain an ethnic identity. Continued contact with others, particularly at college, will certainly accelerate the acculturation process and the retention of a unique identity will most likely become less and less obvious. Many of the non-Indian respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the Native American who completes an undergraduate degree then returns to the reservation.

This is an interesting paradox. The Blackfeet view is that in the past Native Americans left the reservation upon completion of college never to return, thereby not

being of much assistance to the tribe or family. The idea of returning to help is not new, but most Blackfeet, idealistically, want to return to Browning and at least try to lend assistance. The responses of the Caucasian group indicate that by returning to the reservation the Native Americans will continue to remain an unacculturated people and that only by breaking the tribal bonds can the Native American achieve the desired results, assimilation.

The ability of any Native American group to achieve equal rights by any means and retain their heritage and uniqueness will be difficult. Many of the responses from the comparative group indicated that equality, uniqueness, and ethnic identity should be the goals of AIM, yet these things can only be achieved by acceptance of current standards.

Separation, retention of the old ways, is a lost cause and political diversification will not produce the desired results. The comparative group is really asking that Native Americans, striving to achieve equal rights with the aid of AIM or higher education, do these things only in terms of current methods and societal processes.

One must conclude, however, that although AIM is a revivalistic construct, its image is largely a mental version of a loose-knit organization that does not require members to carry identification or sign charters. The strength of the movement lies in its ability to get Native Americans thinking about themselves, considering alternatives

and making efforts to improve the Native American status everywhere. Statements by young Blackfeet students may indicate a religious phenomenon in the early days of the movement, however, to them the movement has had a general positive effect that now requires specific goals be set forth.

The Blackfeet reservation is some distance from the acknowledged center of AIM and this problem of proximity creates an informational void. While regional differences may alter mental images of the movement, general beliefs about it will continue to unite many Native Americans. The altering of one single aspect of the movement would probably see its greater acceptance by those who are undecided about its efforts and that is the elimination of the violence associated with the movement. If, in some way, AIM were to begin again, eliminating the violent aspect, seeking out tribal cooperation and soliciting leadership from all parts of the country, acceptance would most likely be enhanced.

For now, however, the Blackfeet student group can only support the movement as a general concept and will probably continue to view higher education as the most productive, viable alternative to other methods of improving Native American status, securing equal rights and retaining some measure of ethnic identity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

BLACKFEET RESPONSE GROUP DATA

(Partial responses from respondents booklets)

Question #1: In your view, what is the American Indian Movement?

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. New change, violence	1. Radical group
2. Fighting for rights	2. Organized group
3. A brave group fighting for rights . . .	3. A group of pot-head Indians . . .
4. AIM is communism, the violence is bad . . .	4. Bring attention to Indian problems . . .
5. AIM a few dictating to us . . . a hoax . . .	5. Trying to solve problems . . .
6. To make known our problems	6. A fight for a cause, collective rights, to stand and fight . . .
7. A legitimate group, fighting for Indian rights . . .	7. To gain recognition for Indian people. A sincere effort to gain Indian rights . . .
8. A movement for Indians by Indians . . .	
9. A political movement, violence is wrong . . .	
10. Fighting for rights, a common cause, to instill pride, it is a feeling . . .	
11. "loose knit" group	
12. Rights for Indian people . . .	
13. Seeking government explanation for Indian problems . . .	

Question #2: As a Blackfeet, has AIM changed you in any way?

- | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|--|---|
| 1. No, ideas are not changed by AIM | 1. No |
| 2. No, education has changed my ideas | 2. Yes, I am more aware of news media bias to Indians |
| 3. Not really, it has made me aware of the past | 3. No |
| 4. Yes, opened my eyes to Indian problems, all the government says is not true | 4. Yes, I think about my past and future, I'm concerned about Indians |
| 5. No, it is radical, AIM is a terrorizing factor | 5. Yes, awareness of Native American problems |
| 6. No, I've known all along what AIM has been saying | 6. Yes, aware, informed |
| 7. Yes, it has given me identity and pride. | 7. No |
| 8. Yes, it has given me motivation for college, to examine my past | |
| 9. Yes - No, it has encouraged me to help my people
No, I'm not active yet, will be | |
| 10. No . . . no explanation | |
| 11. Yes, awareness | |
| 12. Yes, awareness of Indian problems | |
| 13. No - Yes, not actively | |

Question #3: In your opinion, has AIM had a positive or negative effect on you as a Blackfeet?

- | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|--|
| 1. <u>Positive</u> - it(AIM) acts as a showcase for Indian problems . . . | 1. Negative, "they" are going at it in a wrong way for Indian rights . . . |
| 2. <u>Positive</u> - "they" are right . . . | 2. <u>Positive</u> - I've become more aware of Indian injustices . . . |
| 3. <u>Positive</u> - AIM did what they thought was right and that is good . . . | 3. <u>Negative</u> - I don't care for a thing they do . . . |
| 4. <u>Pos. - Neg. - Pos. -</u> it has pointed out Indian problems, government has lied.
<u>Neg. -</u> using violence to handle the issue is neg. but possibly the only way . . . | 4. <u>Undecided</u> - I respect them for their goals . . . |
| 5. <u>Negative</u> - I believe in the ideals of AIM, but not in the violence . . . | 5. <u>Positive</u> - We are tired of being pushed around. Native Americans are giving their point of view. |
| 6. <u>Negative</u> - No explanation | 6. <u>Undecided</u> - leans positive |
| 7. <u>Positive</u> - No explanation | 7. <u>Positive</u> - the affect has been on me as an individual and Indian. |
| 8. <u>Positive</u> - I'm not an advocate of violence, but I can see definite positive effects from it in some incidents, like Wounded Knee . . . | |
| 9. <u>Positive</u> - it has helped to give us pride . . . | |
| 10. <u>Negative</u> - they(AIM) went about it wrong, violence causes trouble . . . | |
| 11. <u>Positive</u> - The movement is helping my people, it is good . . . | |
| 12. <u>Positive - Negative . . .</u>
<u>Undecided</u> | |

(Male)

13. Positive - the movement showed me that my tribe did not have unity or the goals that the movement had . . .

Question #4: What do you think should be the goals of AIM?

- | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|---|
| 1. education of the people, a stepping stone for other programs with specific goals | 1. to help Indian people |
| 2. to get whats needed by talking to government, if not start another conflict | 2. to insure fair treatment, to make known injustices |
| 3. rights for Indians, get land back | 3. No response |
| 4. the movement <u>had</u> goals and ideas but went about it wrong | 4. to make others aware of Indian problems, improve communications |
| 5. to help, but they went about it wrong | 5. to let society know that Native Americans are standing up trying to help themselves |
| 6. their goals had no effect on me | 6. to stand up for their beliefs at any cost. To help Indian people in legal matters |
| 7. to help all Indians, to give them pride | 7. to make others aware of Indian problems, to gain recog., to point out the inequalities |
| 8. to show uniqueness of the Indian, to set up an example of leadership | |
| 9. it(AIM) should always work for the betterment of all Indians | |
| 10. to get other Americans aware of Indian problems, but not violence | |
| 11. to bring the people together for the betterment of Indian people | |
| 12. to unite Indians and form systematic avenues to facilitate change | |

(Male)

13. to unite all Native Americans
so they may decide what's
best for them, strong reli-
gious leadership for
unification . . .

Question #5: In view of your response to question #4, has AIM failed or succeeded, give reasons.

Male

1. Failed - because of the AIM politics, fighting, and uneducated people . . .
2. Failed - because of present leadership(as of 1975-76).
3. Succeeded - Failed
 1. AIM showed White's we are trying . . .
 2. "failed", old Russell is in jail . . .
4. Failed - Succeeded
 1. violence is the main reason
 2. it has pointed out Indian problems . . .
5. Failed - it(AIM) is suppose to do good, it has hurt . . .
6. Succeeded - Failed
 1. it pointed out problems
 2. it is radical, disorganized and did not seek help from other tribes . . .
7. Succeeded - we(AIM) have brought the problems of the people out . . .
8. Success - Failure
 1. it(AIM) has publicized that something is wrong in the U.S.
 2. it has not been accepted as legitimate, it has not fulfilled all goals . . .
9. Succeeded - as long as there are activists that are willing to be heard . . .

Female

1. Failed - present rights are ignored. The government could take all rights away . . .
2. Succeeded - the type of "justice" received at Wounded Knee is the same all over . . .
3. Failed - they(AIM) have gotten into trouble and make people look worse . . .
4. Succeeded - even if it takes violence they(AIM) have:
 1. treaty rights
 2. assisted terminated tribes
 3. civil rights
 4. education systems
5. Succeeded - they(AIM) are a new organization and will improve on their goals . . .
6. Stand Still - has neither failed or succ., leaders are in court to much, they(AIM) have forgotten the people . . .
7. Failed - many Indian people are turned off by AIM. AIM is ass. with guns and Indians trying to run White people off their land . . .

(Male)

10. Failed - it(AIM) just got people to look down on Indian people . . .
11. Succeeded - it(AIM) is succeeding, it has not failed . . . no other reasons given.
12. Succeeded - Failed
 1. it has brought awareness to Indian of policy's by the Federal Government to the Indians . . .
 2. it has failed to bring about systematic change . . .
13. Succeeded - it(AIM) has united Indian people, he (Banks or Means) has shown us he lives in the old tradition, he practices the Sundance ceremony, it is a privilage . . .

Question #6: Do you view AIM as a religious or political movement?

Male

1. Political - the old religion is gone, people in the movement today don't feel . . .
2. Political - no reasons given
3. Political - mostly political
4. Political - AIM would have more support from older members if it was religious . . .
5. Political - definitely, I never heard of such things or any type of sign . . .
6. Religious - spiritual at first
7. Religious - activities at Wounded Knee were religious . . .
8. Political - a legitimate arm of the Native American cause . . . Personel beliefs through the religious element is the more broad aspect of the AIM . . .
9. Political - no reasons given
10. Political - it is trying to change the system . . .
11. Political - Religious
 1. political problems give it a political reference . . .
 2. by attempting to maintain the old ways it is indirectly religious, religion is part of every Indian . . .

Female

1. Religious - Political
 1. they want lost rights
 2. their beliefs are driving them to get it(rights) . . .
2. Political - no reasons
3. Political - no reasons
4. Neither - only a possibility of both in carrying out goals.
5. Political - no reasons
6. Political - Religious a movement for justice, as being religious or political AIM is a movement for justice in its self . . .
7. Political - by facing sheer reality AIM is forced into a political type of involvement for recognition as a forceful group . . .

(Male)

12. Political - it is uncovering policies towards Indians by people of authority(Federal)
 . . .
13. Religious - religion will unit the people . . .

Question #7: Do you know other Indian people who are active AIM members?

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. Yes - about eight, I am not active . . .	1. Yes - a few who believe in it . . .
2. None - I don't know any . . .	2. None
3. Yes - about two relations and a few friends . . .	3. Four
4. Yes - three or four members, the people of our tribe are against AIM	4. Yes - close to 100
5. Yes - about six people . . .	5. Yes - three . . .
6. Yes - a few . . .	6. Yes - twenty . . .
7. Yes - many . . .	7. Yes - a few . . .
8. Yes - five, membership is not staunch, but they can be rallied to support . . .	
9. Yes - ten, maybe . . .	
10. No.	
11. Yes - all Indians are part of AIM . . .	
12. No.	
13. Did not respond appropriately but answer indicates a "yes".	

Question #8: Given a choice, which affords a better opportunity to help the Blackfeet: 1. Higher education, college, etc., or 2. Activist movements such as AIM? Explain if desired.

- | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|--|--|
| 1. H. Ed. - you have to have the same tools as the people you work with or fight against | 1. H. Ed. - if you have a good education it is easier to get what you want . . . |
| 2. H. Ed. - no explanation | 2. A. Movement - even a well educated Indian is discriminated against . . . |
| 3. H. Ed. - A. Movement
1. for the young
2. for the old folks, you can't change their ways
. . . | 3. H. Ed. - no explanation. |
| 4. H. Ed. - we must get some members educated or the gove't will do away with the reservation . . . | 4. Both - no explanation |
| 5. H. Ed. - but to help my people I'll have to take what I've learned and go back to the reservation . . . | 5. Both - no explanation |
| 6. H. Ed. - no explanation. | 6. H. Ed. - it would benefit the people in the long run . . . |
| 7. H. Ed. - I am going to law school if I can. All Blackfeet should use their education to help Blackfeet. AIM and education can work together . . . | 7. H. Ed. - be knowledgeable and able to back yourself up, it(H. Ed.) offers an opportunity. |
| 8. H. Ed. - H. Ed. is the more appropriate course of action
. . . | |
| 9. H. Ed. - there are a lot of Indians that would not agree
. . . | |
| 10. H. Ed. - that(H. Ed.) is one of the best ways for Indian people to get somewhere . . . | |

(Male)

11. H. Ed. - it is a great asset,
it is the only way . . .
12. H. Ed. - it is the only way
to make any type of change
last . . .
13. H. Ed. - but teach something
about our own ways . . .

Question #9: If you could re-state the goals of AIM, in your own way, could you then become an active participant in AIM?

Male

1. No - no explanation.
2. Unknown - could not answer
3. Unknown - could not answer
4. Yes - if the movement was well organized and had the majority of Indian people behind it . . .
5. Yes - if I could change it
6. Yes - no explanation.
7. Yes - I am an active Member of AIM . . .
8. No - AIM would call for a compromising of my time priorities, this I am unwilling to do . . .
9. No - no explanation.
10. Yes - no explanation.
11. Yes - I feel that I am an active member because of my concern for my people . . .
12. Yes - but without the violence . . .
13. No!

Female

1. No - no explanation.
2. Yes - no explanation.
3. No - no explanation.
4. Unk. - no explanation.
5. No - because of family . . .
6. No - I could do more alone than I could joining the movement . . .
7. Yes - no explanation.

Question #10: Place the following words in order of importance with #1 as the most important.
A. self B. Blackfeet C. Indian People

MaleFemale

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. A, C, B - no explanation. | 1. A, B, C - no explanation. |
| 2. everyone the same | 2. C, A, B - no explanation. |
| 3. B, A, C - Blackfeet are #1 | 3. A, B, C - no explanation. |
| 4. B, C, A - no explanation. | 4. A, (B-C) - no explanation. |
| 5. A, C, B - no explanation. | 5. A, B, C - no explanation. |
| 6. C, A, B - no explanation. | 6. C, B, A - no explanation. |
| 7. C, B, A - no explanation. | 7. A, C, B - no explanation. |
| 8. A, B, C - no explanation. | |
| 9. all the same, if you want to
better one they will all
benefit . . . | |
| 10. C, B, A - no explanation. | |
| 11. C, B, A - its time the Indian
people stopped thinking in
terms of tribes and come
together as a group . . . | |
| 12. A, C, B - no explanation. | |
| 13. C, B, A - no explanation. | |

APPENDIX 2

NON-INDIAN RESPONSE GROUP DATA

(Partial responses from respondents booklets)

Question #1: In your opinion, what is the American Indian Movement?

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. An attempt to lift the social and economic status of the Amer. Indian.	1. I wasn't aware their was one . . .
2. A realization, through education, that they are a conquered people, defeated by treachery . . .	2. I don't know much about AIM. Maybe trying to go back to old ways . . .
3. Indians trying to have more influence in government . . .	3. it(AIM) is urging Indian people to be proud of their heritage . . .
4. A need for individualism, it is good and bad . . .	4. An equal rights movement
5. Don't know for sure, must be activities for Indian rights . . .	5. An organization helping Indians gain a little justice . . .
6. A movement of revitalization through seperation, an attempt to secure an identity.	6. for understanding, to prevent homogenization of Indians . . .
7. I don't know . . .	7. Indians fighting for rights and privilages the same for everyone . . .
8. I don't know much . . . may have to do with control over themselves . . .	8. Working for rights and privilages the same for everyone . . .
9. A move for equal rights	
10. . . . is concerned for equal rights of Indians and ed. of	

(Male)

- non-Indians about Indian problems . . .
11. to accept Native Americans
 12. to gain better living conditions and promote heritage of Am. Ind.
 13. a political move, for civil rights . . .
 14. Indians are striving for civil rights . . . they deserve equal but not superior rights . . .
 15. A radical political movement, improvement through violence . . .
 16. I'm not knowledgeable about it . . .
 17. A group using extreme, violent methods to bring attention to the Native American . . .

(Female)

9. An attempt to gain recog. by pol. fig. for the historical position of the Am. Ind.
10. I don't know . . .
11. An organization to better Indians at the expense of others . . .
12. a movement upgrading the political and soc. rights of the Am. Ind.
13. a consolidated group working to improve the cond. of the Native American . . .

Question #2: What do you think should be the goals of the American Indian Movement?

- | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|---|
| 1. to become Americanized, but retain their cultural ideas . . . | 1. to be treated less like a minority . . . |
| 2. to strive for equal oppor. and elimination of unemploy. and alcoholism on the reser. | 2. fair representation of Indians . . . |
| 3. to become equal . . . | 3. keeping their culture |
| 4. unable to respond | 4. to work with community on things that concern all citizens . . . |
| 5. . . . nothing, rights should be same, they live in the same country as us . . . | 5. equalization, no segreg. |
| 6. the AIM should turn toward assimilating its members into society . . . | 6. 1. to help Ind. be proud of their heritage
2. to help others understand Indian heritage |
| 7. to produce an awareness of Ind. culture, to re-establish the Ind. in our culture . . . | 7. equality for Indians |
| 8. to work for a betterment of Ind. people in today's society . . . | 8. to get equality, same jobs and pay as everyone |
| 9. ans., see #1. | 9. identity as an indiv. as an Indian in a mixed society |
| 10. the advancement of Indian in ed. and status, heritage. | 10. goals making life more endurable for individuals . . . |
| 11. striving to be accepted . . . | 11. to better themselves but not all at the expense of others . . . |
| 12. to help Ind. improve their cond. and preserve their heritage . . . | 12. working out problems with other groups . . . |
| 13. to help their own people . . . | |
| 14. to fight for their traditional rights . . . | |
| 15. improved through lawful means, education, etc. | |

(Male)

16. to get people responsive to what the Indian was and should still be . . .
17. peaceful demonstrating, lobbying to change wrongs and to educate the rest of America

(Female)

13.
 1. equal opportunity
 2. improved cond. on the reservation

Question #3: In view of your response to question #2, has the American Indian Movement failed or succeeded? Give reasons.

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. Failed - "standards" are adjusted for Indians, this turns others against the "cause" . . .	1. Success - no reason
2. Failed - has done nothing constructive, public is against them(AIM)	2. Success - it has made people aware of Indian rights . . .
3. Failed - people still discriminate against Indians	3. Undecided
4. Failed - issues have not been effectively brought to light . . .	4. Success - limited, with building projects . . .
5. Undecided	5. Success - limited, some prejudice is reduced . . .
6. Failed - seperation is not the answer, the old days are gone . . .	6. Failed - the movement has alienated non-Indians . . .
7. Undecided	7. Failed - the Wounded Knee incident
8. Undecided	8. Failed - they don't have equality . . .
9. Success - jobs and educational opportunity have improved . . .	9. Success - limited, has moved to fast to change things quickly . . .
10. Failed - demanding change does not happen over night . . .	10. Failed - goals are not fulfilled . . .
11. Failed - Native Americans are a dying culture . . .	11. Undecided
12. Success - partially a greater awareness of Indian problems and culture . . .	12. Both - awareness of problems attitudes are unchanged . . .
13. Failed - they've not learned responsibility . . .	13. Success - better education money compensation

(Male)

(Female)

14. Both - forceing it is wrong,
cultural understanding has
improved . . .
15. Failed - too much violence,
AIM has had a bad reputation
. . . .
16. Failed - they have pushed for
more than they should . . .
17. Failed - they are not ac-
cepted by other Indians . . .
too militant

Question #4: Do you view the American Indian Movement as a religious or a political movement?

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. Political - the movement is a social problem . . .	1. Political - no explanation
2. Political - no explanation	2. Political - no explanation
3. Political - no explanation	3. Both - no explanation
4. Political - a human rights movement . . .	4. Political - no explanation
5. Political - a human rights movement . . .	5. Political - no explanation
6. Political - covered with image of religion/emotionalism	6. Political - fight for economic and social rights . . .
7. Political - Religious 1. rights 2. to restore old faiths	7. Pol.-Rel. - concern for heritage must include religion.
8. Political - no explanation	8. Political - no explanation
9. Political - no explanation	
10. Political - religious purposes have not come to light . . .	9. Political - the determined followers of a religious movement are not to be found . . .
11. Religious - no explanation	
12. Political - only radical incidents are known due to the press . . .	10. Political - no explanation
13. Political - Strictly!	11. Political - no explanation
14. Religious - I view the AIM as a religious movement . . .	12. Political - no explanation
15. Political - no explanation	13. Both - no explanation
16. Political - no explanation	
17. Political - no explanation	

Question #5: Do you know Indian people who are active American Indian Movement members? If so, how many?

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. No	1. No
2. No	2. No
3. No	3. No
4. Yes - 10-13	4. No
5. Did not respond	5. No
6. No	6. No
7. No	7. Yes - 20
8. No	8. No
9. No	9. No
10. Yes - 1	10. No
11. Yes - 10	11. No
12. No	12. Yes - 2
13. No	13. No
14. Yes - 4	
15. NO	
16. No	
17. Yes - 2	

Question #6: Given a choice, which affords a better opportunity to help Indian people: 1. Higher education, college, etc., or 2. Activist movements such as the American Indian Movement? Explain if desired.

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. H.E. - Indians will never be fully accepted until they are "Americanized" . . .	1. H.E. - no explanation
2. H.E. - no explanation	2. Activist Movement - education is upper middle class white/ should be used to change whites ideas . . .
3. H.E. - advantages are greater . . .	3. H.E. - better opportunity to help
4. H.E. - a better choice	4. Both
5. Education for All . . .	5. H.E. - would aid integration . . .
6. H.E. - is best choice . . .	6. H.E. - Activist Movements is a leftover from the 60's . . .
7. Both - are necessary	7. Both - Activist Movement for rights H.E. for education . . .
8. H.E. - no explanation	8. H.E. - to find potentials . . .
9. Both - no explanation	9. H.E. - a foundation is needed . . .
10. H.E. - the skills are needed . . .	10. H.E. - no explanation
11. A.M. - no explanation	11. H.E. - no explanation
12. Both - H.E. for a few, AIM for promoting of the people . . .	12. Both - a balance is needed . . .
13. Undecided	13. Activist Movement - the only way to help ALL Indians . . .
14. Undecided - choice is up to each person . . .	
15. H.E. - no explanation	
16. H.E. - but it may reinforce what they are fighting for	
17. H.E. - Activist Movements are needed but must be supported by all . . .	

Question #7: If you could re-state the goals of the American Indian Movement, in your own way, could you then become an active participant in the American Indian Movement?

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1. Yes - AIM needs guidance	1. Undecided
2. Yes - if the opportunity for higher ed. did not exist . . .	2. No - I've no right to change or criticize . . .
3. No - no explanation	3. No - no explanation
4. No - I want no part of a radical movement . . .	4. Undecided - am unclear on AIM goals . . .
5. Undecided	5. Undecided - unclear on AIM goals
6. No - it would be difficult for a non-Indian to communicate . . .	6. No - it is running chances for those who were indifferent . . .
7. Undecided	7. No - no explanation
8. No - no explanation	8. Yes - I agree with things that will help, without violence . . .
9. No - no explanation	9. No - the strong exacting goals are not present . . .
10. Yes - all minorities must participate for equality . . .	10. No - I could never become a member of any organization or political movement . . .
11. Yes - no explanation	11. No - no explanation
12. No - no explanation	12. Yes - no explanation
13. No - no explanation	13. Yes - the movement is for equal opportunity . . .
14. No - no explanation	
15. No - past events have left a bad impression . . .	
16. No - too many get involved before knowing anything . . .	
17. Yes - I would support their cause . . .	