Prison and the Montana Indian

Loren Duane Harrison

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THE PRISON AND THE MONTANA INDIAN

By

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The first element in the forming of a relationship is communication. The rapport we experience when we like another person and feel close to him is usually preceded by a discovery that we can communicate with him in a satisfying way. We say, "He and I talk the same language." The chemistry of relationship is highly complex, but certainly it does not develop easily if communication does not flow effectively and reveal areas of common interests and feelings. Herein lies the problem between the correctional officer and the Indian in prison. The correctional officer may be surprised at the suggestion that he is having difficulty in this respect, for he may suppose that he and the Indian are communicating satisfactorily. But the Indian may be clever at supporting that illusion, when actually the officer's talk and attitudes are exactly what he distrusts or quite fails to understand.

In the day to day interaction between the Indian and correctional personnel of the Montana State Prison, questions concerning their interrelationship constantly appeared. Some personnel reacted from their perspective or understanding of
Indians. Other personnel felt inadequate because they did not know how to cope with the Indian. After questioning staff and Indian inmates, the common point agreed upon which would enhance corrections appeared to be better levels of communication. Many staff members felt they could function more efficiently if they understood the thoughts of the Indian in prison. In a similar manner, the Indian felt correctional personnel could better work with them if they understood their ways and thoughts.

Whenever the Indian feels inferior or feels the administration is unwilling to listen to his views, he will say nothing rather than say anything at all. This silence often causes the administration to react in various ways. Some staff ignore the Indian and others consider his action as his level of intelligence.

Attitudes and behavior have long been thought to be the result of harmful and hurtful relationships. Indians and administration alike need to overcome their fear and suspicions of each other if there is to be any significant interpersonal levels. Interpersonal relationships are the basic feelings of life and basic attitudes toward each other that can cause major changes in personality and perspective. Empathy, the ability to put oneself in another's place, has been basically one way of gaining awareness for the Indian's position.

The purpose of this study of the Indian in prison is to give correctional personnel an awareness of how the Indian thinks and feels. In order to enhance correctional treatment
programs it is necessary to establish intercommunicational levels rather than the mere placement of individuals within an institution. It would appear that if we are able to take on an Indian's point of reference, i.e., his feelings, and culture, we could be more effective in working with the Indian toward his return to the community. Smith substantiated this feeling when he stated that within a given culture, communication has many complex effects. When communication takes place between two cultures, these effects are even more complex. When messages are transported across cultural boundaries, they are encoded in one context and decoded in another and if there is little co-orientation, there will be a substantial loss of communication in general. This greatly increases the possibility of misunderstanding and of unexpected reactions. The silence of the Indian in prison indicates the lack of that interaction which is necessary for effective operation of the correctional system.

The Montana State Prison has an Indian population equaling one-fourth the total prison population while in the total population of Montana, the Indian constitutes only 4 percent. Many studies point to the problems of the Indian within the community; therefore, one can realize the magnitude of their needs within a closed society such as a prison, particularly with increased numbers. Sixty-four Indians were

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in the prison out of the total population of two hundred and fifty. Greater significance can be understood when we realize Indian criminality for the nation is nearly seven times that of the national average. Drunkenness constitutes 71 percent of all Indian arrests which is twelve times greater than the national average. Comparable situations to Montana may be observed with the Indians of South Dakota, Apache, and Navajo. The Indian population of South Dakota is approximately 5 percent of the state's total population where the Indian population of the State Penitentiary is approximately 34.3 percent Indian. Equally impressive is how the Jicarilla Apache and Navajo court cases are more than double the national rates. Stewart is convinced these astounding dichotomies are consistent throughout all Indians of the nation. Therefore, Indian criminality rates are higher than the national average and higher than those for other minority groups. The usual social and cultural conditions which are found to contribute to delinquent behavior in the general population, such as poor housing, segregation, lack of education, operate among Indians. He believes the answer must be sought among the unique or unusual conditions to which the Indians have been

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3 Stewart, op. cit.
4 Stewart, op. cit.
Although a fair number of statistics have been compiled, little has been written about the thoughts and feelings of these people who face the crisis of incarceration in an institution based upon norms alien to Indian culture. It would appear these reactions would be dependent upon the degree of transition from a "reservation Indian" to a "non-reservation Indian." The reservation Indian may be defined as that individual who has remained relatively isolated from the white man's world and has been living on an Indian reservation among Indian people following many of his ancestral ways. The non-reservation Indian is that individual who has lived off the reservation for the majority of his life and has intermingled with the white man on an extensive basis thus maintaining the cultural ways of the white man.

Norman Denzin has made the point repeatedly that every man defines his world differently. Therefore, if we are to accurately explain these definitions and relate to them, we must penetrate this world of definitions, experiences, and reactions. The Indian in prison, through the "role path," can singly or collectively define the objects, events, and situations he encounters. During the interview within this study, he relates the most significant events, thoughts, and

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5 Stewart, op. cit.

feelings of his life in prison.

The "role path" refers to the everyday language, behavior, and thoughts. In his natural environment, the Indian is capable of relating with a greater degree of accuracy the culture and feelings of his people. Therefore, in order to acquire a more accurate picture, the natural approach was planned utilizing the recording of events, meetings, and interviews.

The "role path" assumes that meaningful experiences about oneself in such occasions are nearly always reported without professional prompting by informants themselves. Areas of common interest are the topics used. Jon Driessen developed the concept that the procedure and techniques either implicit or explicit in a natural sociological approach require an investigator to adapt his methods and techniques to the nature of the phenomena he investigates. This adaptation leads to findings which are qualitatively different from those approaches which attempt to force data to fit both predetermined procedures of classification and techniques of analysis.⁷

Within the language common properties and categories emerged denoting common situations. Common situations were those relationships of the thoughts of the Indian to each other and to personnel. After learning what is significant --

to the Indian in prison, improved levels of communication, relationships, and programs may be established. The implicit belief is how the answers are "grounded" in the language of the Indian.

The present study observed the Indian in the Montana State Prison from the Indian's perspective concerning his main thoughts and feelings. In addition to the Indian holding these views, many prison staff members believe a gap in communication exists between the Indian inmate and staff members. The magnitude of the gap is unknown but the staff and Indian believe there is a problem.

In no way is this material intended as a total answer to the problems of the incarcerated Indian. Rather it is offered as one step that may put forth a few answers to former and present difficulties. The present effort is exploratory in nature trying to establish patterns of thought that are significant to the Indian in prison. Location of these points would hopefully enable correctional personnel to develop better relationships and improve correctional practice.
CHAPTER II

METHODS

The principal purpose of this study is to discover the possible causes creating problems in the Indian's communication with staff of the Montana State Prison. Simplification of the problem tends to break the matter into a workable solution. Simplification is the process of identifying the components that make up a problem. Actually, simplification is a part of causal analysis which merely breaks down the problem locating the specific actions creating a situation. After locating the source, a step by step procedure can be instituted to resolve the problem.

Detailed description enables the researcher to identify gestures, phrases, or customs and their symbolic meaning. Identification of behavioral characteristics can establish unique differences and behavior common throughout all races.

The present study is moving in the direction that the insights to this problem are grounded in the Indian. Therefore, in order to extract the information with the least degree of bias, it was necessary to allow the Indian to relate in a natural way his thoughts and feelings.
Design:

All Indian inmates in the Montana State Prison who were willing to participate on a voluntary basis were inter­viewed. A group of open-ended questions were used to stimu­late the basic topic headings investigated. However, the main thought was to let the Indian flow in his natural way to the questions and not hold him strictly to the structured questions. This flow would hopefully enable him to relate using the "role path." After interviewing a series of Indi­ans, key words and phrases were extracted from his con­versation to develop a listing of indexicals. Indexicals are those words depicting the main thought of a sentence, paragraph, or phrase. From the indexicals properties and categories formed giving shape to the classification scheme.

Subjects:

Research for the present study took place in Deer Lodge, Montana, at the Montana State Prison during the summer of 1971. The prison is located on the main street of Deer Lodge, a small town of approximately 5,000 residents. This state institution is one of the primary employing agencies, together with the Milwaukee Railroad and local ranches. The Deer Lodge Valley is a ranching area known to have warm sum­mers and long, cold winters.

The prison looms over Deer Lodge resembling a medieval castle with its thick gray stone walls and steel doors. The
inmate population of the prison ranges from 250 to 350 including the maximum and minimum security units. Since Montana, a low-population state, lacks sufficient facilities and financial support, all male inmates ages 18 and older are housed in one institution. Adult female offenders are sent to Nebraska for incarceration because the low number of female inmates does not warrant the cost of staffing or maintaining a women's unit.

The Indian inmate population constitutes approximately one-fourth of the total prison population. Sentences range from eighteen months to life for offenses such as burglary, grand larceny, rape, assault, forgery, robbery, and murder. The majority of offenses by the Indian inmates are burglary or grand larceny. The average level of education is eight years of formal education, coming from a background of poverty and alcoholism. Indian inmates generally seek employment as laborers in farming and ranching.

Approximately one-fourth (twelve) of the Indian population volunteered to participate in this study. Suspicions, distrust, and negativism to the white man or authority permeated the entire picture. Some comments suggested that the investigator was a spy for government funding agencies, a spy for the administration, or a lying white man. Another area of difficulty brought out by the Indian was whether the researcher could be trusted as being sincere in his efforts, since he had formerly been associated with law enforcement.
and corrections. This former position of authority in law enforcement and adult probation prevented many contacts. Yet, some Indians commented as the study progressed that the distrust was fading and more individuals were willing to participate.

Initial contact with the Indian in the Montana State Prison was established by contacting the North American Indian League and the North American Indian Alliance within the prison. They required a formal presentation before the group which stated the purpose and objective of the study. Eventually the North American Indian Alliance was disbanded.

The problems of association with law enforcement and correction authorities and with being a white man resulted in one Indian group refusing to participate, another group was hesitant, and finally certain individuals, if singled out, talked freely. The latter group served as an introduction to other Indians. Many of these Indians I had under supervision on previous occasions. They realized the difficulties the study encountered from the beginning. Each contact grew into further contacts until the material reached a degree of saturation.

In addition to the Indians within the prison, knowledgeable individuals in close contact with the Indian inmate were contacted and interviewed. Other significant individuals contacted were the staff representatives of the Indian groups, the Indian counselor, Indian representatives at the University
then spread over a large table. Certain cards (words and phrases) were found to have common meanings which allowed them to be placed together. Vague groups of cards were lined up in a "solitaire" fashion. As cards were brought together on the basis of their similarity of content and meaning, general categories emerged.

Following this initial classification, certain dominant words and themes were further researched in the American College Encyclopedic Dictionary, in a book of synonyms, and a thesaurus. On examination of these references, new and more precise subject headings were generated.

Once a general classification scheme was developed and key headings were established, a coding system was devised. The classification scheme, which was formed by arranging the cards, was reexamined and updated for a final time. A classification scheme was typed from the keyed cards.

A coding system which matches the numbering system of the general outline was formed and placed on five by eight index cards. After the cards were prepared, they were placed behind dividers in a file box in such a manner the entire research material was organized for systematic analysis.

Procedure:

Preliminary checks with Indian friends pointed to some basic guidelines to follow when interviewing an Indian inmate. The first point was to be direct but humble in your approach.
of Montana, Sister Providencia of Great Falls, Montana, and Indian friends. The Indians within the prison recommended these specific persons in view of their close contact with the Indian in prison and general knowledge of Indian ways. Therefore, their comments and perspective are included.

**Apparatus:**

The interview with a tape recorder was the only tool used in the collection of the material. Each person was asked if he objected to being recorded during the interview. Once the purpose of the interview was explained, opposition was completely negligible. The recorder was operating during the entire conversation and concealment was not necessary. The openness was welcomed.

A classification scheme for reducing taped interviews into common properties and categories was developed. The format for the classification scheme was grounded in the informant, thus, helping to understand causal factors about the Indian's position in prison.

After all tapes had been transcribed, each interview was numbered to facilitate referencing. Examination of each interview brought out key words or phrases which depicted the main theme of the paragraphs. These words and phrases were underlined for easy reference.

Key words and phrases were then noted on three by five index cards, with one word or phrase on each card. Cards were
The second point was to listen carefully to everything. The third was to develop a sincere interest in Indian culture.

With these points in mind, patience is an essential virtue since the Indian is of few words but sincere in his meaning. He often relates in stories and experiences which take extended periods of time and often create a sense of frustration for the non-Indian person.

The present study may be considered somewhat limited but it represents a specific Indian population and their thoughts or feelings that are of interest to them. Only through the understanding of another's perspective will an awareness of the feelings of others be developed.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS

In touching the world of the Indian inmate, common properties and categories of significant interest to him were noted establishing a classification scheme. Symbols, interactions, thoughts, and feelings were used from the perspective of the Indian in prison. Believing the answers are grounded in the Indian, a sensitization to his values and ideologies was received. From everyday events formal theory of causal propositions may enable universal application of their results.

Meeting the Indian

Barriers:

Limitations to this study were immediately encountered when I entered the prison to begin work. The first problem was that I represented authority since some Indians remembered me in the former position of a parole officer. The feeling against me involving conflicts surrounding certain individual cases was so severe that certain Indians never did agree to talk with me. Continual reassurance was necessary in order to impress upon them I was not a part of the prison administration. Further, even though some Indians had no intention
of working with me, they confronted me with the previous differences. Other Indians, who were interested in the study, gave me advice on how to conduct myself and thus overcome some of the obstacles. The first suggestion was to only conduct Indian business directly with the Indian or Indian groups that were involved. The second suggestion was to take ample time when talking to the Indian. The Indian does not identify with the fast pace or competitive world of the white man. Finally, instructions were to limit contact with the prison administration. Limited contact with the administration was to be a demonstration of my sincerity in working with them.

The second obstacle was their doubts about whether a white man would be capable of understanding the Indian. The consensus was that you had to be Indian to feel and understand the Indian. In recognizing the existing differences between the Indian and the white man, Thorsten Sellin clearly explains common factors between two social groups.

From primitive groups there is a far cry to the modern industrial and mercantile society with its metropolitan aggregations, epitomizing our civilization. The transition, according to the sociologist, was produced by numerous factors, among which inventions, improved means of communication, the growth of population, the interpretation of cultures, etc., are inextricably mingled and related. Whatever the processes were which resulted in or accompanied this growth, their end product is a culture which instead of the well-knit social fabric, which Speck pictured, shows a multitude of social groups, competitive interests, poorly defined interpersonal relationships, social anonymity, a confusion of
norms and a vast extension of impersonal control agencies designed to enforce rules which increasingly lack the moral force which rules receive only when they grow out of emotionally felt community needs. To a large number of persons who live in such a culture, certain life situations are governed by such conflicting norms that no matter what the response of the person in such a situation will be, it will violate the norms of some social group concern.¹

Even in light of the difficulties this study encountered the Indians were interested in continuing with a common feeling of necessity to break down communication barriers that exist in prison and to observe the Indian inmate. Believing that there will be a reciprocal exchange, the Indian feels this study may be used as educational material for correctional personnel. Men who have a foot in each world with an appreciation of both can effectively lessen the gap offering a link to these words.

"With" not "For":

The Indian places great value in the need for men to talk to him on his ground and at his level. He likes to sit and joke until the problem is nonexistent believing many problems need never to have existed. In discussing problems he considers careful listening to the Indian's point of view essential which is considered to never have been done before.

One Indian inmate stated you should come to him with "hat in hand" when you want to talk with him. He believed

the communication gap between the Indian and white man should not be there. He claimed the Indian does not tell the white man what he should or should not do, therefore, the white man should try to follow the same principle. The Indian inmate definitely believes there is a need for the white man and the Indian to communicate.

The Indian inmate described the following necessary points to remember in discussing matters with the Indian. First, he stated you should use straightforward questions and direct them at specific individuals. Secondly, you have to counsel with him for a period of time but always remember to keep your place. Finally, by never forcing your will upon him and always treating him as equal, one can assist in gaining the confidence of the Indian.

One area of deep concern was the attitude toward the Indian inmate. He stated it was important to take it easy and not to think you are a big shot. They want the white man to come to them at their request claiming you cannot work "for" or "help" the Indian unless he wants to help himself. "Go to him but don't look down upon him!"

Insight into what is good or bad for the Indian on the basis of culture is important. The Indian inmate believes harmony should exist between the white man and Indian and any discrimination is stupid. Ignorance breeds discrimination and through greater awareness of the Indian prior differences can be resolved.
Doing Good Things:

Many promises have been made to the Indian inmate but he has been unable to see any significant change. He has claimed that one can do all the good in the world but if it cannot be seen, it is not good. The Indian inmate states he is waiting for the white man to declare his attitude and is testing his patience. He believes in a reciprocal action, "you have to give something in order to get something." He does not believe in any words unless "you do good things." He makes the comment, "my hand is where my mouth is."

Living Differences:

The Indian inmate commented on how common mistakes in the field of corrections have been for correctional personnel to believe trades normally taught in prisons are applicable on reservations. Either the trades needed are not available or there is a saturation of trades in minor demand on reservations. In order to be effective in teaching vocational skills to Indian inmates, correctional administrators must face the reality of the situation.

The Indian's plight of poverty is very real. He claims the majority of offenses by Indians are economically oriented. Feelings of inferiority are paramount with the inability to acquire employment sufficient to meet their basic needs.

The Indian inmate claims there are definite differences in the opportunity structure between whites and Indians.
He states the comment by white men "that you are no different than I am," is a very lame excuse because the Indian has his own culture and own way of life. Other comments were how white men feel there are no differences in thinking but the Indian inmate very definitely believes differences exist, even differences among tribes.

The economic position of the Indians is one of the least favorable of all the American minority groups. In most Indian communities the pattern is one of bare subsistence, with the result that some of the nation's worst slums are to be found on Indian reservations. Obviously, Indians cannot solve their problems isolated from the mainstream of American life; and, clearly, their prospects for economic advancement are geared to those of the national and local economics. But avenues open to Indians for improvements are often blocked, as they are to millions of other Americans, by a lack of assets by which to make a living. William Brophy and Sophie Aberle commented on a few points concerning reservation economics. "Most reservations in sparsely settled areas are poor in fertile soil, minerals, timber, water, and jobs. Even total utilization of such resources as are present would not, in many instances, supply an adequate income for all residents."

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3Brophy and Aberle, p. 62.
Even if all reservations were rich in natural resources, many difficulties would remain.

If the Indians' economic status is to be improved, first the means of improvement must be related to Indian concepts, aspirations, and values. Since the Indians will bear the final responsibility for carrying out plans for utilization of reservation resources, their interest and cooperation must be enlisted at every stage of all programs.

The majority of Indian pupils today are either above the general age of level for their respective classes or are below academic norms, and they drop out of school more frequently than do their non-Indian classmates. The solution is finding methods of teaching and the kinds of school environment most conducive to their needs.

The Immediate:

During interviews with the Indian inmate he explained how the Indian considers the immediate and a good time. He stated the white man should not become upset with the "random mind." Thoughts would go to a totally irrelevant subject and often he would push the problem out of his mind until a later date. In explanation, the Indian would discuss a specific topic for a certain period of time and change to a different subject when he became disinterested in that subject. Later, he would return to the previous subject.

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4 Brophy and Aberle, p. 64.
5 Brophy and Aberle, p. 138.
The Indian does not identify with time on the same basis as the white man. He always feels there is ample time and cannot understand why the white man cannot take time. The rushed living of the white man disturbs him.

These and related ideas, if given due weight as part of the Indian's heritage, will prevent confusion brought about by the assumption of persons in both races that assimilation can be achieved merely through the Indians' adopting certain attitudes common to their white neighbors. For example, it is said that all that is necessary is for the Indian to be thrifty, to acquire habits of diligence, and to learn the importance of punctuality. Yet by the standards and needs of their own culture, the Indians historically have been economical, hard-working and appreciative of time. Thrift caused them to utilize every part of animals killed in the chase, as well as to gather and dry berries and roots for later consumption. Hunting and tilling the soil with wooden sticks to grow the family food demanded unflagging industry. The element of time for the agriculturist was determined not by the white man's clock, but by the coming of the planting and harvesting seasons, and for the hunter by the habits of the animals he stalked.

Indianness

Old Ways:

The Indian in prison clings to what is dear to him,
wanting to preserve the learned ways of his ancestors. He paints, makes crafts, and participates in Indian ceremonies. The Indian prison groups sponsor speakers, Indian days, and dances. To encourage pride in Indianness is not to turn back the clock. Indians who have already entered the greater society have tended to disdain their historical background, drawing away from it as though ashamed. Instead of seeing their transition as a bridge to enable others to follow in their footsteps, they have too often misinterpreted their heritage to the dominant race and misrepresented their adopted white culture to their own people.\(^6\)

The Indian inmate emphasized that the old ways are the learned ways. He stated that the old ways are very strong and values never change. One tradition was how the Indian child never talked back to his folks. The people have been happy with their people in the old ways and beliefs.

The areas of corrections which the Indian inmate seemed concerned over were the rules dictating when he could marry and the length of hair. He stated the Indian had been wearing his hair long since the 1800's. He wanted to go back to the old teachings of his culture and religion.

The Indian inmate expressed his thoughts concerning the need for the white man to learn more about the culture of the Indian and his value differences. He claimed culture

\(^6\)Brophy and Aberle, p. 3.
is very much a part of their present life.

Marriage customs, religious beliefs, and clothing or hair styles denote this heritage. Ostensible familiarity with the English language and the adoption of white manners and customs by no means demonstrates that the Indian also adopts the white man's ethics. He may only be aping the ways of a society alien to him. Below the surface he may still form judgments based on tribal usages; e.g., he may lack the necessary urge for individual initiative and reject a competitive life despite his verbal acceptance of the white man's ways. The absence of adequate words in his language or ways to convey the meaning of many concepts, values, and institutions further complicates the difficulty of communication between the two races.

Returning Home:

A further subdivision is necessary today due to the dichotomy between reservation and non-reservation Indians. The non-reservation Indian has been raised apart from his home; thus his ways are not those of the Indian. He has adopted the competitive culture of the white man. Adoption of the multivariate life we exist in poses no problem. On the other hand, reservation Indians have extreme difficulty adjusting to urban life. When they are forced outside the tribal context they become alienated, irritable, and lonely. Consequently they long to return to the tribe if only to
preserve their sanity. While a majority of Indian people today live in cities, many make long weekend trips back to their reservations to spend precious hours in their own land and with their own people. This is particularly true of the Indian on probation or parole. He feels that the only way he will receive help is through the reservation.

The Indian inmate states that they think differently on the reservations. He feels it is necessary to know the difference between reservation life and urban life. The Indian living off the reservation thinks as a white man. He does not believe the white man understands the reservation Indian. Reservation people are good people but "dumb." In referring to reservation people, the Indian inmate implied that the Indian is not aware of the white man's world continuing to live as their ancestors.

One point particularly emphasized by the Indian inmate was his deep desire to see his people. He left his area for a few days to go to the reservation, the parole officer got uptight and sent him back to prison. He states it is difficult to relocate a reservation Indian.

The Indian inmate is lost when he is neither near nor on the reservation. He believes disallowing the Indian to return to the reservation is a very poor thing to do. Often relocation is the suggestion to the Indian's problem which may mean making money but he is not happy. He wants to fish,
hunt, and ride horses. "The real Indian is going to help the Indian on the reservation."

**The Family:**

To understand the Indian, it is important to know how he perceives himself in relation to others. The Indian inmate described the necessity of knowing where he lives. One must understand the control the group possesses over the individual. The individual's self image has been merged into the group before they are persons. The group or significant others often referred to the family or tribe.

The Indian has been taught that group response is paramount to the individual. The world of the Indian has been noncompetitive as compared to the competitive world of the white man. He is taught not to reply on many subjects until he has authorization of the group.

In the Indian culture family relationships and blood ties are very strong. The Indian is taught to care for his own where family and land supersede all other relationships. These basic thoughts perpetuate the group orientation.

Unity is evidenced by each individual voluntarily working within the community. Status as well as personal security often rests on such service. In many tribes this selflessness derives vitality from a veneration for elders and their wisdom. By the same token, the merging of self in the group tends to deter competitiveness or a pride in
material possessions for their monetary worth. Indian values have not customarily included the amassing of valuables for private benefit because of the ingrained tradition of sharing. These attitudes perhaps account in part for the improvidence often attributed to Indians. These conceptions, however, are not consistently achieved. Modifications and exceptions to the norm exist in every group.  

Worshipping Privilege:

Religion is very important to the Indian and can take on many forms which are alien to the dominant society. The Indian stated he wanted respect for his religion and he would do the same in return. Religious beliefs were forced upon them through the white man's promotion of Christianity. Holidays, which are alien to the Indian, have centered around Christianity. (For example, the most prominent holiday still existing today is the Pow Wow. Entire tribes coupled with neighboring tribes turn out for these occasions.) The Indian inmate explained "the Indian will go come hell or high water."

Pride:

Indian pride is evident in his perfectionist attitudes towards jobs, family, self, and others. A primary goal among the Indian people is to look good to their peers.

The Indian inmate related the pride they have in their background. He stated it is the degree of perfection that...
gives him self pride and motivation. The Indian has been more determined in completing a project once he starts. "Our feeling is what or how we stand among our fellow man." Examples of their pride in workmanship may be observed in their paintings, crafts, and detailed job skills. Many of these skills have passed from generation to generation.

Indian Law:

Today, most Indian self-governing groups have adopted law and order codes or use regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the Interior. But from the earliest days every tribe sat according to its own local customs, in judgment over offenses, even murders, by the Indians against each other. Some tribes treated offenses as crimes against the group and treated offenders in ways calculated to reassimilate them into the group. Others treated offenses as injuries to individuals or families. Settlements were made with the person injured or aggrieved; or if a person were killed, ponies or merchandise were paid to his family in order to avoid a blood feud.

Today, the Indian inmate has displayed aggression as a result of his role change or confusion of role identity. Denied the normal outlets of aggression, he was reverted to other forms of aggression. This behavior has been observed in his approach to the white culture. He found prestige in stealing and loss of prestige in being caught.
After losing prestige among their people, Indians lost their honor and are outcasts because they are no longer considered to be the mighty warrior. These controls are imposed by gossip and rejection. Often they will try to gain prestige by broadcasting their presence within the community after release from prison.

The tribal judiciary system continues today in many respects but laws have been placed upon the Indian by the government. These laws or rules imposed by authorities are many times in contradiction to the Indians' cultural values. Even though certain acts are considered punishable offenses by both the Indian and non-Indian societies, there is occasionally found a difference in the respective attitudes toward punishment or rehabilitation for such offenses. This difference involves the concept of restitutive justice as opposed to the "eye-for-an-eye" philosophy implying punishment in the strict sense of the word. The employment of restitution as a means of both making amends to victims and serving as a form of punishment to perpetrators of offenses looms large in the history of systems of justice in many Indian societies. Brophy indicated that offenders were required to make restitution which appeared more important to authorities than imposing harsh punishment. Evidence indicates that this concept has even embraced the crime of murder.\(^8\) In order for the victim

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\(^8\)Brophy and Aberle, p. 43.
to be assuaged and dignity at least somewhat restored, the community at large was made aware that such offenses would not be tolerated. The aggressor was not confined, which spared the community this expense, and further, the aggressor found himself under closer scrutiny than before. This, along with the threat of losing twice as much of his property for future violations, provided a form of control and community protection.

Humor:

Indian people love humor. The use of humor is a good means through which to get to know Indian people. The Indians say "We're human and we will joke with you."

The Indian in prison did not elaborate on humor other than to state he is "crazy about humor." He does not like to take things too seriously.

Conflicts With Change

Becoming White:

Indian inmates are feeling the pressure to change and appear to be unable to cope adequately with it. Those individuals that do change are referred to as "Uncle Tomahawk." It is not their culture and it is not their language. In the eyes of the Indian, white man is abrasive and places excessive expectations on others. Instead of trying to understand the ways of another culture, the white man is inclined to force his values upon others.
The Indian inmate commented on how difficult it was to adjust to the rules of parole. He does not believe a mere set of rules will change the Indian. In addition, the rules placed forth for them to follow are the white man's value system.

The presentation of self is of paramount importance to the Indian inmate feeling he would not have the difficulty in taking orders if it were not for the abrasive way in which they were presented. "He expects you to answer but when you ask a question you do not get the right time of day." When the Indian does accept the ways placed forth on parole, he is harassed by other Indians for selling out to a cop.

Erving Goffman gave an accounting of change which closely relates to the feelings of the Indian in prison or on parole. Goffman reported that those who are initially socialized in an alien community, whether inside or outside the geographical boundaries of the normal society, must learn a second way of being that is felt by those around them to be the real and valid one. An individual acquires a new self, the uneasiness he feels about new associates may slowly give way to uneasiness felt concerning old ones.

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10 Goffman, p. 35.
Degradation Statements:

Society establishes the rules which its members are supposed to follow and this defines the attributes held as ordinary and natural for people residing within this culture. Social rules and environment also establish the categories which may be put into effect for those who violate their rules. The routines of social intercourse in established settings allow their people to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought. When a stranger comes into our presence, first appearances are used to anticipate his attributes and his "social identity," e.g., "Dirty God Damn Indians" and "just another dumb Indian." Years of stigmatization through degrading statements of this type have caused continual problems.

Some Indian inmates have experienced being called "blanket ass," "dumb Indian," or "drunken Indian." He has expressed the feeling of being displeasing to the eye merely because he is an "Indian." Often feeling futility he prefers to say nothing. The Indian has certain life styles. In addition, his location or economic condition may not allow exposure to the same standards of living. Prejudging an Indian can be a serious mistake. They are intelligent people who many times prefer to remain quiet due to the lack of verbal ability. An Indian will fight or show definite dis-

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11 Goffman, p. 2.
taste toward anyone who makes any degrading statements. Therefore, it is necessary to say good, meaningful comments or say nothing.

Typically, whites do not become aware that they have made these comments or aware of what they have done until an active reaction arises. It is then that we are likely to realize that all along we had been making certain assumptions as to what the individual before us ought to be.

Distrusting the White Man and Silent Aggression:

Indians will distrust whites until they prove otherwise since the white society has taken their lands and their homes. Treaties were made with the government from time to time but these treaties were continually broken or changed to fit the view of the white man. Whenever monetary gain was observed through the use of land owned by the Indian, changes in treaties quickly ensued. Many Indians refer to these actions as the "rape of the nation."

The Indian inmate indicated how whites are generally viewed in the role of the people who took their country. He states there is a distrust of anyone except the Indian. One example is the feeling of being exploited by the government. The Indian believes "white man's humanity is to screw his best friend for a dollar."

Since the Indian inmate believes the white man has been exploiting the Indian through any means possible, the
Indian does not feel a part of the white system. Some members commented about the Indian attacking any white man as a white man and not as a person. He gains prestige in anything he can turn into defeat over the white man. He feels whites are a "paleface son-of-a-bitch capitalizing on the Indian and living off of him." He advocates "Red Power."

Sentencing Inequities:

Feelings of inequity are predominant among Indians since they believe that white men receive lighter sentences for comparable crimes. Along these lines, they often plead guilty to the charges placed against them simply because of their impatience about the courts to hear cases. It is partially due to their lack of belief in white law. When their cases are later reviewed by a case analyst or Supreme Court Review Board, there are many questions raised as to guilt or innocence.

In reviewing the records of the total Indian population under study, 95 percent plead guilty and 5 percent had jury trials. Of the Indian population 55 percent were convicted of non-violent crimes where the remaining population were incarcerated for violent offenses. The primary and common factors involved in all cases were low economics, poor family background, and low educational levels.

The "Haves" and the "Have Nots":

Indians feel that they will never be capable of
accomplishing successful goals. Inferiority runs rampant when statements are made about how every Federal project to help Indians has failed. This, to them, implies that the Indian is doomed to fail because he is inferior. The Indian has learned to become dependent because the government continually does things "for" the Indian rather than allowing them to do it for themselves. With everything done for him he becomes disinterested and lack of initiative is often observed; not because of character or inherent characteristics but due to circumstantial situations. Therefore, one of the biggest problems which the Indian must overcome is his degree of dependence. In fact, the younger people have the constant preoccupation to be free.

**Slow Suicide:**

The Indian inmate recognized his problems with alcohol. "We all like to drink." The entire Indian population of the Montana State Prison had alcohol in his background. They stated "we like to drink, fight, and sleep." Although recognizing the problem, he could offer no solution or insights into the problem.

Through common properties and categories in the classification scheme, the results of this study were formed. These methods have brought the thoughts of the Indian inmate and significant others into a common ground giving a base for all thoughts. We are then able to bring out their significance in a systematic and scientific way.
CHAPTER IV

A POINT OF VIEW

The present study involved an exploratory analysis of the thoughts and feelings of the Indian imprisoned at the Montana State Penitentiary. Emphasis was placed upon the Indian inmate coupled with noted authorities recommended by the Indian groups. Through interviews, consultation, observation, and social interaction, it was felt that a break-through into more effective correctional techniques with the Indian in prison could be possible.

Basic concepts of interpersonal relationships, group interaction, causal analysis, and cross cultural perspectives were used as a format. Changes took place as the study progressed. Direct approaches were found more effective than indirect methods. Causal analysis was believed to be the best way to produce research that may contribute to the field of corrections.

The methods using the "role path" and "grounded theory" were believed to be the best means in extracting and compiling the information. The "role path" allowed the Indian in prison to relate in a natural flow of thoughts and feelings he believed to be most significant. "Grounded theory" enabled the
extraction of these thoughts by establishing the key properties and categories. In view of the environment and sample, other methods were considered completely ineffective.

Further study with the Indian inmate could be accomplished with a greater degree of success if the basic methods and concepts were used coupled with ample time. The time factor was considered important because of the Indian's perception of time. Limitations to this study were the time element and the small size of the population. The population for this study totalled approximately 50 percent of the Indian population. One could say the study is biased by the small specific group in which the research was designed to observe. However, the present study may be considered beneficial because it can be used as an introductory step toward bridging the gap between the Indian and correctional personnel coupled with offering methods for correctional practice.

The feeling of a need to communicate with the Indian in prison at depths greater than what he is able to express were the motivating factors in writing this thesis. We must break down old barriers and self concepts in order to bridge the gap between these two worlds.

In opening new vistas for personnel to explore the unique attributes of the Indian inmate, the administration and the Indian can break down the distrust and learn to accept each other. The action of "doing" breeds the convic-
tion that one can do. One needs to patiently observe the thoughts and feelings generated by the Montana Indian in prison in order to develop an awareness of his needs. A more desirable approach in relating to cultural minorities is to recognize and appreciate their differences. Primary categories which can help correctional personnel reach this level of understanding are: (1) throw out stereotypes; (2) become aware of the minority experiences (with specific minorities); (3) be immersed in Indian problems; (4) become exposed to minorities' cultures; (5) learn verbal and nonverbal communication patterns; (6) change the codes of conformity to include those roles particular to the minority; (7) become aware of the effects of powerlessness; (8) treat minorities as people with power and expand tolerance for those behaviorally different from the majority group behavior; and (9) encounter minority members.

The non-Indian's perception of Indian has been the problem with their failure to understand, accept, and treat the Indian as a human being. These actions are one of the strongest stereotypes in America today. The Indian must be allowed to identify, articulate, and resolve their problems.


Stereotypes are those labels that groups or individuals place on one another which give a general impression that all individuals belonging to that category carry certain characteristics. The white man often labels the Indian as lazy, dirty, and dumb. Indians, who try to compete in the white man's world, are considered "Uncle Tomahawks" by other Indians. Distrust has grown from these remarks and contribute little to the co-relationship necessary to resolve existing differences.

The necessity of becoming aware of minority experiences recognizes the fact that an individual is the product of his environment. Indian communities are often a pattern of bare subsistence comprising some of the nation's worst slums. Generally, economics or available resources (natural or developed), are so poor, adequate use of reservation materials would be insufficient to sustain those Indians that remain on the reservation. Lacking the education or experience for alternatives, they often continue in their dilemma.

Immersion in what is dear to the Indian allows others to understand the frustration he faces in a modern mechanized society. The close interpersonal relationships of the family and what it resembles is highly prized by the Indian. Paintings, crafts, and Indian ceremonies are points at which he maintains his Indian identity. Marriage customs, religious beliefs, clothing, and hair styles are other ways. The family is the focal point in the Indian culture and his life is centered around the group. Recognizing Indianness gives the
white man a deeper perspective of Indian life.

Each tribe possesses culture patterns unique to itself but there are certain commonalities throughout the Indian culture. Exposure to minority cultures may be observed through the life history of the Indian which depicts many of his learned ways and how he perceives himself. There are seven major reservations in Montana whose boundaries have varied over the years depending on several treaties or presidential orders. Even though the natural resources on the reservations are inadequate to support the Indian population, Montana reservations are economically better off than their southwestern counterparts. There are some landless Indians that live in lower economic areas of several Montana cities but do not receive benefits from the government. Temporary employment for the Indian was found to include jobs provided by the Tribal council, farming and ranch work, firefighting, and programs such as neighborhood government programs. Unemployment persists in the neighborhood of 25 percent to 30 percent. The average family's earned income ranges from $2,000 to $3,000 per year as compared to the white man which is more than double the Indians' salaries. The greatest undeveloped resource on the reservation is that of manpower.

One should be aware of the Indian's concept of sharing. He relates toward the family and tribe which is opposite

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3North American Indian League, Montana State Prison, Deer Lodge, Montana.
the white man's competitive individualism. Failure to understand this perspective have brought serious accusations of the inferior mentality of the Indian.

The Indian values direct encounters with those individuals interested in working with him. Verbal communication is a direct commitment and enables him to detect the phony. The Indian in prison very clearly explains this point by stating "the white man must come to him with 'hat in hand' intending to work 'with' him but not 'for' him." The Indian feels deeds speak louder than words. The Indian inmate bases his perceptions on concept formations, vocabulary, and language. He fears making mistakes so greatly that he may not even try to express himself. These feelings are so deep there are times when they are unwilling to bare their feelings to each other.

Another area of misunderstanding is the Indian's frame of reference to time. He does not adhere to the rigid day to day time schedule of the white man. It is unrealistic to expect an Indian to be prompt since this is not in his behavioral repertoire. The label of laziness often arises when he is placed in the white man's frame of reference.

Educational levels are low due to extreme poverty conditions and varying social pressures. The Indian during his youthful years was more concerned with food and clothing than with education. The average level of school for the Indian youth is the eighth grade. Often, the Indian youth
will enroll in school only during the winter months of the year. Low education and low employment continually contribute to the unskilled and unemployed Indian.  

Roles particular to a minority may be basically the same as the majority but functioning from a different perspective. The white man has often considered it necessary for the Indian to learn to be thrifty, diligent, and punctual. Yet, historically he has always had to be economical, hard-working, and appreciative of time in order to maintain the existence of his family and the tribe. These roles are also prevalent in the Indian's form of social controls or restitutive justice. The Indian has long required settlements to the aggrieved or injured and banished or killed those persons dangerous to their community.

Years of dependence on the government and the many government projects have caused the Indians to develop a sense of inferiority. Each time a project was designed for the Indian, it seemed to fail as the Indians observe it. Dependence and failure have given the Indian the impression he is powerless to determine his destiny. He simply wants to be regarded as an individual who has the capacity and the right to participate in decisions affecting his own welfare rather than have them imposed by someone else.

In interrelationships with the Indian, one should have

4 North American Indian League.
a positive regard for, or acceptance of the Indian and an empathetic understanding of his internal frame of reference.\textsuperscript{5} The correctional worker must be open and direct so that at all times he provides the Indian with unequivocal, feedback regarding the nature of the relationships. Also of importance is the counselor's repertoire of skills and understanding of human behavior. To be a "nice guy" who listens is not enough in counseling Indians; the counselor must help the Indian to develop tools for dealing with his problem. For this the counselor must possess resourcefulness, energy, and sufficient flexibility to pursue alternate courses with the Indian.\textsuperscript{6}

Often, Indians and whites alike are of the general opinion that it is inappropriate for the oppressor to treat the oppressed. "Since you are my problem, you can't help my problem.\textsuperscript{7}" This opinion is believed to be a fallacy. If a counselor is able through personal contact to learn to explore a problem objectively, he is able to understand the unique attributes of the Indian. He must break down the distrust, fully accept the Indian, and understand his environment. The counselor must understand the world of the Indian as it is and as it should be. He is expected to extend himself into the


\textsuperscript{6} Vontress, pp. 35-36.

Personnel must learn about Indian culture but it must be done willingly and voluntarily. He must not be resentful. One model for training is a one year program that combines academic training with practical application under the supervision of a successful professional. The objective would be to train in reality rather than ivory tower. This type of training would be more relevant. The greatest blockage in relationships is the lack of understanding of the socio-psychological background of the Indian.

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APPENDIX

A

CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

A. Meeting the Indian

1. Barriers

Remember you as a parole officer--watch association with authority--I was not with the administration--hostility felt in the room--white and authority background--I had previously been in a position of authority and I am white--Indian parolee has two barriers, the cultural and the trust-mistrust--correctional personnel need more training to communicate with the Indian--prejudice inside the prison--a common problem is they are in prison--there has been a communication obstacle.

2. "With" not "For"

Need men who can talk to him on his ground, same level--real small problem, he'll sit around and joke with you until its no problem--problem, you can come to him--how listening to the Indian's view when it has never been done before--hat in hand; talk to them--the thing between the Indian and white man should not be there--the Indian does not tell the white man what should or should not be done--need for white man and Indian to communicate--you have to direct questions directly at the Indian to bring out answers--gaining confidence of the Indian--always keep place--counsel for a period of time and never force will--treat as equals and partners--attitude; take it easy and don't think you're a big shot; equalitarian--coming to Indians at their request--cannot work for or help the Indian unless he wants to help himself--go to him; don't look down on him--insight, motivation--we don't want anything; whether good or
bad, we want on same basis as any other nationality—there should be harmony between the white man and the Indian; any discrimination is stupid—ignorance breeds discrimination—quit trying to cram things down their throats—Indians judge themselves, own courts, own jails.

3. Doing good things

Always doing—can do all the good in the world but if it can't be seen, it is no good—waiting for the white man to declare his attitudes and testing his patience—you have to give something in order to get something—would benefit him or the Indian—you don't say it unless you can do it—my hand is where my mouth is.

4. Living differences

Trade was never applicable to reservation—trades on the reservation—be very realistic—face reality—never kid or con them—don't underrate their ability to sense the phony—real people in a real situation—poverty circumstances, economics have to do with high prison populations; education—economics eat at you—second job = 1.25 per hour and started drinking—your world is different than our world—kind of job; staying on one end of town and walking to the other end—won't write or can't write—you will see an Indian standing in the corner—you're no different than I am and that's a real lame excuse because each race has its own culture and own way of life—they say no difference in thinking but there is—differences of beliefs among tribes.

5. The Immediate

The Indian only thinks of the immediate presence and a good time—don't be upset at the random mind; go to total irrelevant subject—Indian feels there is lots of time—will try to push problems out of mind till a later date—time doesn't bother me—why can't we stop for a couple of hours—you don't have enough time—
B. Indianness

1. Old ways

Response are learned ways—old ways are very strong—values never change, Indian will not talk back to folks—old ways and beliefs—people are happy with their people—weren’t allowed to marry w/o permission—mode of dress—Indian on the streets wears his hair long—nomads—old teachings—way of life completely different—Indians want back culture and religion—if you want to understand, go back into history—worn their hair long all the way back to the 1800’s—learn more about the culture of the Indian and his value differences—culture very much a part of their presence.

2. Returning home

Lot of these reservations; they think different—know the difference between reservation life and urban living—do not understand the reservation Indian—reservation people good but dumb—not reporting; fighting; came back on new beef—stayed a few days; parole officer got up tight and sent me back—went to see my people—wanted parole home—wanted to see my people—reservation; better close to people; lost when left reservation—relocation; making money but not happy; want to fish, hunt, and ride horses—disallowing the Indian to return to the reservation—reservation vs. nonreservation—people should leave the reservation—Indian "off reservation" all his life thinks as a white man—difficult to relocate a reservation Indian—the real Indian is going to help the Indian on the reservation.

3. The family

Where do you live; family; tribe—how the group oppresses the individual—self image; group members before they are persons; tribe, family, kin—group response—individual response—group, noncompetitive—not authorized because not leader—Indian = all that is needed is the need—it is not what you are but relationships
and blood ties which are very important—close family ties; Indians take care of their own—strong ties to the family and land supersede others—they are taught not to reply on many subjects until they have authorization of their group—

4. Worshipping Privilege

Respect their religion and they will do the same—religious ceremony—religious beliefs; against, forced against will; ashamed and become drunkard—study of religion—holidays are white man—Sun Dance; the Indian will go come hell or high water—Christian—superstitious people—

5. Pride

Pride, manhood—pride in background—degree of perfection; self pride and motivation—family pride and self pride—Indian more determined to complete once they start—our feeling is what or how we stand among our fellow man—

6. Indian law

Aggression outlet is change of role or confusion of role are denied normal outlets of aggression so they turn to aggression—prestige in stealing and loss in being caught—honor to fight than to rape—abuse through insult of man's intelligence—escape from shame when pain and pressure are too great—gossip—never go near a reservation if he were put in prison—these people are really outcasts of their own people because they are not the mighty warrior they used to be—broadcasting presence in community each time they return—

7. Humor

We're human and joke with you—crazy about humor; will not take seriously—joking; they love jokes—
C. Conflicts with change

1. Becoming white

Uncle Tomahawk—harassed for selling out to a cop--adjust to the Indian—difficult to adjust to the white man's ways—there isn't anything in the world that is going to change the Indian—can't be themselves—it's not their culture, it's not their language—don't know how to adjust to white society—white man's value system—come down out of that chair—

he expects you to answer but when you ask a question you do not get the right time of day—keep bringing up background—white man has guilt complex built into him; legally wrong but morally wrong; morally wrong but legally right—emotional difficulty taking orders when they are put forward in an abrasive way—they have double resistance—he doesn't do me no good, then why should I help him—ye though I walk through the valley of death, I fear no evil because I am the biggest S.O.B.—white man expects him to follow from A-Z the white man's rules—

2. Degrading statements

Dirty God Damn Indians—derogatory names will cause Indian to fight—sight of Indian is displeasing to the eye "Indian"—Blanket Ass—just cause you're Indian—just another dumb Indian—that's just another drunken Indian—don't underrate their intelligence—not dumb at all—education or lack of contributes to understanding—was quiet asking only a few questions—it is harder for the Indian person to express himself—lack of verbage—because of this rather than say something, he will say nothing—please and thank you are not used very often, they are understood—one member did the talking, the others seemed to join with his comments—don't push around—

3. Distrusting the white man

View the whites in the role of the people who took their country—distrust of white man—

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don't really know; don't really trust--
distrust of anyone but their own kind--
stone glare of their eyes indicating mistrust--
don't trust until she knows what they're going
to do--exploited by the government--a lot of
verbalization--mistrust comes from not know-
ing--considers self a special class citizen--
white man's humanity; screw best friend for
a dollar; Indian doesn't care about money--
he just gives him money if he needs it--rape
of a nation; white man owns all Indian lands--

4. Silent aggression

Tradition of war; plead the 5th (culture)--
study white man as enemy--white man is exploit-
ing the Indian--paleface son-of-a-bitch capital-
izing on the Indian and living off of him--
Indian paranoia attack any white man as a white
man and not as a person--we don't consider our-
selves a part of the system--the Indian gains
prestige over anything he can turn into defeat
over the white man--very bull headed; black
power then red power--red power is only a front--
Diabolical Babylonian Bastard Condition--

5. Sentencing inequities

Compare white man's sentences to Indian sentences
for same crime--some inequities in sentencing--
Indian pleads guilty because he cannot stand to
sit around not knowing--Indian under three
separate laws; tribal, federal, state--lawyers
say plead guilty or they will hang you--injustice
in a sentence--no chance to contest violation
report--

6. The "haves" and the "have nots"

He is never going to make it--every program of
the federal government has failed or implies
the Indian is doomed to fail--conquered race;
fear; repression--they want to act like men
but they are treated as if they are 13 or 14
years old--don't pull rank for the sake of
pulling; weak ego; feel threatened--status
and self identity--preoccupation with being
free--if you are Indian, you stay where you
are--biggest thing is to overcome dependence--
basic initiative is lacking--Indian does not have the initiative to think for himself; can't do for himself; white man does--

7. Slow Suicide

Drinking--alcohol is a problem with the Indian--petty drinking--alcohol is very much a problem--we all like to drink--drink, fight, sleep--alcoholism contributes a lot--
APPENDIX

B

QUESTIONS FOR THE INDIANS

1. How do you feel when an officer tells you to do something?
2. What do you think about when they tell you to do something?
3. Do you feel there is prejudice against the Indian on parole?
4. How do you get along with the officers?
5. How do the parole officers talk to you?
6. What do you say to the officer?
7. What do you say to the parole officer?
8. Are you doing easy time?
9. Did you get a bum beef?
10. How do your other friends feel?
11. Are your people waiting for you?
12. Do you want to return to your people or family?
13. What job do you have in the prison?
14. Has anyone in prison called you names?
15. Has anyone on parole or in prison put you down?
16. Did the parole board give you a square shake?
17. Do you like to talk to anyone in prison?
18. Do you like to talk to your parole officer?
19. Do you think anyone in prison can work with you?
20. Do you think your parole officer can work with you?

21. How could the officers or the parole officers work so it would be easier to talk to them?

22. How are the rules in prison or on parole?
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