The Northern Ute Economic Development Program: Social and Cultural Dimensions

Thomas W. Collins

University of Colorado Boulder

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THE NORTHERN UTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

by

Thomas W. Collins

B.S., Central Michigan University, 1957
M.A., Western Michigan University, 1962
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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Colorado in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

1971
This Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree by Thomas W. Collins has been approved for the Department of Anthropology by

Omer C. Stewart

Gordon W. Hewes

Date April 14, 1971
PLEASE NOTE:

Some pages have light and indistinct print. Filmed as received.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS.
Collins, Thomas W. (Ph.D., Anthropology)
The Northern Ute Economic Development Program:
Social and Cultural Dimensions
Thesis directed by Professor Omer C. Stewart

In recent years an increasing number of social scientists have accepted the general position that economic change will lead directly to behavioral change among the poor. Thus far, this position has remained untested due to the lack of data on social experiments eliminating poverty-inducing conditions. This study of the Northern Ute Indian reservation in northeastern Utah questions this situational view of poverty. The amount of investment capital acquired by the Northern Utes over the past 65 years makes their experience unique in the history of community development. In addition to money received in large financial settlements for land and mineral royalties, investment capital has been made available to the tribe through various agencies engaged in the government's anti-poverty programs. Never has so much been spent among such a small population in an effort to induce socioeconomic change. This study describes the conditions under which economic development occurred and analyzes the change in the behavior norms of the tribal members. In particular, it attempts to illustrate the effect of new economic opportunity on family structure, work performance, political participation, and ethnic identity.

This abstract is approved as to form and content. I
recommend its publication.

Signed

Faculty member in charge of dissertation

I wish to express my sincere thanks to several persons who have made valuable contributions toward the completion of this study.

The first note of appreciation is extended to the Ute Business Committee and many tribal members for making this study possible. In particular, I thank Clifford Duncan, Jensen Jack, and Floyd Wyasket for their patience, cooperation, and understanding.

Special appreciation is extended to my committee, Professors Robert Hasluck, Gordon Hayes, Deward Walker, Jr., and George Zimke for their helpful suggestions.

Special thanks go to my dissertation chairman, Omer Stewart, who went out of his way to assist and encourage me during the writing of the dissertation. His comments, criticisms, and suggestions were of invaluable value. Thanks also go to Gottfried Lenz who assisted me during the initial stages of the study. His report with many Ute families, dating back to his field work in the early 1950's, cleared the way for the best possible field conditions.

Finally, special thanks go to my wife, Marcia, for typing the manuscript and for her constant encouragement throughout all phases of the work.
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norms which are different from those considered normal in the dominant society. There is less consensus, however, as to how these differences arise and how they are maintained. In recent years, particularly since the Federal Government has become involved in attempts to eliminate poverty, a polarization has been created between those scholars who define poverty as a lack of economic resources and those who define it as a self-perpetuating subculture. To many sociologists, the basis of the difference lies in the situation of definition of poverty and the cultural definitions of poverty. Thus far, too few social experiments have been reported to determine whether or not improvements in the economic conditions of the poor will lead to changes in behavioral norms. The purpose of this study is to help fill this gap in our knowledge by describing our efforts to implement a program to eliminate poverty among the Navajo Nation over the past 20 years.

The Navajo Nation is a federally recognized tribe, and a federally-recognized tribe.
CHAPTER I

Introduction

Economic Poverty

A review of the rapidly accumulating literature on poverty in the United States indicates little disagreement over the fact that poor people possess behavioral norms which are different from those considered normal in the dominant society. There is less consensus, however, as to how these differences arise and how they are maintained. In recent years, particularly since the Federal Government has become involved in attempts to eliminate poverty, a polarization has been created between those scholars who define poverty as a lack of economic resources and those who define it as a self perpetuating subculture. In other words, the basis of the difference lies in the situational definition of poverty and the cultural definition of poverty. Thus far, too few social experiments have been reported to determine whether or not improvements in the economic conditions of the poor will lead to changes in behavioral norms. The purpose of this study is to help fill this gap in our knowledge by describing and analyzing the impact of programs to eliminate poverty among the Northern Ute Indians over the past 20 years.

The Northern Ute of northeastern Utah, as a federally incorporated tribe, has been in an unusual position...
to deal with poverty among its 1,625 members. Since 1950, it has received nearly $35 million in congressional awards, mineral royalties, and federal grants and loans. To date, $28 million has been invested by the tribe in programs designed to provide the Utes with new economic opportunities. The income of each family has been raised through direct subsistence grants, employment has been increased through the creation of new industry, federally financed low-cost housing has been provided for most families, and housing improvements at minimal expense have been made available to other families.

In addition, several projects have been directed toward improving social conditions. The tribe has established youth camps, pre-school programs, counseling centers, recreation activities, and community organizations. The reservation schools have been integrated with the local public schools to encourage interaction between Indian and non-Indian students. Currently programs are being established to train or rehabilitate the unemployed, to involve adults in the reservation political process, and to deal with the problem of alcoholism. In short, the Ute tribe has attempted to restructure its reservation environment in a manner which will provide the Utes with opportunities equal to those of the dominant society.

Before describing the methods by which this study attempts to evaluate success of the Ute programs, some basic concepts must be clarified. A fundamental question
concerns the relevance of the definition of poverty to the American Indian reservation situation. Confusion over the definition of poverty has led to a great deal of ambiguity in the current federal policy to eliminate poverty in America. Poverty in the absolute sense — as a situation of acute physical want — refers to conditions not readily found in the United States. The social policies of the New Deal have precluded any possibility that poor people would ever starve, lack necessary clothing or minimal standards of health. Therefore, poverty in the United States must be defined in the relative sense. As Walter Miller (1968:265) has described it, "poverty in this sense may be applied to populations that are healthy, adequately fed and adequately housed . . . the essential element here is not the objective circumstances but an awareness on their part of the difference between their lot and that of others." Indeed, the Council of Economic Advisors (quoted in Banfield 1969:115) defined poverty in its official statement as "those who are not now maintaining a decent standard of living — those whose basic needs exceed their means to satisfy them." As we shall see later, the Utes have used this definition in making a case for their continuing need for government financial assistance. Therefore, to determine the success of the Ute economic development programs, the economic circumstances of the Utes must be evaluated by comparing them to those of their non-Indian
neighbors.
The essential features which set the poor off from the rest of the American society have been set forth by Peter Rossi and Zahava Blum (1968:38) as follows:

1. **Labor-Force Participation.** Long periods of unemployment and/or intermittent employment. Public assistance is frequently a major source of income for extended periods.

2. **Occupational Participation.** When employed, persons hold jobs at the lowest levels of skills, for example, domestic service, unskilled labor, menial service jobs, and farm labor.

3. **Family and Interpersonal Relations.** High rates of marital instability (desertion, divorce, separation), high incidence of households headed by females, high rates of illegitimacy; unstable and superficial interpersonal relationships characterized by considerable suspicion of persons outside the immediate household.

4. **Community Characteristics.** Residential areas with very poorly developed voluntary associations and low levels of participation in such local voluntary associations as exist.

5. **Relationship to Larger Society.** Little interest in, or knowledge of, the larger society and its events; some degree of alienation from the larger society.

6. **Value Orientations.** A sense of helplessness and low sense of personal efficacy; dogmatism and authoritarianism in political ideology; fundamentalist religious views, with some strong inclinations toward belief in magical practices. Low "need achievement" and low levels of aspirations for the self.

Although there is considerable consensus in the literature on these features of poverty, they are misleading in the sense that they contribute to an understanding of the poor as highly homogeneous, particularly when an
ethnic population is being considered. These features are highly descriptive of only certain segments of the Ute community, as indeed was the case a generation ago. In Gottfried Lang's (1954) account of the Utes in the early 1950's only the full-bloods (those designated by the tribe as having more than five-eighths Indian ancestry) of the tribe maintained these features. The mixed-bloods, who have since been stricken from the tribal roles, displayed a lifestyle more in keeping with that considered normal in the dominant society. In the current generation, some of the full-bloods have lost most of these features of poverty and maintain a lifestyle similar to that of the dominant society.

For analytic purposes in this study the Utes have been divided into three categories, mainstreamer, working, and poor households. These categories approximate real groups in the reservation social and political structure. Each is based primarily on occupational characteristics on the assumption that work provides access to income and influences the Ute behavioral pattern. Mainstreamers have a lifestyle that approximates that of the dominant society. Working households are relatively stable employed groups with some of the features of poverty as listed above. Poor households are headed by women who derive most of their income from public assistance. Mainstreamers are adapted to the middle class Protestant work ethic. They view themselves as managers and administrators. Members of
working and poor households are adapted to lower class standards of achievement and behavior. An explanation of the origin of these differences in life style and their maintenance in the face of improved opportunity is central to this study. As mentioned above, opinions basic to the study of poverty appear to cluster around two positions. Scholars such as Liebow (1967), Rainwater (1966) and Roach (1967) argue the situational concept that the poor simply lack the financial resources to live any other style of life than they currently exhibit. Jessor (1962), following Cloward and Ohlin (1960), discounts any theory based on historical continuity of cultural values. He thinks that cultural isolation is no longer a valid explanation because of the universal availability of mass media, institutions of formal education, and modern transportation. Jessor (1962:104) states that "the norms and values of the dominant American culture, with its emphasis upon success via hard work, discipline, education, etc., are influential and to some extent shared by . . . members of even those groups with the least direct access to these goals." This situational concept has been difficult for other scholars to accept, particularly anthropologists.

Walter Miller (1958, 1968) and Oscar Lewis (1966) argue that the cultural or subcultural norms of poverty are established in an adverse environment and are perpetuated by an internal system of values and norms.
Miller (1968:268) summarizes this argument as follows:

... the elimination of poverty is not the objective of the [poverty] movement at all. It is, rather, the elimination of the whole subcultural complex for which poverty is a code word -- work practices, educational involvement, child rearing arrangements, housing practices, political behavior, attitudes toward authority and responsi-

bility -- the well established way of life [of the poor].

He adds that it is difficult to imagine how raising the annual income of the poor above a poverty line can elimi-

nate these norms. Miller (1968), Lewis (1968), and Ulf Hannerz (1969) agree that the internalized values and personal relationships of the poor are the essential fac-

tors in maintaining poverty.

In considering the relative validity of the situational and the cultural concepts of poverty, it is neces-

sary to pay careful attention to the separate situations of each of the three groups. This study, in part, is based on the following hypothesis: If it can be demon-

strated that all Utes have had equal access to new eco-

nomic opportunities but that the life styles of some indi-

viduals have remained unchanged, then internal values play a major role in the perpetuation of poverty.

A second hypothesis tested in this study is con-

cerned with ethnic identity and political influence.

Omer Stewart (personal communication) has suggested that it is good economics for Indians to maintain their ethnic identity in terms of tax advantages, education for their children, and rights to reservation land and resources.
As mentioned above, before termination the mixed-blood Utes maintained few of the reservation norms but still found it expedient to identify themselves as Indians. This tends to support Herbert Gans' (1968:211) idea that some norms are maintained for political reasons. He states that, "some norms have become political symbols, and people are unwilling to give them up because this would be interpreted as loss of power. Thus, acculturated ethnic groups often preserve ethnic cultural traits in order to justify the maintenance of ethnically based political influence." This proposition may lend credence to McFee's (1969) observation that some of the Blackfeet Indians he viewed as "progressive" (mainstreamers) were thoroughly involved in the reservation's traditional social institutions. One purpose of this paper is to determine what Ute norms, if any, are political symbols. In other words, does the mainstream group maintain some identity with things considered "Indian"? If so, do they have political significance?

Methodology

The data presented in this study was collected over the past two and one-half years. From May 1968, to August 1970, this writer spent a total of six months as a participant observer on the Ute reservation. When not in residence, he made frequent trips of two or three days each to the reservation to visit informants and attend tribal
meetings. As part of his regular appointment at the University of Utah, he served as a research associate in the University's Bureau of Indian Services. This service agency is currently engaged in training and technical assistance programs for Indian reservations in several states, including the Ute reservation. In this capacity, he was able to interact with many tribal leaders and developers and to observe many of the decisions concerning the Ute economic development. During the past six months, he has also assisted Professor Edward Moe of the University of Utah in a community development project designed to improve Ute education in the public schools through stimulating greater involvement of Ute adults in local activities.

A questionnaire survey (Appendix A) was made of a random sample of 139 households in the summer and winter of 1968. This number included 65 Ute households on the reservation, 20 mixed-blood households, and 54 white households in the immediate vicinity of the reservation. For a measurement of deviant drinking patterns, tribal and local law enforcement agencies provided arrest records dating back to 1954.

The questionnaire was designed to measure the degree to which each household was involved in the characteristics of poverty discussed above. Unfortunately, it was impossible to collect a sufficient amount of quantifiable data on family and interpersonal relations by this method.
The tribal leaders advised this writer at the beginning of his field work to avoid questions on sensitive issues such as family disorganization. Therefore, it was necessary to collect qualitative data on this area by intensive interview of a few reliable informants. The other five areas of poverty were covered adequately in the survey. Some of the questions on page three and four of the questionnaire are similar to those used by Gottfried Lang (1954) to document change in the involvement of Indians in their reservation and in the non-Indian society since the early 1950's.

Page five of the questionnaire includes a sociogram which was used to identify leadership structure. This instrument was also used to determine involvement in social relationships and factions.

The instruments presented on the last two pages of the questionnaire were designed to measure differences in value orientation. The first instrument in this section was adopted from the Tri-Ethnic Project (Jessor et al. 1968). It was used to measure the degree to which an individual feels his life is controlled by external forces as opposed to internal control. The second instrument was adopted from Graves and Van Arsdale's (1965) study of Navajo migrants in Denver. It was used to measure individual aspirations through soliciting personal life goals. Each respondent was asked to describe what he considered to be the "best life" he could
imagine. A similar question was asked in terms of the "worst life." Later a self anchoring scale was produced to determine the subject's expectation. Each subject was shown a picture of a ladder with ten steps where he was told the top of the ladder was the best life he had just described. The subject was then asked to point to the position (rung) he thought he was in terms of achieving his aspirations. He was again asked to point out where he would be in five years and where he was five years ago.

An additional instrument was used exclusively on the white sample to ascertain their attitudes toward their Indian neighbors. It was thought that highly negative attitudes on the part of the whites would influence or in some degree perpetuate certain traits among the Utes. With a few notable exceptions, such as Gearing, et al. (1960) and Wax (1967) little effort has been made to understand this aspect of Indian reservation environments. Therefore, a semantic differential, patterned after Osgood, et al. (1957) was developed to measure white attitude. Briefly, this instrument consists of eleven pairs of word-opposites (i.e., good-bad, fast-slow) placed at opposite ends of a seven-point continuum. The white attitude is revealed by the coordinates of the location in the seven-point continuum.

Information on the economic development programs was obtained from material held on file by the Bureau of
Indian Affairs, the Ute tribe, and the University of Utah. Both the University's Bureau of Indian Services and the Division of Community and Urban Development have provided the Ute with training and technical assistance for the past fourteen years. Their records were exceptionally valuable in describing the decisions leading to many of the economic projects. This study has also utilized work by Jones (1955), Jorgensen (1964), Stewart (1942, 1964), and Witherspoon (1961) carried on at various times over the past thirty years. Lang's (1953, 1954) field work in the early 1950's was helpful in providing a baseline for change since the beginning of economic development.

This study is arranged in the following order:

Chapter II describes the reservation setting and environmental conditions. Chapters III, IV, and V describe the various economic development programs established since the allotment period of 1906. Chapters VI and VII offer an analysis of the survey data and assess the social changes brought about by economic development.

The Northern Ute reservation is located 110 miles east of Salt Lake City, Utah. Most of the one million acres owned by the tribe is in Duchesne and Uintah Counties with some acreage in Grand County. Uintah and Grand Counties form a vast geographic region known as the Uintah Basin. The Ute reservation and the Basin have been considered economically depressed throughout most of the state's history.

The Uintah Basin is physically isolated by a series of encompassing mountains and bad-lands. Topographically, it can be divided into three sections. The northern section comprises a portion of the Uintah Mountains with deep, steep-sided canyons. Most of this area is within the boundaries of the Ashley National Forest.

The southern section is known as the Tavaputs Plateau. It is characterized by arid conditions, poor soil, and dissected topography, and is nearly devoid of permanent settlements.

The central section is a structural depression; the slope of its surface inclines from all directions toward the center. It includes most of the Basin's inhabitants and population centers.

At higher elevations (4,500 feet) south of Ashley
CHAPTER II
Reservation Setting

Uintah Basin

The Northern Ute reservation is located 150 miles east of Salt Lake City, Utah. Most of the one million acres owned by the tribe is in Duchesne and Uintah Counties with some acreage in Grand County. Uintah and Grand Counties form a vast geographic region known as the Uintah Basin. The Ute Reservation and the Basin have been considered economically depressed throughout most of the state's history.

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At higher elevations (6,500 feet) south of Ashley
National Forest is a grassy, somewhat plain, which provides rich summer grazing for livestock. Adjoining this plain is a broken line of broken, well-drained, 5,000 feet in elevation drawn by several streams which drain from the Uinta Mountains. The scarcity of water in this area is emphasized by frequent fires in this fragile, logged forest. Frequent snow, snow, snow, and the low elevation of the area favor the occurrence of ten inches of moisture is lost in evaporation from the few inches of snow that burn. In some regions, these burns remove the protective grass cover and condition the soil, a step in the formation of barren waste. Poor soil, a step in the formation of barren waste. In many areas, accumulations of salts or alkali make farming impossible, even where the topography is suited for irrigation. Other areas are suited only for pasture.
National Forest is a grassy outwash plain, which provides rich summer grazing for livestock. Adjoining this plain is a broken line of tableland referred to locally as benches. Below these benches is a lowland plain 5,000 feet in elevation dissected by numerous streams which drain from the Uintahs. The availability of water in this area, in addition to the longer growing season, permits some intensive farming. However, even in this favorable area, agriculture is somewhat restricted by frequent flooding during the late spring run-offs in the mountains. Quite often, fields cannot be plowed because the waterlogged soil prevents the use of heavy equipment.

Precipitation in the Basin, primarily in the form of snow, is generally just under nine inches a year at low elevations and from fourteen to 150 inches in the higher regions. Much precipitation is lost through excessive evaporation during the dry summer months. The local weather bureau reports that an average of seven to ten inches of moisture is lost in each of the summer months from a free-water surface. Ironically, the farmer in the Basin suffers from poor drainage during the spring and from arid conditions in the late summer months.

The Basin's agriculture is further impoverished by poor soil, a short growing season, and frequent late frosts. In many areas, accumulations of salts or alkali make farming impossible even where the topography is suited for irrigation. Other areas are suited only for pasture
because of thick layers of quartzite at the surface. During a survey made in 1937 (Wright 1948:340), it was found that of the first 260,000 acres examined only thirteen per cent could be rated as Class I or II land. Most of the land was found to be rough and to have little or no true soil. Some of this land can be used for marginal grazing. Much of it has no agricultural value. Due to this restriction of the land base, it is inevitable that competition for good land should bring conflict between the Indian and non-Indian populations.

Because of this impressive list of adverse conditions, most Basin agriculture has focused on the raising of livestock. However, ranching also has its problems. Suitable winter range is in short supply. Livestock grazing in the productive upper levels during the summer have to be driven back to lower elevations during the winter. Additional winter feed, imported at great expense to the rancher, must supplement the lack of grass in these lower regions. Ranching operations are rendered even more marginal by the inadequacy of commercial transport. The nearest rail-head to the Basin is located at Provo, Utah, 140 miles away. Agricultural products exported from the Basin must be trucked over Highway 40 and through a high pass in the Wasatch range.

A rail line has been proposed, at various times, to alleviate this economic handicap, but the cost of such an undertaking has been prohibitive. The railroad companies
have estimated that even a short line into the Basin would cost $40 million. Developer Gordon Thompson (personal communication) in the Bureau of Indian Services, University of Utah, has estimated that the present production of the Basin would only fill one train load a year. It is, therefore, unlikely that a line will be built. Hence, the Basin’s economy will continue to suffer from high transportation costs.

Considering the numerous handicaps delineated above, it is not surprising that the Uintah Basin is an economically depressed area and has been such from the time of the first settlement. Farmers and ranchers operating at marginal profits are frequently forced out of business, even in years when the price of commodities dropped only a few cents. It is also understandable that the Basin’s two major counties, Uintah and Duchesne, are always rated second and third in number of state welfare cases. Perhaps the Basin’s economic potential has been described best by a survey team in 1861: “The Basin is . . . one vast continuity of waste, and measurably valueless, except for nomadic purposes, hunting grounds for Indians, and to hold the world together” (quoted by Jorgensen 1964:57).

Economics and Population Trends

Traditionally, agriculture has been the major contributor to the Basin’s economy and the largest source
of employment. As in other rural areas of Utah, however, this picture is rapidly changing. In both of the Basin's major counties, agriculture accounted for nearly 60 per cent of all employment in 1940; in 1950 this figure declined to 38 per cent; in 1960 it dropped to less than 20 per cent (Mitchell et al. 1968:34). The basic factors contributing to this trend are the increase in the average size of farms and greater mechanization. The average size of a farm increased from 1,086 acres in 1950 to 2,026 acres in 1946 (Mitchell et al. 1968:48). The small farmer has given up the battle against the adversities of the Basin environment. As one farmer described it, "I had to work four times as hard as the farmer in central Utah to make the same income. It just wasn't worth the effort."

Some surplus agricultural labor has found employment in mining and in service-related industry. For the most part, however, the unemployed have been forced to move to larger urban centers out of the Basin. The 1970 census shows a 2.1 per cent loss of population for Duchesne County, and a gain of 7.7 per cent for Uintah County. The former statistic is indicative of Basin population trends. Most of the growth in Uintah County has taken place in Vernal and not in rural areas. In addition, there have been significant shifts in age distribution. For example, a comparison of Duchesne County age distribution with other counties and the state and nation (Table I) shows...
it to have a higher proportion of residents under 20 years of age but a lower proportion of residents between 20 to 40 years of age. Because the labor force is drawn primarily from the latter age group, these figures reflect the out-migration of young people (mostly white) to urban areas in search of greater employment opportunity.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUP COMPARISON

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Source: Duchesne County Comprehensive Plan, 1968

As rural counties lose their young residents, they gain old people from other areas. There is speculation (Salt Lake Tribune August 10, 1969) that many of these older adults are retirees moving to Utah to avoid the over-crowding in California and elsewhere.

Although some new industry has been introduced into the Basin, it has not been sufficient to take up the slack created by the decrease in agricultural employment.
Mining is presently the most important industry in Uintah County. Minerals such as oil, gilsonite, natural gas, and phosphate rock are the major contributors to this industry. However, the availability of these minerals does not mean they can be exploited fully, because of the absence of rail transportation.

Increased activities of the federal and state governments have relieved some of the pressures of unemployment. For example, over 600 persons are now employed by 22 government agencies in Duchesne County alone. The Indian Agency at Fort Duchesne contributes greatly to the local economy. Not only does it provide considerable employment, but also it provides support for highway maintenance and public schools. It is conceivable that the white population would protest as bitterly as the Utes if the Indian Agency were closed as the result of complete Ute termination.

In summary, the decline in agriculture and the lack of basic industry has hurt the Basin population, whites as well as Indians. The greater mobility of the white population, however, has served to keep their unemployment rate at about eight per cent. Significant numbers of white young people have chosen to leave the Basin rather than suffer with the depressed economy. The Utes, as any ethnic minority, find emigration more difficult and have had to sustain a steady unemployment rate of between 40 and 65 per cent over the past decade. The
population profile (Appendix B) indicates that few working-age Ute males wish to leave the reservation, even under the severest of economic hardship. Although the whites appreciate the economic advantages derived from their relationship with the reservation, they resent being forced out of the Basin at a time when the government is creating economic opportunities for "Indians only." The economic competition between these two racial groups is as real today as it has been in the past, a fact which tends to color attitudes on both sides.

The White Population of the Basin

The white population of the Basin is primarily of one religious faith and of one mind in terms of social issues. In a random survey of 54 households, 74 per cent were judged to be active Mormons by measure of their church attendance. The remaining 26 per cent were either of other faiths or non-active Mormons. Outside of the two main towns in the Basin, Roosevelt and Vernal, most of the whites live in tightly structured hamlets or villages. These communities are organized around the local Mormon churches (referred to as wards). Community leadership is incorporated in the complex church hierarchical structure. Of the active Mormons questioned, 78 per cent offered their ward Bishop or former Bishop as the man best suited to represent their community. Moreover, community activities generally revolve about one or more of the Mormon
auxiliary organizations. Every active Mormon, regardless of sex or age, takes part in one of these organizations. All community activities, including secular events such as dances or meetings, are held in the local church buildings.

The value-orientation of these hamlets places strong emphasis on the Protestant ethic of thrift and the accumulation of wealth and property. In their study of a Mormon community in New Mexico, Vogt and O'Dea (1953:647) described the system of values:

They share the common American value-orientations which emphasize the importance of achievement and success, progress, and optimism, and rational mastery over nature. In the Mormon case, these were taken over from the 19th century American milieu in Western New York where the Church was founded, and reinterpreted in terms of an elaborate theological conception of the universe as a dynamic process in which God and men are active collaborators in an eternal progression to greater power through increasing mastery. ... The Mormons conceived of themselves as a covenant people especially chosen for a divine task ... . In the context of the notion of peculiarity and reinforced by outgroup antagonism and persecution, these values became deeply embedded in Mormon orientations. The preference for agriculture combined with an emphasis upon community and lay participation in church activities resulted in the formation of compact villages rather than isolated family farmsteads as the typical Mormon settlement pattern.

In larger Basin communities, this value-orientation is the same, but community structure is less determined by Mormon affiliation, particularly in Vernal. In these communities the arrival of non-Mormons in the past
two decades to take positions in mining and business has eroded the power of the Mormons. In Roosevelt, one informant described the situation as a "stand-off" between the Mormon hierarchy and the non-Mormon businessmen. Nevertheless, there are now genuine community-wide activities which are not based on Mormon affiliation. Non-Mormon residents can and do take part in community affairs and organizations. However, this is not to imply that Roosevelt is an open community. As in the small hamlets, there is little interaction between the whites and Indians, except in business establishments.

The Mormons and the non-Mormons in the Basin are equally conservative in social and political issues. Both groups are against government spending in spite of the fact that much of the local economy is based on the presence of federal and state administrative agencies. They have little tolerance for idleness or public assistance for those in need of support. They view low economic status as the result of individual inadequacy and inferiority.

Generally, their value orientation has tended to influence their attitudes toward their Indian neighbors and has contributed to the racial separatism in the Basin.

An empirical assessment of white attitudes was made by utilizing a semantic differential (Figure 2). Each of the subjects in the white sample was asked to describe an average Indian. Each subject was given a list of
eleven paired-word opposites and asked to place a check along the line at the place he thought best described the Indian. An evaluation of this attitude was made in reference to four semantic categories: potency (weak-strong, soft-hard, slow-fast); evaluation (dumb-smart, ugly-goodlooking, bad-good, dirty-clean); attitude (sad-happy); and activity (poor-rich, unsuccessful-successful, drunk-sober). Each paired-word response was scored on a seven-point scale, from a very negative connotation or attitude which was assigned a rating of "one," to a very positive attitude which rated at "seven." Neutral responses were scored at "four." The mean response and the standard deviation is shown in Figure 2.

An examination of the mean for the white sample revealed that attitudes toward Indians are generally negative in the two categories of potency and activity. They tend to believe that the "average" Indian is weak (3.3), soft (3.1), slow (3.4), dirty (3.4), drunk (2.7), unsuccessful (2.9), and poor (2.7). Neutral ratings (4.0) were given for the paired-word opposites good-bad, smart-dumb, and goodlooking-ugly in the evaluation category. The Indian was given a positive rating on only one scale, the happy-sad continuum (5.1). Among the total sample there was a relatively high consensus suggested by the standard deviations, particularly on the scale of drunk, unsuccessful, and poor.

This negative image is frequently expressed in
FIGURE 2

Basin White Attitude Toward Indians

NEGATIVE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 POSITIVE

Weak
Soft
Slow
Dumb
Dirty
Bad
Ugly
Drunk
Unsuccessful
Poor
Sad

Strong
Hard
Fast
Smart
Clean
Good
Good looking
Sober
Successful
Rich
Happy

N=52 Household; m=mean; sd=standard deviation

a. m=3.3; sd=1.0  e. m=3.4; sd=1.1  i. m=2.9; sd=.9
b. m=3.1; sd=1.0  f. m=4.3; sd=1.6  j. m=2.7; sd=.8
c. m=3.4; sd=1.0  g. m=4.3; sd=1.6  k. m=5.1; sd=1.7
d. m=4.2; sd=1.4  h. m=2.7; sd=.8
conversation and in action by whites of all ages and at all levels of social influence. It is not uncommon to hear pejorative comments on the Indian's poor work performance, lack of thrift, and immorality. The Indian is said to be lazy and undeserving of public assistance. One white educator in the local high school said, "The Indians won't work. They would rather spend their days gambling . . . They spent their large payments foolishly and now they expect us to feed them." Frequent reference is made to Indian public drinking and violence, factors which are given as examples of their immorality. One woman shop-keeper casually commented on a recent Indian killing: "This thing happens all the time. It's nothing to be surprised at." The county jail is commonly referred to as the "Ute hotel."

Only in the few stores in the Indian community is there much interaction between the two racial groups. When Indians go to Roosevelt, interaction rarely goes beyond formal business transactions. The nature of these transactions can be dramatized by a comment of one businessman who had catered to Indian trade for twenty-five years. He stated that he did not know any Indians by name. "They all look alike to me." Another said, "They spend money in my place, but they are still a nuisance." Some inter-racial contact among individuals who are marginal to both the white and reservation communities occurs in the local pool hall where beer is served.
However, in most situations the Indian is usually either ignored or made the butt-end of joking. Whites carry their negative image of the Indian into religious activity even though Mormon doctrine reserves the Indian a special place in its teachings. In Mormon doctrine the Indian is defined as a Lamanite and hence is made an object of considerable mission work on all American reservations. However, the Mormons have generally ignored the Basin Indians. Only limited efforts have been made to convert the Utes. When conversion occurs, attempts to integrate them into the hierarchial structure appear to be less than sincere. For example, a special ward or Indian Branch at Randlett serves all Utes on the southern part of the reservation. Except for the white missionaries specially appointed to serve this Branch, no local whites are involved. Instead, the white residents of Randlett travel to another ward to attend segregated services. In Whiterocks, the same church building serves both the local whites and Utes, but at separate times and in different capacities.

A few Ute informants who have been converted to and who have subsequently withdrawn from the Mormon Church describe a general lack of acceptance by white members. A woman explained, "The whites were always talking behind my back. They acted like they didn't want me in their activities." A Ute who served as a Mormon missionary for two years, returned to the Basin expecting to gain
employment in local white-owned business. Apparently his expectations were unfounded. He said, "They [white church officials] just told me to go look for a job back at the agency; they couldn't help me." His Indian partner on the same mission had a similar disappointing experience. Assuming that he had gained full social mobility in the white community, he began dating a white girl. After the Indian had visited the girl in her home, her father informed him that he was no longer welcome because an Indian was not good enough for his daughter. Such incidents demonstrate the intensity of the superior attitude the white population holds, even in religious activity.

In summary, the depressed economy of the Basin has placed whites and Indians in direct competition for its limited resources and jobs. In addition, the whites, imbued with a strong Protestant ethic, believe themselves to be superior to individuals less successful than themselves in material acquisition. This attitude creates resentment among the Utes. Therefore, it is understandable that inter-racial contacts only serve to reinforce the general hostility between the whites and Indians. The influence of this hostility on Ute reservation society will become evident in ensuing chapters.

The Reservation Setting

The 1,008,192 acres held in trust by the Ute tribe is an impressive figure, but the agricultural potential of
this acreage offers a different perspective. The Indian Service has classified 224,901 acres of the reservation as range land and 50,569 acres as irrigated and farm land.
The balance, 32,789 acres, is classed as wildland or non-agricultural land, most of which is located in the area called the Hill Creek Extension in the Tavaputs Plateau.

Currently, 1,303 enrolled members of the Ute tribe, of a total of 1,616, live on the reservation. The remaining number live outside the Basin in various urban centers. The tribe estimates there are roughly 232 households in five communities. The Ute define the community as a wide area served by a trading post (white-owned general store) and community center. It may include a number of small hamlets and scattered households. For example, an individual who says he live in Whiterocks may in fact live in Tridell, fifteen miles from the main village of Whiterocks.

Four communities are in the west end of Uintah County: Whiterocks (82 families) in the north, Ft. Duchesne (51 families) a mile south of Highway 40, Randlett (53 families) nine miles further south, and Ouray (9 families) in the area marking the beginning of the Hill Creek Extension. The fifth reservation community, Myton, is located west and south of Roosevelt in central Duchesne County. Only nine Indian families live in this town of 150 (est. 1960), but for administrative reasons the tribe also identifies the 18 additional families in the area west of Myton as residents of this town. Of the five
communities, only Myton is a town. The others are small communities with a trading post or general store, a community building, and a recreation center in each. The tribal administrative offices and the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency are located at Fort Duchesne. Many white families live in Myton and Fort Duchesne. Most of the residents of the other communities are Utes, with the exception of the store owners and those running the Episcopal and Mormon missions.

Many of the Ute households scattered about the community centers reside on individual allotments of land or on land leased from the tribe. However, the trend over the past twenty-five years has been for Utes to move into larger community settlements, particularly in Randlett, Fort Duchesne, and Whiterocks. A number of adults have expressed negative opinions on this trend, but circumstances have left them little choice. Many individuals have had their land tied up in heirship disputes, or by large unpaid charges for irrigation water. Some families with school-age children have moved to be close to a bus route. Others without transportation have moved to be near their employment, usually in Fort Duchesne. Also, the tribe has deliberately encouraged resettlement by building most of the new government "self-help" homes in Randlett, Fort Duchesne, and Whiterocks. It appears that most of the reservation population will soon be living in communities not unlike the suburban developments of the densely
populated areas of the United States.

Only six families are presently engaged full-time in their own farming or ranching operations. Another seventy-five derive some income through part-time operations. The rest of the Utes who have maintained rights to the 34,000 acres reserved for individual allotments have chosen to lease their land to the tribal cattle enterprise or to local white farmers. Inheritance complications and the lack of capital for investment have discouraged even the most persistent Utes from engaging in farming full-time. Moreover, the tribe has been promoting consolidation of its land holdings to insure greater efficiency in ranching.

The Ute tribe, in an economic context, is synonymous with the Business Committee, a formal governing body of six elected officials. The Business Committee was created in 1936 under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act to represent the Utes as an incorporated unit. The Committee, in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, handles all matters affecting the reservation at large. In negotiating with state and federal government officials, the Committee acts as spokesman for all of the tribe's membership. It controls the appropriation of reservation lands and financial resources, and the administration of federally-funded projects, such as self-help housing, Head Start, and the Community Action Program. In short, the Committee is charged with the task of reservation development, as well as the administration of services similar to
those provided by any incorporated municipal government.

The Business Committee has not been able to pursue this task without generating considerable opposition among much of the Ute membership. Most Utes have found the concept of centralized authority difficult to accept. They frequently accuse the Committee of being arbitrary and undemocratic. However, most of these Utes do not utilize their legal right of access to the decision-making process. For example, all adult members have a vote in the tribal election, but few rarely exercise this right. Also, the Tribal Charter and Constitutional By-Laws provide for a General Council meeting each May, during which each Ute has the right to address the governing body on issues which he feels need attention. Resolutions can be proposed and voted on to direct the Business Committee in a particular course of action, but this process is usually ignored.

The most common procedure is for the general membership to criticize the Committee openly at public gatherings and social events. Any action by the Committee is suspect and usually opposed.

In part, the mistrust of centralized authority can be explained by a lack of traditionally based tribal unity. When the reservation was incorporated in the 1930's, the Utes did not constitute a tribal body; they had resettled in the Basin as separate bands. Afterwards, although their formal structure quickly eroded, the bands continued to hold the allegiance of their members. A higher level of
political organization embracing all of the Utes, such as a tribal organization, did not evolve. The band-based factions have remained relatively viable until recent years. Currently, the Utes have realigned themselves into groups with similar levels of objective access to reservation resources and common political interests. However, these new alignments have not curtailed conflicts with the Business Committee. The relatively less prosperous Utes resist the expenditure of tribal funds for economic projects, maintaining that all funds from government awards and mineral royalties should go directly to individuals. In short, the general reservation environment has not encouraged economic development or made the administration of projects a simple task.

Summary
Attempts to eradicate poverty on the reservation will be discussed in the following chapters. Throughout this discussion these endeavors must always be considered in view of the factors outlined in this chapter. Many factors impinging on the Utes are as crucial as the economic situation. For example, the topography, climate, and soil to identify any of the programs as its own. Tribal leaders are aware of this opposition and are somewhat institution to carry on agriculture. The mass exodus of young people from the Basin offers ample evidence of this fact. The absence of a rail-head has made it necessary for producers
to ship their products by trucks resulting in increased transportation costs.

Moreover, many of the attitudes of the Utes are reinforced by their relationships with whites. In each of the five communities, whites are cogently aware of the economic benefits derived from the presence of the reservation and the Indian agency. They recognize that they would be hard pressed to replace the payroll receipts if the reservation were suddenly removed, but this recognition does not alter the superior attitude the whites hold. For the most part, this attitude tends to reinforce the Ute's belief that he should seek social status only within his reservation society. Achievement is restricted to Ute social norms or values. There is good evidence that social mobility is restricted even within the dominant religious organization of the Basin, the Mormon Church.

Conflict within the Ute society creates another serious obstacle to economic development. Some of the reservation factions oppose all efforts which involve the expenditure of tribal funds. At times they have been able to block proposed projects and to terminate others already in progress. One segment of the society refuses to identify any of the programs as its own. Tribal leaders are aware of this opposition and are somewhat intimidated. Therefore, Ute development has, at times, been more by accident than design.
CHAPTER III
Economic Development and Reservation Conditions
Before 1951

In this century, the Northern Utes have been the recipients of an almost continuous series of economic development and planned-change programs. The policies of these programs have changed periodically, but the ultimate goal has remained unchanged - to make the Indians self-sufficient members of the wider society. The General Allotment Act of 1887 introduced sweeping changes in reservation structure. Large sums of money were awarded the Utes in 1911 and 1933, much of which was allocated directly to individual members. Generally, these awards created a unique set of attitudes among the Utes in regard to money, work, and their relationship with the wider society. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss these programs, to analyze the effects they have had on the Ute society, and to describe the political and economic conditions prevailing when the planned-change programs of the 1950's were introduced.

Reservation Background

The Ute reservation was established on land set aside by President Lincoln's Executive Order of 1861. Initially, the land was to serve only the Indians of central Utah, the Uintah Utes. However, events in Colorado two decades later resulted in the relocation of several more Ute bands to
this reservation. The Uintah Utes did not actually occupy the reservation until 1870 and then for only limited times during the year. Although the government provided that the Indians should be provisioned with rations to encourage them to remain in the Basin, the isolation of the reservation made it difficult to deliver these rations. Thus, it became important to make the Utes self-sufficient as early as possible. The Indian Agency at Whiterocks established farms for the dual purpose of teaching agricultural methods and supplementing the limited provisions that the government provided. The success of these early efforts was apparently minimal. One of the members of the Powell expedition visited the reservation in 1871 and reported:

I am not very impressed with the success of the attempt to civilize the Indians. The employees at the Agency plough the land, furnish the seed, dig the irrigation ditches, cut the grains; in fact do all the work that requires the use of tools. The Indians irrigate a little. The bucks make the squaws do the work while they race horses or loaf around the Agency (quoted by Jones, 1955:224).

What success the government did achieve in this early effort was erased when the Colorado Indians were relocated on the reservation in 1880.

The Colorado Utes managed to avoid the frustrations of resettlement until 1880. They had, in fact, remained relatively undisturbed until 1868 when they made their first treaty with the federal government. As their Rocky Mountain retreat became increasingly an object of mining
and settlement, the Colorado Utes were forced into another treaty in 1874. At this time, they had to relinquish most of their land in return for annuity payments of $25,000.

Separate agencies were established to serve what were to become known as the Whiterivers, Uncompahgre, and Southern Ute Bands. Since the land area was too restricted to maintain the former subsistence economy of hunting and gathering, attempts were made to encourage the Indians in agriculture. According to Jorgensen (1964:104), the Uncompahgre had developed some animal husbandry. The Whiterivers, apparently, would have nothing to do with agriculture. The persistence of their agent ultimately led to the Meeker Massacre in 1879. This unfortunate event, in which a few agency personnel, including the agent, were murdered, caused such public outrage that the government had no alternative but to remove the Whiterivers and Uncompahgre bands from Colorado.

The treaty that followed the Meeker incident allotted the Whiterivers and the Uncompahgre bands equal shares in a $50,000 annual payment. In addition, the two bands were to receive all money from the sale of the ceded lands in Colorado. The Whiterivers were given an equal share in the Uintah reservation, while the Uncompahgre were relocated on 2,000,000 acres to the south and east of the original Uintah reservation. This area is now referred to as the Hill Creek Extension. As lucrative as this treaty appears, it was the beginning of inter-band conflict which
has not been entirely resolved to this day.

The Uintah Utes were upset by being forced to share their reservation. Furthermore, the Whiterivers, whom they considered thieves and murderers, were receiving annuity payments, whereas the Uintahs had never received any settlement for land or for their cooperation with the government. As Stewart (1964:21) points out, "Nine treaties and agreements were negotiated with the Colorado Utes, and six were ratified by the U.S. Senate and signed by the President. By contrast, only one treaty was negotiated with a U.S. treaty commission and Utah Utes, and it was not ratified by Congress." The imbalance in treatment appears ridiculous when we consider that the Uintahs had been peaceful and had attempted to become farmers. It is little wonder that the Uintahs developed considerable animosity toward the government and the Colorado bands.

The Uncompahgre shared a similar attitude toward the Whiterivers. Although they had attempted to adjust to their reservation situation in Colorado, and had taken no part in the hostilities at the Whiteriver agency in 1879, they found themselves removed to a region with little potential for farming or grazing. They, of course, blamed the Whiterivers for this state of affairs. The Treaty of 1880 further intensified the hostility between the two Colorado bands through the provision that the Uncompahgre were to receive one-half of the annuity payments while the Southern Utes were to receive a third and the Whiterivers
only a sixth (Wilkinson, n.d.:149). This provision was to become one of the major factors in the tribal factionalism of the 1940's and 1950's.

The two separate reservations with their separate agencies were subsequently joined in 1886. The agencies at Whiterocks and Ouray were closed and a new one was opened at the present Fort Duchesne location. Although the land base was extensive, 4,500,000 acres, the physical environment was such that the Utes were poorly equipped by their native patterns of subsistence to make the necessary adjustments to a new life. Jones (1955:226) summarized the new situation:

... the Ute became acquainted anew with economic insecurity. The old insecurity of living in an inhospitable environment had been solved by the development of the communal horse band. Having known security, they felt more bitter about losing it than they would have it they never had known it. The interband rivalry already reported in 1883 shows that the Ute had learned aggression toward Whites was best repressed. The agency officials could and did withhold rations from non-cooperative Indians, and the Indians had become dependent on those rations. Therefore, the aggression was turned inward upon members of the group who, though Indian, belonged to different bands.

There were some differences among the bands in terms of their general adjustment. The Uncompahgre, in their less hospitable terrain, were able to maintain greater isolation from whites and the other bands. Also, their knowledge of animal husbandry generated some interest in ranching and they purchased cattle with their annuity payments. By contrast, the Uintahs and the Whiterivers showed little
interest in any type of agricultural pursuit and spent most of their time gambling. The Ute bands did not have long to wait for the first of a long series of planned-change programs designed to make them self-sufficient members of the wider society.

The Allotment Period - 1905-1934

The first Ute program of major consequence came late in the nineteenth century under the Dawes Act of 1887. Under the provisions of this act, the Indian Services subdivided the Ute reservation and allotted each family a tract of 80 acres. The explicit goal of this allotment procedure was to make the Indian an independent farmer, but the government was attempting also to break down the traditional way of life. The Dawes Act stipulated that land not allotted to individuals was to return to the public domain for subsequent homestead entry. However, in 1905, a Presidential Proclamation set aside 1,010,000 acres of the Ute land as forest reserve, 2,100 acres as townsites, 1,004,285 acres for homestead entry, and 60,000 for land reclamation. The balance, 282,462 acres, was held in trust. Of the original four million acres, therefore, the Utes received only 113,023 acres in separate tracts of 80 acres per family head.

To insure maximum success in the proposed endeavor, the Indians were given the best agricultural land in the Basin. The Uncompahgre Band was allotted land along the
Duchesne River and the lower White River. The Uintah and Whiteriver Indians were given land around the agency at Whiterocks, the Upper Duchesne River, and Lake Fork Creek. Much of the land near the rivers had a high enough water table to provide natural irrigation. In addition, the government allocated $600,000 for the Uintah Irrigation Project to bring water to every Indian farm. Finally, it is estimated (Wright 1948:339) that the government spent from $15 to $60 an acre to clear reservation lands of sagebrush and to otherwise prepare them for planting.

In spite of these attempts to make the new policy as attractive as possible, the Indians, particularly the Whiterivers, were outraged. They had been promised by treaty that they would never again be disturbed by the whites. Yet the new policy proposed to bring white settlers to their land. Moreover, the hated Uncompahgres were to be allotted land belonging to the Whiterivers. The Whiterivers not only refused to comply with the new policy, they bolted the reservation. In 1906, a band of 365 Utes gathered their possessions and left for South Dakota (O'Neil 1969). Two years later they returned, hungry and disillusioned.

In general, the Utes reacted negatively to the government's attempts to settle each family on its own homestead. They did not appreciate having to be separated from their close relatives, nor did many of them relish living in areas occupied by whites. Even today, Indians who hold
land in the preponderantly Mormon-controlled west areas of the reservation prefer to lease land elsewhere so that they can live among Indians.

Predictably, the policy to make the Utes into farmers failed. These people, removed only 25 years from a hunting and gathering economy, could not be expected to possess the skills and discipline demanded by irrigation farming. The daily routine of farming placed too many restrictions on their established way of life. The land in most cases was left idle, the irrigation system unused.

The whites who claimed the 1,000,000 acres of land set aside for homesteading found that much of the land was marginal and unsuitable for farming. Many of these people were poor and were lacking in equipment, skills, and experience. Even under the best of conditions, they could not have made a success of farming. One white informant estimates that more than three-fourths of the original settlers went broke trying to make a living in the Basin. This estimate is substantiated by the fact that Utah's Senator Reed Smoot was asking Congress in 1912 to permit the settlers to postpone payments for their land beyond the specified time because of the hardships which they had suffered (O'Neil, in press).

As white settlement increased the demand for land, the Indians realized they possessed something of value, a resource they owned as individuals. Many of the Utes seized upon this opportunity to maximize their position
by renting or leasing their allotments. They found an alternative to the frustrations and routine of farming; individuals could obtain cash without working. Thus, as the wider economy developed in the Basin, the Utes were able to take part in it without internalizing the concept of work. They learned that money provided them with the means to sustain life and to pursue a style of life to which they aspired. Therefore, it was logical that they should either sell something of value or demand more cash from the government.

Indeed, this attitude toward money became a part of the Ute folklore. An example of this phenomenon is indicated in the following tale collected by Jorgensen (1960:61):

Coyote is a Ute. He transforms trees to horses. Coyote races his horses and wagers on them. He races his horses against white men's horses and wins their 'greenbacks' and takes the 'good' money of his opponents (Ute wanted money, not rations or non-legal tender). A white man wants to buy coyote's horses, so he sells them to him. In the white man's corral, the horses transform back into sticks.

It will become evident, as later programs are discussed, that these attitudes have been transmitted to subsequent Indian generations. It is also clear that these attitudes have been a major obstacle to Ute economic development throughout this century.

Generally, the influx of white settlers aggravated a number of environmental problems in the Basin. Much land was farmed or intensively grazed which would have been
best left in the public domain. Leased Indian land was
mismanaged and over-grazed, resulting in massive sheet
erosion throughout the Basin. The scarcity of water be­
came a cause of considerable conflict between the whites
and Indians. Since the Utes were not utilizing their wa­
ter rights in the irrigation system, the settlers felt
justified in expanding their own water rights. They con­
structed private systems with the head gates placed above
the original irrigation source. The Utes and the govern­
ment thus found themselves faced with the growing neces­
sity of trying to save their investment in the million-
dollar irrigation project.

Unfortunately for the Utes, an over-zealous govern­
ment agent, Albert Kneale, was appointed to head the agen­
cy at Fort Duchesne in 1914. After learning of the action
by the whites, the new agency resolved to save the Indian
irrigation system, ironically at the expense of the Utes.
To preserve the Ute water rights, the 95,000 acres of
Indian land had to be brought under cultivation. Kneale
(1950:294 concluded:

To place 95,000 acres of semidesert land un­
der cultivation entails a vast amount of physical
labor. It necessitates also the utilization of
tremendous quantities of equipment . . . Since the
Utes had no desire to raise their standard of liv­
ing, no assistance could be expected from them.
They were indifferent. It made little difference
to them whether their water was saved or lost.
The million dollar canal system meant nothing to
them. Furthermore, to save the water involved
labor and that eliminated the Utes.

Kneale also ruled out the possibility that the canal
system could be salvaged by offering the good land to the poor­vity-stricken whites already located in the Basin. Instead, he planned to encourage the settlement of experienced farmers with enough capital and equipment to transform this arid region into the breadbasket of the Intermountain West. In 1915 Kneale (1950:297) sent this advertisement to all areas of the West:

Are you interested in the purchase, on easy terms, of a tract of land on which to build for yourself a home, obtaining with such purchase and without cost the privilege of occupying and cultivating adjoining lands? These lands are fertile. The climate is excellent. The lands are virgin. Canals are in place. Water, covered by Primary Fillings, is abundant. There will be no taxes and no water assessments except on the purchased tract and, on that, only when final payment has been made. For particulars and full information write

Albert H. Kneale
United States Indian Agent
Fort Duchesne, Utah

This advertisement drew several hundred more whites into the Basin, placing even greater pressure on the limited land base and water resources. The fee patent policy led to the alienation of 30,000 acres of the best agricultural land left in the hands of the Utes. Any Indian said to be capable of taking care of his own land was given a fee patent which entitled him to place his land on the market free of any government restriction. Although Kneale considered his settlement program a success "by saving the water rights," this program was to seriously handicap future attempts to make the Utes productive agriculturalists. It also made the whites partners in the
use of the Indian Service Irrigation system, a relationship that has never been a comfortable one for the Utes.

All policies concerning the lands and water rights of the reservation continued to have major ramifications within the Ute traditional social structure. For example, the Indian sense of community, somewhat maintained in each of the bands, became considerably altered. The individual Ute now possessed, in his allotment, property which afforded him an independent means of income totally separate from his band or extended family. A Ute no longer had to look to the "old chiefs" or his elders for economic security. The leaders were, in fact, reduced to a role of spokesmen without the power to act or initiate action.

At best, the aboriginal leadership structure was never strong. As Malouf (1966:18) described it, "Neither the threats from Mormon incursion nor the prestige of prominent men like Chief Walker could provide them with the motivation for submerging their individuality to permanent authority or a more centralized leadership." Land-allotment policies intensified this individualism. Even today, many Utes will deny that anyone can represent them or be their community spokesman. For example, when asked to name an individual they considered qualified to be a spokesman for their community, 54 per cent either named themselves or said they did not know of anyone. This figure ran as high as 68 per cent among the poorer
households. This general lack of community leadership has made planning difficult in the past 60 years.

Individual Utes received roughly $320,000 from land sales during the first fifteen years after allotment was initiated. Additional money was obtained through rentals and leases, not to mention the continuing payments of annuities established by the Treaty of 1880. It is little wonder that among other Indians they were referred to as "the rich Utes." According to Stewart (personal communication), the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, who introduced peyote to the reservation in 1914, was not necessarily proselytizing for his cult. He was seeking Ute financial support. This suggests that the Ute reputation had spread at least as far as the South Dakota Indians.

In 1911, while the Utes were capitalizing on their new-found income in the sale and leasing of their allotments, more good fortune befell the reservation. As early as 1896, the Utes found it necessary to form the Confederated Ute Band of Colorado and Utah for the purpose of hiring attorneys to advise them in their treaty rights and to prosecute claims (Stewart 1964:20). An Indian agent called attention to the fact the Utes had not been paid for land ceded in Colorado under the Treaty of 1880. In 1909, government jurisdiction was conferred on the Court of Claims to determine the value of all lands ceded by the Ute which had been set apart for a national forest. On February 13, 1911, this Court entered the judgement that
the Confederated Utes should be compensated for 3,199,258 acres at $1.25 an acre. In this action, the Utes agreed to forgo their $50,000 a year annuity payments. Thus, at least on paper, the Utes in 1911 were a prosperous people even though their land base had been greatly reduced.

The 1911 decision created considerable inter-band conflict. The Act of 1880 had provided that all proceeds from the Colorado land should be distributed in the ratio of one-half to the Uncompahgres, one-third to Southern Utes, and one-sixth to the Whiterivers. However, another Act of Congress in 1920 (41 Stat. 430) resolved that the award made the Utes in 1911 should be distributed on a per capita basis. The Uintah Utes appear to have been excluded from this distribution and in the other band it is unclear how much money each individual received. All that one informant could recall was that she remembered her parents receiving a $500 payment in about 1916. The same informant added that each adult received $150 each spring and fall and that each school child received $25 a month. Roughly $915,000 was spent for water charges and improvement of the reservation irrigation system.

In any case, the Utes had well over a million dollars on deposit in their Individual Indian Money accounts in the agency at Fort Duchesne during World War I. Agent Kneale (1950:313) describes some of the difficulties he had managing the accounts:

This money was deposited . . . and could be
withdrawn only upon authorization granted by the Indian Bureau. ... $500,000 (were) in registered Liberty Bonds. In addition, there were coupon bonds totaling about $1,000 which Wash, a well-to-do and patriotic Ute, had purchased with personal funds and brought to me for safekeeping ....

"... an auditor ... checked the accounts ... I explained that these bonds were the personal property of Wash who, since he lived in a tent where there was no safe place in which to keep them, had brought them to me for safekeeping ... that he had voluntarily purchased these bonds, a few at a time, with his personal funds; that had the money not been thus invested, it would have been spent in the usual Ute manner for mere nothings .... "The bonds were returned to Wash. In his disgust and anger, he engaged in a protracted spending spree at the end of which he had disposed of about one thousand dollars and had acquired nothing of value.

The Ute attitude toward cash was continually reinforced throughout the first quarter of this century. They had learned the value of money without internalizing the concept of work. Apparently, Kneale attempted to change this attitude during his tenure at Fort Duchesne, a fact to which he makes no reference in his book. One informant recalls how Kneale made the Indians work on roads and in the construction of bridges for money which was legally owned by the Utes. The informant added how bitterly the Indians complained about this policy.

It must be remembered that the general economy of the Basin has seen few periods of relative prosperity. When the Indians have suffered economic hardship, the white population has suffered with them.
For a few years following World War I, the promise of a railroad extension from Craig, Colorado, inflated land prices. Improved roads within the Basin reduced the high cost of transportation. The price of land in Duchesne County sky-rocketed from an average of $1.42 an acre in the 1900's to $26.19 an acre in 1920. With the coming of the Depression and lower farm prices, this tremendous over-evaluation of land led to the tax delinquency of settlers.

In order to stabilize the economy of the Basin and to aid the financial well-being of the Utes, the Indian Services did its best to keep money in circulation. As Wright (1945:303) describes this action:

... between 1910 and 1937 the Indian Services pumped over $686,000 directly into the white population in an effort to avert collapse. This money was spent for such things as irrigation systems, cancelling of delinquent land leases, operation and maintenance charges, construction and clearing of land. In addition to this over $3,000,000 was spent for the benefit of both Indian and White. Roads and bridges were built. Schools were maintained and tuition paid for Indian children. The bulk of the million and a quarter dollars paid by the government for the land set aside for national forests was spent in the Basin largely for land improvement, farm equipment, payment of debts, or food and clothing. Nonetheless, Duchesne County became bankrupt.

The general living conditions of the reservation in the 1920's were relatively poor compared to those of the previous decade. A senate subcommittee hearing on conditions of Indians (U.S. Congress 1932:14737) indicates that among the Utes personal capital had been exhausted
by 1926. However, some income was still being gained through leases and land rentals. For example, over 21,000 acres were leased to non-Indians, providing the Indian owners about $130 for each 40-acre section. This income was further supplemented with family gardens and some hunting and fishing. The Senate report states that a typical reservation home was a log cabin with a dirt floor and no partitions. Those families who had remained living on their allotments lived in two-room houses provided by the government. In spite of the general economic conditions of the Basin, only 81 individuals received public assistance in 1931. One witness in this investigation (1934:14785) described his wage earning: "Oh, I do the other fellow as often as I can."

A few Ute families were farming, and apparently quite successfully on the 63,000 acres of land not leased to whites. In 1931, for example, Ute farmers produced 5,550 bushels of wheat and 5,666 tons of hay. The Utes also owned 2,661 head of cattle and over 14,000 head of sheep (1934:14737). However, it is my impression from the list of names offered in this Senate report that most of the families engaged in farming were primarily mixed-bloods and Uncompahgres. The Uncompahgres became financially solvent. In 1938 they began a private cattle association. During the height of the depression of the 1930's when 59 per cent of the Basin white population was on relief, the Utes received another substantial grant. In
1931, $1,207,221 was appropriated to the Indians for 973,777 acres of reservation land which had been incorpo-
rated into the Uintah National Forest. This money was
paid to individual Utes in 1933 under a Family Program,
each member receiving approximately $1,000. To prevent
unrestricted spending the Indians were issued only pur-
chase orders. In order to obtain cash, a Ute had to se-
cure a purchase order for an item and then resell the item
to whites for usually half the original price (Lang
1953:17). Food, cattle, and farm machinery were resold
in this manner. The Utes wanted cash and resented any
government policy which placed restrictions on their
spending.

There were a few notable exceptions among the
Uncompahegre as there had been with regard to the Colorado
annuity payments. Some of these families, who were still
grazing sheep, used purchase orders to increase the size
of their herds. These families became successful ranchers
in the ensuing decade. For the most part, the 1933 pay-
ment plan was circumvented by the Indians. It had little
influence in the course of reservation life, other than
convincing the Indians that the government would deliver
when the reservation situation became critical.

Even before the 1933 payments were issued, the White-
river and Uncompahegre bands made a formal contract with
Captain Telephause Bonnin to represent them in an investi-
gation of all claims against the government. Specifically,
the bands were reopening their claims for the sale of ceded lands in Colorado under the Treaty of 1880. The award of 1910 was only for the land set aside for a national forest. The Utes were now demanding full payment for the balance of their Colorado territory.

The promise of new awards must have convinced the Basin population, most of which were then receiving public assistance, that it was good economics to be an Indian. Individuals who could claim any degree of Ute ancestry enrolled as members of the tribe. According to Lang (1954:137), "In 1933 the number of registered births of mixed-bloods was 14 and in 1934 it was 13. But in 1935 it was 26 and in 1936 it was 30, thus more than doubling itself in three years and reaching an all time high in 1940 when 34 mixed-bloods were registered." In a census taken in 1936, the full-bloods were shown to have decreased in the previous ten years by 12 per cent while the mixed-bloods had increased 77 per cent (Wright 1948:42).

Generally, this demographic change did not alter the reservation society to any degree. Those members, mostly full-bloods, who maintained a separate life style from that of the wider society continued to avoid those who were oriented toward the wider society. Those mixed-bloods who identified as Indians were accepted as a part of the Ute society. Some of these mixed-bloods played an important role as mediators when the full-bloods found it necessary to deal with the wider society. Thus, the
enrolled membership did not constitute an integrated reservation society. There were wide behavioral and value differences between the mixed-bloods and the full-bloods. Furthermore, the full-bloods, though sharing a similar value orientation, were split by continuing inter-band factionalism.

In summary, the allotment policy failed to make the Utes self-sufficient farmers. It did, however, bring them into the wider economic system, if only marginally. Money became an important part of their life. They learned that they could obtain money to provide for their needs without having to change their way of life. Because work or stable employment disrupted their life style, it was logical that they should seek to obtain money in ways which did not involve work. There is little argument that the Utes succeeded in their endeavors to find alternative means of obtaining money. For most of the years from 1906 to the late 1930's, the Utes had more money, all of it obtained without working, than any other Indian group in North America.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934

The Indian Reorganization Act, passed by Congress in 1934, marked a radical change in government policy toward the Indian. The ultimate goal of assimilation continued, but new policies were established to accomplish this task. The Reorganization Act was an attempt to recreate the
native culture and the aboriginal sense of community which the government had been systematically trying to destroy during the past thirty years. By returning the Indians to former conditions of "tribalism," it was assumed that old social controls and values could be restored. Thus, the government emphasized collectivization and reservation development through self-rule.

To implement this new policy, reservations were provided with the right to incorporate under a federal charter, federal funds were authorized for the purchase of additional land, and a system of federal loans was established. Land allotments to individuals were discontinued, thus avoiding further alienation of reservation holdings. The act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to restore lands which had been ceded to the government during the allotment period if they had not yet been sold. This latter provision entitled the Utes to over 600,000 acres of former reservation land, most of it in the Uncompahgre area.

These provisions were by no means unattractive, particularly those providing for loans and the restoration of former land holdings. But the concept of tribalism and communal ownership appeared almost ludicrous to the Northern Ute. The concept was as foreign to them in 1934 as it had been in pre-reservation times. The only traits the three bands shared were a common native language, the Sun Dance (introduced in 1890), and a
hostility toward whites. Moreover, the social heterogeneity of the reservation was extensive. Among the mixed-bloods, for example, who were oriented toward the wider society, prospects for creating a sense of "Indianhood" were remote. Behavioral and value differences split the reservation politically. Finally, the Utes were strong individualists. Given these conditions, it could have been predicted that the new policy had little chance of success on the Uintah and Ouray reservation.

Nonetheless, the Indian Services pressed their new policy on the Utes. Older Ute informants state that agency personnel never missed an opportunity to discuss the issue in public gatherings. Apparently, only the mixed-bloods and a few of the Uncompahgre favored the policy. The former saw it as an opportunity to borrow money in the proposed tribal-loan program while the latter wished to reoccupy their holdings in the Hill Creek Extension. When the government failed to gain the support of a majority of the Utes, it turned to deceptive means. According to Jones (1955:230):

"... the ratification vote on the Constitution was held on December 19, 1936. In mid-December in this section of Utah most of the roads are blocked by deep snow, and many of the Utes were kept from the polls. My informants told me that agency trucks rounded up those who were favorable to the reorganization, but the full-bloods, who live in the foothills in the winter were not well represented. It passed by a vote of 347 for and 12 against. Whatever the measures used to bring about incorporation,
the Utes now had an extra bureaucracy with which to deal; a bureaucracy that few trusted and fewer understood.

The Ute Constitution, ratified in 1936, had a number of shortcomings. The provision that the Business Committee would consist of six elected members, two from each of the three bands almost guaranteed that factionalism would continue indefinitely. Instead of promoting tribalism, the new structure created a loose confederation of bands. One of the most influential leaders in the development of the early 1960's recently stated that he had never really considered himself a Ute, but an Uncompahgre. Within the Business Committee, decision making has until very recently been tied to the idea of maximizing the position of each member's own band. Moreover, the number of members in each band was never equal. Currently, the Committee members from the Uintah band represent only a couple of hundred people while those from the Uncompahgre represent over a thousand. Hence, a few large families in the Uintah band can now determine which of their members will be elected to office.

Since a vast majority of the reservation members did not support the idea of collectivization, it could not be expected that they would rally to the support of the new tribal structure. Most members demonstrated their antagonism by ignoring elections. For most of the past 30 years, the Business Committee has not, in fact, been representative of the membership. Because any individual
aspiring to office can be elected by commanding as few as 20 votes, a few of the larger families have been able to elect their kinsmen at will. This accounts for the fact that most of the Committee members were mixed-bloods until they were stricken from the tribal roles.

Although, as a rule, full-bloods did not participate in reservation government, they were not completely passive. Proposals to dissolve the political body must have been relatively frequent and the philosophy of collectivization generated resentment, particularly in regard to the Colorado Claims case. The Uncompahgre band did not recognize the Business Committee's authority in the case and did not consider the Colorado land to be the common property of all tribal members. Wilkinsen, who represented the tribe in this case, found himself under continual pressure in this conflict. Wilkinsen (n.d., 157-158) writes of his experiences:

Because of disputes, such as the differences of opinion over division of tribal trust funds ... and the lack of standing of the Uintah Band to share in prospective judgements resulting from the takings in Colorado, proposals to dissolve the Ute Indian Tribe ... were advanced from time to time by members ... During 1942, for instance, there was considerable agitation to bring about this result. Such proposals were again advanced in 1947 and 1948 by one Uncompahgre leader ... We felt compelled, since a dissolution of the Ute Indian Tribe ... would have seriously endangered proper conduct of the Ute litigation, to encourage and persuade the Indians to maintain intact their tribal organization ... when negotiations for settlement reached a stage where it appeared they might be successful, this agitation subsided by virtue of the agreement entered into for division of tribal trust funds.
It is clear that the long litigation in this suit was a major factor in preventing the dissolution of the Business Committee during the first fifteen years of its existence. The activities of the Committee were relatively restricted through the Depression and World War II because of the lack of available tribal funds. During this period it concentrated on increasing the tribal land holdings by purchasing individual allotments. When individuals incurred debts to the tribe for the use of irrigation water or for the clearing and digging of irrigation canals, they were forced to sell their land to the tribe to clear their debts (Jones 1955:233). This heavy-handed pressure did not serve to improve the image of the Business Committee among hostile Utes. Rather than farm and attempt to make a marginal profit over and above what they had to pay for water charges, most owners chose to lease their allotments to the tribe and non-Indians.

In these years of limited tribal funds, the agency superintendent did not allow the self-rule promised under the Indian Reorganization Act. He vetoed all economic innovations he thought to be inappropriate. As Lang (1954:384) noted, "The idea that learning takes place by making mistakes was alien to him; and he had to make 'good reports' to his superiors."

In summary, the government policy in the 1930's and 1940's was based on the conviction that the Utes would achieve economic self-sufficiency if provided with the
the opportunity to recreate their aboriginal communal life. It was assumed that self-rule would restore old social controls and generate economic and social innovations, and that development would occur through tribal enterprise. Of course, a sense of tribalism did not evolve among the Ute in the 1930's. They were too individualistic to think in terms of collective ownership. The governing unit, the Business Committee, neither won the support of the tribal members nor achieved full decision-making powers. Most Utes ignored it and the agency superintendent maintained strict supervision over its actions. The informal political structures in the separate communities continued in spite of the new formal structure.

Economic Conditions Prior to 1951

While the government was attempting to encourage economic development through tribal self-government, some of the Utes were making individual or collective innovations on their own. For example three cattle associations were chartered during this period. The Uncompahgre started the first one in 1938 and steadily added capital improvements throughout the 1940's. By 1951, this association owned 40 quality bulls, modern scales, and several corrals valued at over $19,000 (Jorgensen 1964:221). During the 1940's associations were established by the Uintahs and the Whiterivers in the north end of the
reservation and by mixed-bloods in the west end of the reservation. The several families who owned a few head of cattle could have them grazed in these associations with minimal effort.

During World War II, employment opportunities increased for the Utes. Over one hundred of the young men served in the armed forces. Many individuals too old to serve in the military sought employment off the reservation. Twenty per cent of those interviewed in the random sample indicated they had relocated in urban centers for short periods of time to work in the war industry. Farm prices and production increased in the Basin. Local farmers and ranchers hired those who remained on the reservation. In general, the economic situation of the Basin improved. About the only problems the Utes were having during this time were with the food rationing. Several informants recalled that they "just couldn't keep those food stamps straight." Some of the Ute communities maintained common garden plots to relieve their food shortage.

After the war, the Utes returned to the high unemployment rates of the previous decade. Some of the veterans took advantage of the farm training provided under the G.I. Bill; others settled into their old life of visiting with relatives, drinking, and gambling (Lang 1954:95). Fewer than twenty per cent of the Utes were employed. Tribal employment, when available, was open only to men with job experience and formal training. Others
seeking work had to seek casual labor on local farms or in construction. There was little desire to join the massive immigration of the white population. Although Lang (1953:46) states that the Utes were too emotionally involved with the reservation to emigrate, it is a fact that many Utes did relocate during World War II. Their decision to return to and to remain on the reservation, even under severe economic stress, was probably based on the growing expectation that the tribe was about to receive a large award in the Colorado Claim case.

In 1950 Lang surveyed the Whiterocks community. Although Lang (1953:39) admits that his informants tended to under-report their incomes, he believes that his data is probably representative of the full-blood population. Therefore, Table II, based on Lang's survey, is probably a reasonable estimation of the full-bloods' economic activity in 1949.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE II</th>
<th>FAMILY INCOME FOR 1949</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOURCE OF INCOME</strong></td>
<td><strong>HOLDING REPORTING PER HOUSEHOLD</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of livestock</td>
<td>$564.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of crops</td>
<td>$167.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leases and permits</td>
<td>$129.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>$1,196.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil royalties &amp; leased</td>
<td>$52.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (i.e. pensions)</td>
<td>$1,360.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, living conditions reflected the low income. In most seasons the diet was adequate since deer and fish were in abundant supply. Also, most families still maintained gardens and collected and preserved wild berries. The tribe supplied families with coal for cooking and heating and delivered government surplus food commodities such as butter, potatoes and cheese during the winter months. Late 1940's, although it had improved over 32-39) reports that only 43 per cent of the Indian homes
dressing," usually in western-style clothing. In 1949, most of the payments from oil royalties were spent for clothing, a practice that is still common. In 1970, a local merchant sold over 100 pairs of western boots on the very day that Ute families received $75.00 payments. The school-clothing allowance paid to each of the families in September goes directly for that purpose. Since Ute children are in direct competition with the whites, their parents see they are well dressed. The emphasis on dressing well apparently has not changed in two decades.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE OF INCOME</th>
<th>NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING</th>
<th>AVERAGE AMOUNT PER HOUSEHOLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sale of livestock</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>$884.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of crops</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>167.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leases and permits</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>129.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,056.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil royalties &amp; leases</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>582.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (i.e. pensions)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,360.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average income per household</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,525.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excessively poor housing was the major reservation problem in the late 1940's, although it had improved over the dirt-floor cabins typical of the early 1930's. In his analysis of the housing situation, Lang (1953: 32-39) reports that only 43 per cent of the Indian homes
were considered good in the sense that they had doors, windows, and insulation to protect their inhabitants against the elements. Another 31 per cent of the families occupied dwellings which were constructed of logs or clapboard or were refurbished government-surplus shacks. In many of these dwellings there were no floors, windows were boarded over, and the log chinking was in bad repair. Other families, 17 per cent, lived in tents or poor log cabins, 90 per cent of which had inadequate facilities. For example, water had to be carried from streams or ditches as far as five miles away. Incidentally, the quality of this water supply was considered questionable as far back as 1932. Wood stoves provided heat and means for cooking.

Moreover, Lang noted that the full-bloods showed little interest in the improvement and maintenance of their homes. For example, although the Rural Electrification Program had provided electricity for most of the whites and mixed-bloods in the Basin, only a few of the full-bloods bothered with this new convenience, even though many were directly on the power line. Utes who maintained aboriginal customs usually burned or abandoned houses in which a death had occurred. Some of the lack of interest in housing may have arisen from the fact that the Utes were unsettled. Several families were in the process of moving closer to the communities of White-rocks and Randlett.
The household furnishings and equipment varied a great deal in terms of value and amount. Most of the furnishings had been purchased with the funds from the Colorado Claims settlement in 1933. Sixty per cent of the households reported owning machinery of various types. A majority possessed a washing machine and/or a sewing machine. Only a few households owned agricultural machinery, attesting to the fact that few participated in this activity. Some 59 per cent owned automobiles and 55 per cent owned horses, which also provided means of transportation.

The average Ute family owed his creditors $270 but the mode was closer to $40. Those who had a greater net worth were usually the individuals most heavily in debt. The full-bloods had few available sources of credit outside the tribal fund. Some of these families maintained credit at the local trading post. Little business was transacted outside the Indian communities.

**Summary**

In summary, the economic situation had not changed appreciably during the first half of this century. The government had provided individual allotments, extension education, irrigation systems, and direct grants of investment capital. The Utes owned 53,334 acres of the best land in the Basin, yet only 4,000 acres of this land were being farmed by Utes in 1946 (Dale 1947:250). Most
of the 5,000 head of cattle owned by Indians was herded by a few cowboys in the cattle cooperatives. The bulk of the reservation population was gaining its subsistence from gardens, hunting and fishing, casual labor on local ranches, craft work, land leases, and public assistance. In the late 1940's, it became apparent that several Congressmen and federal administrators were changing their attitudes toward government involvement in Indian affairs. In the early 1950's this attitude was more explicit. In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated its voluntary relocation program in which Indians were assisted in moving to urban areas. In 1953, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 103, announcing its intention to terminate Indians from special ward status as soon as possible. It is possible that the passage of this Resolution was somewhat encouraged by the large financial awards that several tribes had received in the 1940's (Brophy and Aborle 1965:28). Moreover, several tribes had suits pending in the new U.S. Indian Claims Commission created in 1946. It was not unreasonable to assume that large settlements would facilitate assimilation of the wider society," a goal the government had been unable to achieve in the previous 45 years.

The anticipation toward the end of the 1940's must have been electrifying - $18 million was about to be given to a poverty-ridden community of just over 1,500 people. This sum, the government assumed, would make the Indians totally self-sufficient and "productive members of the wider society," a goal the government had been unable to achieve in the previous 45 years.
CHAPTER IV

Unearned Income and Individual Spending

In the late 1940's, it became apparent that several Congressmen and federal administrators were changing their attitudes toward government involvement in Indian affairs. In the early 1950's this attitude was more explicit. In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated its voluntary relocation program in which Indians were assisted in moving to urban areas. In 1953, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, announcing its intention to terminate Indians from special ward status as soon as possible. It is possible that the passage of this Resolution was somewhat encouraged by the large financial awards that several tribes had received in the 1940's (Brophy and Aberle 1966:28). Moreover, several tribes had suits pending in the new U.S. Indian Claims Commission created in 1946. It was not unreasonable to assume that large settlements would facilitate assimilation.

In view of the recent literature in anti-poverty research, it is still clear that laymen and scholars alike assume that changes in economic conditions lead directly to changes in behavior (Liebow 1967, Rainwater 1966, Roach 1967). Other than the large payments made to Indians, there have been no tests of this hypothesis. As Moynihan (1968:26) points out, "There is hardly two
bits worth of reliable information as to how changes in income change individual styles of life." This chapter describes the manner in which the Northern Utes received supplementary income payments, how the money was spent, and the immediate effect the money had on the Utes.

On July 13, 1950, the Final Judgement (117 C. Cls. pp. 433-442) on the Colorado Claims Case was passed down, concluding fifteen years of effort by the tribal lawyers for the Confederate Bands of Utes. Congress responded to the U.S. Court of Claims judgement by awarding the Affiliated Ute Bands $31,460,216.84. The money was placed in the U.S. Treasury until a plan for its disposition could be worked out by the tribe to the satisfaction of Congress.

Devising a plan proved to be no small task for the divided Ute reservation population. As mentioned in the proceeding chapter, the long court case had intensified the reservation factionalism. The Uncompahgre had never accepted the idea that the Uintahs, the Southern Utes, and the Ute Mountain Utes received any share of the money. Even though the court had rendered its judgement on the condition that the award would be shared by all Utah and Colorado bands, the Uncompahgre were not ready to yield their position. Also, the governing tribal body, the Business Committee, had little influence among the reservation members. In general, each individual wanted his share of the funds without any restrictions
on how he would spend it. Nor were the members interested in any "socialistic" programs, as they described them.

The Business Committee, following the advice of the superintendent, appointed a Planning Board headed by a Planning Officer. This position was filled by a college-educated Uncompahgre who later became an influential leader in the development projects. The Planning Board, which consisted of members from all the reservation factions, was resolute in its demand for immediate cash. Finally, after six months of intensive pressure, it made its recommendation for a spending program. The tribe accepted this program in April, 1951. Congress authorized payment, not to exceed one third of the original sum, in August of the same year.

The first plan, referred to as the Three Year Plan, was a response to Indian pressure rather than a carefully formulated design for development. Over $1.6 million of the $4 million appropriated by Congress was to be allocated to individuals in per capita payments. The remaining amount was to be used in the further purchase and improvement of land, a tribal credit program, a general rehabilitation of tribal facilities, and adult education (Ute Tribe 1951). The per capita payments were to "bring relief to the impoverished Ute Indians who are suffering from lack of proper nourishment, adequate clothing and housing; and secondly, to raise standards of living for the Ute Indians in order that they may regain their
self-confidence, respect and dignity" (Ute Tribe 1951). The man who served as Planning Officer at this time recently indicated that it was his desire to give the Indians as much money as possible in order to create a "taste for the good life." He assumed that if the Utes became accustomed to consuming goods at a level equal to that of the wider society, they would be motivated to seek employment when the payments ended. His motive was to pave the way for a long-range development plan.

Each adult was given a $1,000 payment in October 1951. An additional payment was given each year for the next three years. During this same period, the tribe received $3,700,000 in mineral royalties, which were distributed in various per capita payments amounting to over $3,535 in 1952 and 1953. An equal amount of money was deposited in the accounts of minors to be administered by the tribe and disbursed at regular intervals throughout the school year. It did not take long for the adults to turn to these accounts as their own money became exhausted. The children's accounts were released in 1952, providing most families with an additional $5,000.

Individual accounts were rapidly dissipated for the following reasons: (1) There were few full-blood Utes, if any, who had any perception of how much they were actually worth. Lang's sophisticated interpreter (1961/62:167) asked him to explain the difference between $1,000 and $10,000. A woman stated that she thought the
Colorado Claims money was going to "last forever." (2) The tribal members were subjected to intense sales pressure by non-Indians backed by offers of liberal credit. Salesmen came from as far away as Salt Lake City to sell their products to the Utes. (3) The Utes possess an enormous capacity to waste money, a trait they share with other economically poor groups (Banfield 1968:126; Liebow 1967:64). (4) No effort was made by the tribe to limit the size of the per capita payments or to space them in such a manner as to permit the individual to budget his credit payments.

Actual records were not maintained by the tribe or agency to account for individual spending during the short-range program and information obtained from informants today tends to be less than reliable. Non-Indians tend to recall only exaggerated incidences of wild spending and Utes are vague about their personal experiences. The Utes blame the tribal administrators, especially the Planning Officer, for "wasting their money on development programs." Some make it sound as if they never received a nickel of the Colorado judgement money. Therefore, this writer has had to lean heavily on Lang's description of Ute spending patterns. One of the best accounts is a letter to Lang (1954:201) from the White-rocks Trader, dated December 1953. It reads as follows:

Most of what I will say deals with this community generally and might be called what the average Ute of White-rocks did.
First: He paid up his outstanding debts. In this connection I would like to elaborate a little. Every Ute Indian listed in my active account ledger paid up in full. He did this entirely because he wanted to. There was no coercion in any form. The checks were delivered to the Indians at a place removed from any outside influence.

Second: The average Ute went to town and bought a car. Of course you realize that I am not including the aged or children in this category, however, a considerable amount of money belonging to the aged and to the children was spent in the purchase of the car. These cars ranged from new passenger cars and trucks to junk-pile jalopies. Some of the Indians were stung by the more experienced used car salesmen. For the most part, however, I am happy to report the cars were worth the money charged.

Third: Clothing. This category includes shawls, and robes but not blankets used on beds. The Utes in this area are better dressed and have more warm and good clothing than I can ever remember their having before.

Fourth: Furniture and stoves (including washing machines and other laundry equipment). The Utes spent a sizeable amount of money for this class of goods. It is interesting to note that the women bought practically all of this category. My experience shows that every sale of this class of merchandise was made to the women.

Fifth: Housing. This was done by both men and women. This covers completely new houses, remodeled houses and enlarged houses and repairs to their existing houses.

Sixth: Beds and bedding. I noticed particularly a strong desire for beds and pillows. This was mostly done by the women. There appears to be a desire to move the bed from its old place as a pallet on the floor to a modern bedstead with pillows and sheets and bedspread.

Seventh: Novelties and firearms. This was mostly done by the younger set. Both men and women included rifles, pistols, wrist watches, cigarette lighters, jewelry, fountain pens, etc.

I believe that some people were disappointed that the Utes spent very little on farm equip and very little on livestock and did practically nothing to improve their fences and outbuildings. However, I find in talking with different ones that this has not been forgotten entirely. Most of those with whom I talked plan to do that with their money borrowed from the tribe at a later date. They all understand that there will be
money available for that later.

I would like to mention here that the categories I have listed are not in order according to the amount of money spent. They are in order of the time element. In other words, chronologically.

If they were to be arranged in order according to the amount of money spent, cars would be first, furniture second, clothing third, housing fourth, debts fifth, beds and bedding sixth and novelties and firearms seventh.

You will note that I did not make a category for groceries. I purposely omitted this because I can see no change in their eating habits. They are buying a little more meat and higher priced groceries but they had to eat anyway and they still buy the same things.

There are quite a number of radios sold and while I failed to mention them in the furniture category, this is where I included them.

A week ago today I attended a meeting of the Tribal Business Committee and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Fort Duschesne. At that time there was less than four hundred thousand left on deposit of the per capita money. This was out of the original amount of $1,665,000. In other words the Utes were about broke.

Time only will tell what will happen when the money is all gone and they can no longer get succor from the state welfare, and tribal relief rolls. There is yet the bright spot of an oil royalty payment of about $40 per capita in March or April and an interest payment of two hundred dollars per capita next summer some time. With spending of the oil fields it may be that they will not suffer too much before they finally get enough to really get on their feet.

It is evident that members of households were not pooling their payments as they had done in the past. Each individual, regardless of age or sex, was financially independent of other household members. Cash was available for the individual to dispose of as his will dictated.

When a man found his family independent of his support, it is understandable that he would no longer wish to continue in his marginal job. Although he lost status as the
family head, he could gain status within his peer groups through the purchase of material goods, especially passenger cars and pickup trucks. It was reported that one man bought seven automobiles in one year.

Drinking also played a major role in the male peer-group relationships. Evidently it was a means of communicating to other Indians that a man was "one of the boys." Considerable sums were spent by each adult male for this purpose as the following Ute Tribal Report (1954) suggests:

Law and order problems have greatly increased during the three year period (1951-1954). The purchases of automobiles increased the violations incident to drunken driving and other violations of traffic laws. With the increase in the available money for car purchases, distances became shorter and many Indians left the reservation to purchase alcoholic beverages.

... Total fines assessed in seven different courts were in the amount of $23,749.00, of which $15,360.65 was for intoxication, drunkenness, drunken driving, or disturbing the peace.

Admittedly, arrest records are not the most reliable index of drinking rates, but the tribal administrator did admit the problem of excessive drinking. A breakdown of all fines paid by Utes from 1952 through 1957 is offered in Table III. It is estimated that 70 per cent of these fines were related to drinking.

The Ute full-bloods demonstrated an unlimited capacity to waste money. Generally, no attempt was made to budget the unearned income. Nor was there any effort made to maximize a dollar's value by shopping for the best
## TABLE III
FINES PAID BY UTE INDIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duchesne City</td>
<td>$700.00</td>
<td>$405.00</td>
<td>$490.00</td>
<td>$530.00</td>
<td>$675.00</td>
<td>$460.00</td>
<td>$3,340.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duchesne County</td>
<td>2,017.50</td>
<td>1,905.00</td>
<td>1,080.00</td>
<td>968.15</td>
<td>1,832.58</td>
<td>3,251.50</td>
<td>11,154.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myton City</td>
<td>330.00</td>
<td>385.00</td>
<td>370.00</td>
<td>1,162.50</td>
<td>655.00</td>
<td>355.00</td>
<td>3,857.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uintah County</td>
<td>4,248.00</td>
<td>6,941.00</td>
<td>3,432.50</td>
<td>3,467.00</td>
<td>2,441.00</td>
<td>5,618.00</td>
<td>26,147.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernal City</td>
<td>1,732.50</td>
<td>1,892.00</td>
<td>298.00</td>
<td>1,300.00</td>
<td>1,325.00</td>
<td>1,076.00</td>
<td>7,623.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ute Tribe</td>
<td>9,490.21</td>
<td>12,926.11</td>
<td>13,385.12</td>
<td>7,583.63</td>
<td>10,499.60</td>
<td>53,880.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8,152.60</td>
<td>7,421.50</td>
<td>11,324.00</td>
<td>27,897.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$9,108.00</td>
<td>$21,818.21</td>
<td>$18,598.61</td>
<td>$29,964.77</td>
<td>$22,033.63</td>
<td>$33,178.10</td>
<td>$132,981.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Witherspoon, Younger T. 1961: 50a
bargain. For example, one employee in the Tribal Assistance Office reported that one man applied for relief just eight months after his household had received $7,300. When he was asked to account for the money, he was able to recall spending $400 for car repairs, another $1,000 for food, and the rest on clothing and other miscellaneous expenses (Lang, personal communication). Frequently, large items such as refrigerators and washing machines were bought on impulse without consideration for long-term needs.

Furthermore, there was little attempt to keep a new purchase in working condition. Children were often allowed to play with household equipment until it could no longer operate. Under such circumstances, the companies selling the item would not honor the guarantees. As Lang (1953:37) described it, "One cannot fail to observe that all the objects which had been bought . . . were badly scratched and poorly repaired, if repaired at all." Even today, after several years of experience with consumer goods, some Utes do not bother to keep their purchases in operating condition. Automobiles, for example, are rarely serviced.

The local merchants contributed to Ute spending by over-extending credit in the anticipation that more per capita payments would be forthcoming. The Utes were allowed to run up enormous debts in establishments that had previously denied them any credit. In addition to
this credit, tribal members were able to obtain credit through the tribal loan fund. Although this fund had been created to encourage investments in productive enterprises, many of the full-bloods borrowed to buy additional consumer goods. Consequently, the actual amount spent during the first three years must have run much higher than the actual $4,135 each individual received in unearned income.

The extent of personal debt is described in the following Ute report to Congress (Ute Tribe 1954):

Though individual income is high for the last three years, many are in financial difficulty at the present time. Many Indians with their new-found income spent their money unwisely. Many could not resist sales pressures and bought things that were not essential. Many were caught in the squeeze that non-Indians have experienced in borrowing during periods of high prices and trying to repay during periods of low prices . . .

An indication of the inability of the Indian to pay off his loans and other debts, principally among the full-blood group, is partially shown hereunder. The Internal Revenue Bureau reports that delinquent Federal Income taxes . . . is in the amount of $7,112. Our credit report shows that ninety-six full-blood borrowers owe delinquent loan payments in the amount of $54,862 or an average of $571, and 44 mixed-blood members are delinquent in the amount of $18,846 for an average of $428 . . .

The Ute's trading post indicates that unpaid bills amount to $25,000 and is increasing at about $2,000 per month. Twelve Indians owe $813 in bills at the Vernal Hospital and 121 owe $6,272 at the Roosevelt Hospital. No record of amounts owed physicians or amounts owed to grocers or merchants within our vicinity is tabulated at this time, but one exceptional grocery bill of $2200 is reported from Vernal. Automobile contracts for 1953 amounted to $187,262 in the latter part of 1953. We are beseeched with requests
for subsistence help. Merchants and commercial concerns are clamoring for payments on outstanding bills. Cars are being repossessed. The situation is serious on the part of the Indian and the merchant who over-extended credit. Accumulated assets among the Indians have generally not kept pace with accumulated liabilities.

Although the first program ended in 1954, it was necessary for the tribe to issue additional per capita payments, totaling $2,400 in the next two years to allow its members to pay off their debts. It also had to provide families without any income with emergency subsistence.

In summary, the Three Year Program had eradicated poverty among the Utes in the sense that they did not lack money or material possessions during the duration of the program. It did not, however, move them any closer to self-sufficiency. Hence, many members had to apply for tribal relief as soon as their payments were exhausted.

Conflict and Planning

Before the emergency program ended in mid-1954, planning had begun on the long-range plan in which the remaining Colorado Claims judgement funds were to be spent. Conflict over how the money was to be handled commenced almost immediately. The rank and file members were not ready to accept any proposal just to obtain ready cash. The full-bloods, in particular the Uncompahgre, were resentful of the mixed-bloods, who had received a
disproportionate share of the benefits in the short-range program. The mixed-bloods had utilized the tribal credit fund to increase their cattle herds and to start new businesses. They had benefitted from tribal improvements on reservation land. Moreover, the mixed-bloods had used their unearned income to move off the reservation into the white communities with which they identified (Lang 1961/62:166). The Uncompahgres resented having to share any more of the Colorado Claims money with the mixed-bloods. Consequently, they boycotted the planning sessions until they were assured that the new program would either terminate the tribal membership of the mixed-bloods or at least rectify the inequalities in fund distribution.

The full-bloods in the other bands joined ranks with the Uncompahgre to remove the mixed-bloods from the tribe. In the spring of 1954, the full-bloods and the mixed-bloods agreed by a democratic vote to divide the tribal assets. The agreement was finalized by Congress on August 27, 1954 in Public Law 671 (68 Stat. 868). To carry out the provision of this law, the 490 mixed-bloods formed a state chartered corporation called the Ute Distribution Corporation to manage the 27 per cent of the tribal assets they received as their share. This share included capital funds, land with sub-surface rights, and a share of any future claims settlements. After ten years, the mixed-bloods were to be formally terminated from federal supervision. The legal problems which have followed this
partition are discussed in another paper (Collins, in preparation). It is important to note here that the mixed-blood corporation, in spite of the fact that nearly 75 per cent of its stock is currently owned by non-Indians, maintains a significant share of all tribal mineral royalties.

This partition act had ramifications for the remaining 1,340 full-bloods. It stated:

Within three months after the date of enactment of this Act, the business committee . . . shall present to the Secretary a development program supporting, without any special Government assistance, a view of eventually terminating all federal supervision of the tribe and its members (68 stat 877).

The tribe had no alternative but to devise a long-range development plan with the ultimate goal of achieving self-sufficiency and termination.

It took the tribe two years longer than the time specified in the partition act to devise a long-range plan, even with the assistance of the Washington Management Planning Division. The budget set up for the program called for an expenditure of $10,500,000, of which $8,200,000 was to be utilized in the implementation of family development (Bennett 1961/62:162).

A segment of the long-range plan, referred to as The Family Plan, was submitted and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on December 14, 1956. The purpose of this new program was to aid Indian families by helping them to (1) manage money, (2) recognize that economic
and social stability is the consequence of stable employment, (3) assume responsibility for the health, education, livelihood and well-being of their families, (4) acquire the basic skills and knowledge required of the responsible person, and (5) obtain the most constructive and beneficial use of money derived from their tribal heritage (Bennett 1961/62:162).

An initial per capita payment of $500 was made in 1957 and another $4,000 was deposited in the Individual Indian Money Account of each member. The use of the latter sum was to be judicially supervised by agency and tribal administrators. Funds belonging to minors were to be withdrawn by parents only, with the consent of the superintendent. Furthermore, all adult funds were to be relinquished only through checks drawn to the firm or organization that supplied goods or rendered services to the purchaser.

The restriction on payments was not new to the Utes. The reader will recall that a similar arrangement had been attempted in 1933 and failed. The Family Plan, however, was carried out under different circumstances. Each individual received, and for the most part spent $6,595 in unearned income within a five-year period. It was assumed that the Indians had previously satisfied their personal needs and were now prepared to concentrate on investments which would lead to future solvency. Table IV, taken from a tribal report in 1959 (adapted from
### TABLE IV

**TOTAL EXPENDITURE FROM FAMILY PLAN FUNDS**

For Periods Ending June 30, 1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. F. Loans</td>
<td>$426,284.48</td>
<td>$6,836.94</td>
<td>$8,743.93</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$441,865.35</td>
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<td>Other Loans</td>
<td>34,237.92</td>
<td>7,570.00</td>
<td>1,695.35</td>
<td>919.02</td>
<td>44,332.29</td>
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<td>Tribal &amp; Gov't Bills</td>
<td>39,867.67</td>
<td>1,522.61</td>
<td>684.00</td>
<td>493.70</td>
<td>41,767.98</td>
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<td>Debts to Local Merchants</td>
<td>184,706.16</td>
<td>18,191.84</td>
<td>5,874.09</td>
<td>735.82</td>
<td>209,507.91</td>
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<td>Home Construction</td>
<td>58,594.31</td>
<td>39,019.20</td>
<td>43,559.60</td>
<td>65,523.89</td>
<td>209,497.63</td>
<td>.0660</td>
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<td>Home Remodeling</td>
<td>45,973.80</td>
<td>27,779.52</td>
<td>52,050.39</td>
<td>16,558.26</td>
<td>142,390.97</td>
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<td>Furniture &amp; Appliances</td>
<td>152,056.94</td>
<td>25,415.17</td>
<td>20,179.18</td>
<td>11,517.60</td>
<td>209,288.89</td>
<td>.0659</td>
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<td>Farm Machinery</td>
<td>52,938.13</td>
<td>3,425.50</td>
<td>645.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>57,008.63</td>
<td>.0181</td>
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<td>Passenger Cars</td>
<td>191,695.87</td>
<td>16,147.23</td>
<td>4,972.91</td>
<td>4,703.50</td>
<td>184,200.95</td>
<td>.0581</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trucks &amp; Pickups</td>
<td>176,894.15</td>
<td>5,050.49</td>
<td>1,340.16</td>
<td>916.15</td>
<td>184,200.95</td>
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<td>Livestock</td>
<td>55,466.16</td>
<td>30,942.37</td>
<td>4,097.00</td>
<td>3,553.57</td>
<td>94,059.60</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>19,703.37</td>
<td>775.83</td>
<td>264.15</td>
<td>353.25</td>
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<td>Dentist &amp; Doctor</td>
<td>20,238.54</td>
<td>4,514.50</td>
<td>1,853.69</td>
<td>1,401.00</td>
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<td>3,889.63</td>
<td>2,529.07</td>
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<td>21,995.64</td>
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<td>Unrestricted Expenditures</td>
<td>306,700.86</td>
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<td>31,177.01</td>
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<td>Education Insurance</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>9,742.51</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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<td>15,907.61</td>
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<td>Section 22</td>
<td>363,004.52</td>
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<td>60,349.92</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$2,294,420.79</td>
<td>$414,780.60</td>
<td>$285,761.49</td>
<td>$178,502.67</td>
<td>$3,173,465.55</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Witherspoon 1961:50), shows how the Family Plan payments were spent.

The first four items in Table IV, representing 23 per cent of the total expenditures, were repayments on debts incurred during a short-range program. For example, all bills for the irrigation system and tribal loans for relief and assistance were collected. A number of families purchased new homes or remodeled their old homes. Nearly 10 per cent of the total amount was used to purchase automobiles and pickup trucks in the first year of the program. Furniture and appliances constituted another major portion. It is apparent that the Utes were using Family Plan payments to obtain cash since most families had already purchased such items in the earlier program. A number of informants stated that individuals obtained checks for appliances in Roosevelt, and then transported them to Vernal where they were uncrated and resold on the same day.

Nearly 70 per cent of the individual adult accounts were spent during the first year of the program. In effect, the restricted or guided spending policy had not influenced Indian attitudes toward the use of funds. Again, very little was invested in a way which would insure future solvency.

There were alternatives or opportunities for investment, particularly in agriculture. The tribe owned 901,665 acres of grazing land. In addition, there were
56,061 acres of irrigable land on the reservation on which 44,609 acres were owned by individuals. In 1956 only 30,757 acres were being farmed, while 25,304 acres stood idle (Jorgensen 1964:217) although the debts on this land had been paid, and most of it had been prepared for farming. It should be noted that many Utes possessed agricultural skills received in training under the GI Bill of Rights after World War II.

According to Jorgensen (1964:218), under the Family Plan, the number of Ute farmers actually dwindled from thirty-seven in 1955 to only eleven in the early 1960's. These same eleven people had additional full-time jobs in the tribal bureaucracy. Perhaps this figure would not be important if 48 per cent of Lang's sample had not indicated a preference for employment in agriculture. In the 1970 sample, 60 per cent of the Utes preferred agriculture to steady employment with regular hours. In other words, if the Utes had been interested in attaining future self-sufficiency, investment in agricultural enterprise would have presented an attractive opportunity.

Witherspoon (1961:51) sized up the situation as follows: "The majority of the Ute at the present time [1960] are not only unemployed but they are not interested in finding employment. The majority of those who will work keep a job only until the next per capita payment or until their immediate wants are satisfied."

In spite of repeated warnings by the tribal
government and the Agency superintendent that there would be no more payments, the adults had exhausted their individual accounts by the end of 1959. It is clear that many Utes thought that they could obtain more per capita payments by pressuring their leaders. As one individual commented, "If the Business Committee was not getting us per capita, then we thought they weren't doing their job."

However, political pressure was ineffective in the early 1960's because little was left of the Colorado Claims judgement money to distribute. In short, the tribe was nearly broke. Tribal revenue from the mineral royalties was less than $90,000 a year during this period (Nelson 1965:53). The Business Committee had no alternative but to revoke the Family Plan in 1959.

When the adults learned that they would receive no further payments, they turned to the accounts of their children. Table V indicates that these accounts had been used previously by adults to purchase homes during the Family Plan program. Jorgensen (1964:209) investigated 55 of these accounts in 1960 and found that on the average, $4,200 remained of the original $11,036. After 1957, the Superintendent had taken a firm stand against the use of these accounts for any reason. This policy caused considerable aggravation among the Indians. Even today it is difficult for some parents to understand why they must seek public assistance when their children have money in their accounts. This controversy is frequently
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. F. Loans</td>
<td>$ 86,601.38</td>
<td>$ 4,000.00</td>
<td>$ 486.95</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$ 91,088.33</td>
<td>.1749</td>
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<td>Home, Land &amp; Business Purchases</td>
<td>53,533.00</td>
<td>57,434.75</td>
<td>57,152.89</td>
<td>11,807.98</td>
<td>144,926.62</td>
<td>.2782</td>
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discussed in public meetings and is used as an example by some full-bloods of their mistreatment by the government.

In summary, the Family Plan did not bring the Ute full-bloods any closer to economic self-sufficiency. The $4,500 payments had raised the total amount received by each individual to $11,036 in less than seven years. The Utes had acquired material possessions and a few new homes, but little or no long-term economic change had been achieved. Indeed, 69 reservation families had to seek tribal assistance in October 1960, just one year after the Family Plan had ended (Nelson 1965:51).

Summary

It would be unfair to conclude that the events of the 1950's had no positive effects on the reservation society. The increased income had provided the members greater exposure to the dominant society. The new automobiles and extra cash had permitted most of the Ute families to take extended trips throughout the Western states. Most families had purchased television sets shortly after the media was introduced to the region in 1956. Tribal-sponsored recreation activities had brought Indians of all ages into closer contact with the local white population. By the end of the decade, it was no longer adequate to speak of reservation members as an isolated enclave of the wider society.

It is evident that the tribe had not realized the
economic goal of self-sufficiency. It is equally evident, however, that this goal had been proposed by government administrators, not by the reservation members. For the most part, the Indian used his unearned income to more fully implement his own aspirations and to improve his life style, not change it. Perhaps Kenneth Boulding (1961:51) perceived the essence of the Ute situation when he stated:

One suspects that a certain amount of the poverty of the hillbilly or the subsistence farmer, and even perhaps of the urban slum dweller... involves the rejection of the whole middle-class way of life rather than the inability to find opportunities.

When the Family Plan ended in mid-1959, the Utes had to shift their emphasis to collective economic development. The prospects for success in this endeavor were not bright, for a number of reasons. The reservation unemployment rate was running over 70 per cent. Moreover, the State of Utah was interested in obtaining the unused reservation land for commercial development. The tribal Business Committee had no choice but to make plans for rapid economic development, and then they had to implement them with limited finances. This chapter describes the tribal efforts to develop the reservation economy in the 1960's, the political conflict under which the decisions were made, and the influence of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

In the 1950's, few expenditures were made which added directly to tribal profits. Instead, the Business Committee invested in what may be called social overhead. Since the emphasis was on individual or family development, the tribe had concentrated on education and training programs, recreation, and family services. Multi-purpose gymnasiums were built in each of the communities of Cutler, Whiterock, and Randleton. An outdoor swimming pool was built in Fort
CHAPTER V

Tribal Economic Development in the 1960's

When the Family Plan ended in mid-1959, the Utes had to shift their emphasis to collective economic development. The prospects for success in this endeavor were not bright, for a number of reasons. The reservation unemployment rate was running over 70 per cent. Moreover, the State of Utah was interested in obtaining the unused reservation water rights because so few of the Indians were engaged in agriculture. The State Division of Fish and Game wanted to open the Hill Creek Extension to public recreation. The tribal Business Committee had no choice but to make plans for rapid economic development, and then they had to implement them with limited finances.

This chapter describes the tribal efforts to develop the reservation economy in the 1960's, the political conflict under which the decisions were made, and the influence of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

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Several special facilities were constructed for the Department of Fish and Game. Two fully equipped youth camps were built in the mountains. Street lights and water and sewage systems were installed in Randlett and Fort Duchesne. Tribal money was used to support an excellent newspaper and athletic programs. These were all necessary expenditures and quite rational in view of the economic emphasis placed on individual development. However, the Family Plan had not been successful. A new approach was necessary, but convincing the general membership that corporate development was the rational alternative proved to be a difficult task.

Political Conflict

Since the 1954 Partition Act, the Ute tribe had been formally governed by only full-blood members. For the most part, the positions on the Business Committee were filled with articulate and relatively highly-skilled members of the tribe. As one disenchanted Ute described it, "When we got rid of the mixed-bloods, the mixed-blood oriented full-bloods took over the committee." A few Committee members did not fit this mold. For example, some spoke no English and had no formal education. However, these members did not understand the complex problems of reservation management and hence were powerless to influence Committee decisions. The mixed-blood oriented group became the decision makers in the late 1950's. In
particular, the Planning Officer, who was now the Tribal Chairman, became the major influence in economic development. One candidate said, "Wasteful programs." The general membership was still divided along traditional band lines, the Uintahs and the Whiterivers of the north, against the larger Uncompahgre group in the south. However, these factions did not oppose each other on all issues. For example, all members wanted to divide the rest of the reservation resources and were generally opposed to development programs financed with tribal funds. In fact, tribal spending became so intense an issue that it led to open rebellion. In 1961, a reactionary faction calling itself The True Utes (the name was intended to mean those Uintahs who occupied the reservation before 1880), marched on the tribal offices and physically removed the Business Committee. It occupied the tribal offices for two days to demonstrate its opposition to the tribal spending programs.

The reactionary faction was somewhat intimidated by the legal action which followed its rebellion, but this action did not make the faction any less vocal. One of its leaders recalls that the Business Committee threatened to terminate his tribal membership. He answered them with a counter-threat to terminate the Committee members. As he put it, "We are the real Indians, they ain't."

This faction has continued to be the major source of opposition to the Business Committee. The per capita
payments issue is still its major focus. It supports at least one candidate in every tribal election who campaigns against spending and "wasteful programs." One candidate said, "The only way to get these people to listen is to talk about money. That's all that is important."

There is no question that this faction has influenced economic planning. Even today, the Business Committee is reluctant to make any decision which involves expenditures from the tribal fund. It is conservative and will not back any economic proposal which involves any degree of chance. Recently the Committee was considering an offer to locate a carpet plant on the reservation. The firm making the offer had stipulated that the tribe would have to build a $400,000 plant to house the operation. The Committee debated the proposal for so many weeks the carpet firm lost patience and located elsewhere. As one member of the Committee observed, "If we spent $400,000 for a building and that building stood empty, our heads would roll." Federal and state industrial promoters frequently criticize the Ute for their inability to reach economic decisions. However, few of these promoters are aware of how sensitive the Committee is to reservation political pressure.

A further indication of this political phenomenon has been the Committee's practice of hiring Indians for top managerial positions. Until three years ago, most of the tribal enterprises were managed by non-Indians.
Generally, the excuse for hiring whites was to prevent reservation family feuds. In part, this is true, but the Committee also lacked confidence in its own tribal members. When asked why an Indian was not appointed to a particular post, a member of the Committee answered bluntly, "An Indian would just ball things up and not get anything done." Although this attitude has been modified somewhat in the past three years, the Committee is still quick to remove an Indian manager if there is any suspicion that he is not doing an adequate job.

This brief review of the political situation is offered to show the difficulty under which economic planning has proceeded over the past decade. The general tribal membership has not been as powerless in the planning process as some social scientists would lead us to believe (Jorgensen, in press).

Economic Planning

In 1962, the tribe became solvent once again when it received a favorable judgement in the U.S. Court of Claims in its case over the Brunot Agreement of 1873. The Utes received approximately $3,500,000 after attorney fees and the mixed-bloods' share had been deducted. In the same year, mineral royalties increased to $775,000. Mineral royalties continued to be a constant source of income through most of the 1960's. With this money, the Business Committee was ready to proceed with its development.
The immediate object of the Business Committee was to create employment. As of November 1962, 180 persons in the 18 to 55 age group were classified as heads of households. Of these, only 30 were permanently employed, 76 were temporarily employed, and 29 were unemployed (Nelson 1965:50). In 1962, the last per capita payments of any size ($1,250) were distributed to the members. It became necessary to create employment.

The Uintah Basin, as the reader will recall, is an economically depressed region. The white population has been able to keep its unemployment to 8 per cent by exporting population, but the tribe has not had the same advantage. Generally, Utes do not emigrate, at least permanently. A recent report (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1968:7) shows that only 30 per cent of the Utes who attempt to relocate under the Indian Economic Assistance program are successful, in contrast to 60 per cent for all other tribes. It is also notable that the Utes have a high birth rate. The full-blood population increased from 1,340 in 1954 to 1,510 in 1962. Furthermore, the kinds of industry needed to meet the needs of the reservation are not attracted to the region. The lack of rail transportation, for example, has made it nearly impossible for mining and other heavy industry to operate in competitive markets. The tribal leaders have had no alternative but to focus on agriculture and tourism.
Earlier tribal experiences in agriculture were not encouraging. Between 1955 and 1962, for example, the tribe had operated a 1,220 acre subjugation farm at Randlett which never showed a profit. Following this experience, most of the Business Committee members were understandably reluctant to make further investments in farming. The Chairman, on the advice of specialists, decided that an investment in ranching was the only rational choice open to the tribe. Moreover, the tribe’s water rights were being threatened by the development of the Central Utah Water Project which was to move water from the Uintah Mountains to the Utah Valley. If tribal water rights continued to be unused they would be claimed by the state. The Chairman has since stated, "We did not have much time, so I had to browbeat the Committee into approving the cattle enterprise." Thus in 1962, over the protest of the membership, the first of several tribal enterprises was created.

The second enterprise was started in June 1963, with the formation of a commercial recreation venture in the poor, unused agricultural land in the Hill Creek Extension. Plans were made to attract wealthy sportsmen to the reservation for an annual hunt complete with Indian guides and a guarantee of game. Although this enterprise could employ only a limited number of Indians, it was important in preserving the reservation's rights to land which the State Fish and Game Department wanted to open to the
public for recreation. This venture, like the cattle enterprise, was carried out to the dissatisfaction of some committeemen and over the protest of a majority of the membership. In order to keep reservation employment as high as possible, the tribe invested in a number of make-work projects and social activities. Education and recreation programs, tribal building projects, and land management programs were cooperatively late in taking advantage of the poverty programs for two reasons. First, the Utes did not consider themselves poor. They saw themselves as wards of the government with special legal rights under treaties. In their thinking, the government was obligated to take care of their welfare. Therefore, they would have nothing to do with programs explicitly designed for poor people, even though 34% of the reservation were on federal poverty programs. Second, they were suspicious of the federal government. In the somewhat intimidated by the former chairman, became more conservative in its economic policy and more responsive to the tribal membership. Since 1964, the Committee has drawn as little capital as possible from the tribal treasury. In 1966 and 1967, the tribe was once again financially solvent. The Utes received $7,700,000 as a judgement for land taken from them in the O.H. Irish Treaty of 1865. This judgement had actually been made in 1960 but had been tied up in legal problems over disputes with...
other Utah Indian groups. In addition, mineral royalties were providing the tribe with nearly $1 million a year. However, these gains were not as significant to the tribe as the new federal programs initiated under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The war on poverty became another windfall for the Utes.

Poverty Programs

The Utes were comparatively late in taking advantage of the poverty programs for two reasons. First, the Utes did not consider themselves poor. They saw themselves as wards of the government with special legal rights under treaties. In their thinking, the government was obligated to take care of their welfare. Therefore, they would have nothing to do with programs explicitly designed for poor people, even though 34 per cent of the reservation families were receiving public assistance. Second, they were suspicious of the federal government. In the Brunot Treaty judgement in 1962, the Utes had been charged for services rendered by the government. Because of this experience, they had to be convinced that eventually they would not be charged for poverty programs. Ultimately, administrators from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) came to the reservation to convince the Utes that they were actually losing money by not taking advantage of the new programs. Their real selling point was the employment that the programs would create. Finally, in...
1968, the Utes agreed to participate in the Community Action Program. The numerous social and economic projects now functioning on the reservation, most of them federally financed, are listed and briefly described below. Most of the data on project financing is from a recent tribal report (Ute Tribe 1970:19-52).

1. The Bottle Hollow Motel and Recreation project is the largest and most ambitious project which the Utes have thus far undertaken. This large tourist complex has been constructed on a reservoir near Fort Duchesne. This $1.4 million project, which should be completed in the spring of 1971, includes a 50-unit motel, complete with restaurant and swimming pool, a boat marina, a campground, a swimming beach, and an Indian Heritage park. The Economic Development Administration has financed 92 per cent of the construction cost through two long-term loans. Currently 75 prospective employees are undergoing a training program financed by a $380,000 grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

2. The Ute Fabricating Company was started in 1969 with 10 employees and was so successful in the first 6 months of operation that the tribe increased the number of employees to 54. At first the company assembled only precut office furniture with formica covering, but it is now building furniture and cabinets. The first plant was constructed with a $40,000 incentive grant from OEO.
An additional $110,000 grant was provided by OEO to expand the operation and to build a second plant. OEO also pays the salary and travel expenses of one Indian who promotes the furniture.

3. Community Action and Head Start Programs, fully financed by OEO and HEW, were started in 1968. Together, they offer employment for 34 Indians in various tasks from the director of Head Start to several cooks.

4. Ute Crafting is a small operation which manufactures curios. It was begun in 1969 with an OEO grant of $10,000. It provides employment for 5 members.

5. The Ute Housing Authority was created in 1963 as part of the Mutual Self-Help Housing Program. It is funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Thus far, 86 houses have been built and occupied by Indian families. Another 71 homes are scheduled for construction in the next 3 years. Each of these houses is a single-family unit valued at $10,843, for which a family pays from $1,092 to $4,680 depending on its income and the number of hours it has spent in the house's construction. On the average, most families pay less than $20 a month for these homes. Several existing homes have been repaired through grants under another federal program.

6. Resource surveys have been carried out on the reservation and are financed by grants amounting to $76,000 from the Economic Development Administration.

7. Training and technical assistance has been
provided through OEO. It is impossible to calculate the amount of government funding in this area. Several Indians have attended workshops and economic conferences provided by this anti-poverty agency. Extensive air travel has become common for most of the Utes holding responsible positions.

8. The Ute Tribal Water System currently serves most of the reservation communities and several non-Indian communities including Roosevelt. This $237,000 system was built with tribal funds. It is managed and operated by Indians and provides the tribe with a profit of $6,000 a year.

Continuing Programs

In addition to these new development projects, the cattle enterprise has become economically sound in the past four years. The present operation involves 469,000 acres of range land and 7,000 acres of farm land. It is a source of employment for 35 tribal members.

The Hill Creek recreation enterprise has been less successful. It has shown a deficit for most of the years it has been in operation. In 1969, the tribe finally closed the Hill Creek hunting operation. The enterprise now provides income and employment for the tribe through the sale of fishing and hunting permits, campground fees, and the sale of services, such as Indian guides.

Mineral royalties have been providing the tribe with a regular income of over $1 million a year since 1966.
However, this amount should increase significantly in the next few years. Several rich oil strikes have been made in the northern areas of the reservation. In 1970 the Shell Oil Company paid the tribe $2.5 million for the rights to drill test wells in this area. Of course, the Utes have not abandoned their legal proceeding in the U.S. Court of Claims. This past summer, the tribe was awarded $3.5 million in a judgement suit for money taken from the Indians to build the Uintah Indian Irrigation System in 1905.

Summary

It is significant that the Business Committee has changed its attitude in the hiring of reservation members. Indian applications are now given first preference for new positions, except in the cases where specialized skills are needed. This change in attitude is a result of three factors. First, the events of the past decade have greatly increased the sophistication of certain segments of the Ute population. Many older members have gained valuable experience through participation on committees, training, and numerous economic-development conferences. Several of the younger members hold high-school diplomas and have some college experience. Currently, 45 Utes are attending college. Most of these students plan to return to the reservation after obtaining a degree.

Second, the tribe has a wider latitude to experiment in its economic ventures. There are so many projects in operation that any one of them could fail without
seriously jeopardizing the reservation economy. At present, the Business Committee is considering 52 offers from various corporations to locate manufacturing operations on the reservation. The tribe can afford to be very selective and to set its own stipulations as to benefits for the reservation. Third, the Committee has been pressured by the tribal membership to employ Indians in high-status positions. A thorough analysis of the political situation will be offered in the next chapter.

**Summary**

In summary, the return to collective development of reservation resources was marked by considerable political conflict in the 1960's. In fact, some segments of the membership still do not recognize the authority of the formal political body. Nevertheless, the policies of the 1960's have paid handsome dividends to all Utes. Because the tribe was an established organized governing unit, with a high concentration of low-income members, it was able to qualify for federal anti-poverty funds after 1964. With these funds the tribe has been able to solve, or shall soon solve, two of its most pressing economic problems: unemployment and inadequate housing. Unemployment has been reduced from over 70 per cent to a current low of 35 per cent. As more industry is established on the reservation, this figure will be reduced further. The Mutual Self-Help Housing Program has relieved the pressures
of the formerly critical housing problem. In short, the events of the past decade have resulted in real improvements in the reservation's economic situation. In the following chapter these events will be analyzed in terms of their impact on the reservation's social and political structure.
 CHAPTER VI

Social and Political Change

The economic development of the past decade has increased the social heterogeneity among the Ute full-bloods. Differences in skills and attitudes have led to varying degrees of access to reservation resources. Families and individuals with relatively higher incomes have been afforded the means to maintain a life style similar to that of the dominant white middle-class. In this context, where life style is defined as an involvement in a set of modes of action, social relationships, and aspirations, it is evident that a man's job is both a determinant of and an index to his life style. For example, individuals with poorer or non-marketable skills have been relegated to lower levels of income, power and status, and are relatively unaffected by the current reservation prosperity. In this chapter, the heterogeneity within the Ute society is described, and the major influences of economic change on each of the identifiable tribal segments are analyzed.

As discussed in Chapter I, the Ute population comprises three basic groups each with its occupational characteristics which approximate differences in life styles. Mainstreamers (21 households or 32.3 per cent of the survey sample of 65 reservation households) have a life style consistent with that considered normal in the dominant society. Working households (29 households or
44.6 per cent of the survey sample) are relatively stable employed groups with limited involvement in the reservation community. Poor households (15 households or 23.0 per cent of survey sample) are headed by women who derive most of their income from public assistance.

The Mainstreamers

Perhaps the most visible effects of economic change are found among the mainstreamers. Their influence on tribal affairs became apparent as soon as the mixed-bloods were terminated. In fact, the tribal leader most responsible for the termination of the mixed-bloods referred to the mainstreamers as "mixed-blood oriented Utes." Recall that several full-blood families had achieved financial solvency before the Colorado Claims award was ever received. A few operated their own livestock enterprises, and others maintained stable employment in the tribe or Indian agency as jailers, ditch riders, and ranch hands. Their steady incomes provided their families with the material trappings of the dominant society, giving them a unique status among the traditional full-bloods. Many lived near the agency close to their employment, while others maintained homes in areas some distance from the larger Indian settlements. Thus isolated from other Indians, they found themselves interacting with whites more frequently than with other Indians. Their children attended public schools with white children and hence gained skills and knowledge of the dominant society.
On the average, these Indian children attended school regularly and for a longer number of years than those living in remote areas. The few full-bloods who took advantage of the lucrative training grants made available to tribal members in the early 1950's had been educated in integrated public school.

The mainstreamers had the education and experience to take advantage of the new opportunities in the tribe, both in jobs and political leadership. In spite of widespread objections, alluded to earlier, mainstreamers were able to pursue a policy of tribal economic development. As their numbers have increased, this group has been able to strengthen its political influence.

Although mainstreamers are oriented to the dominant white middle-class society, their reservation status is not being eroded; they are not losing their Indian identity. In fact, they are actually making more of an effort to perpetuate the trappings of traditional Ute culture than any of the other groups. For example, several individuals are actively engaged in the Sun Dance ceremony as singers. When mainstreamers do not camp at the Sun Dance, they are always certain to visit and to observe the ceremony. The two or three Peyote Cult leaders who most frequently sponsor meetings are mainstreamers. Many mainstreamers also engage in War Dances held on the reservation or at "pow-wows" in other places in the Intermountain West. They frequently voice their concern about the
threatened loss of the native Ute language because younger members of the tribe are not learning it. This commitment to their Indian heritage will be further discussed in the next chapter. At this point, it should be stressed that the mainstreamers' concern with their Indian heritage indicates an emotional involvement as well as a recognized political advantage. As one mainstream informant put it, "The people on top need the people on the bottom; we have to be part of them, or we are finished as an effective group." This concern with Indian identity is demonstrated not only in their activities but is also discussed openly in meetings and social functions.

Generally, the mainstreamers identify with work success and job advancement. They see themselves as managers, important decision makers, and white-collar workers. They recognize that one of the surest means to achieve their goals is through membership on the tribal council. Of the past nineteen members on the tribal council 16 have been mainstreamers. Members of this council receive relatively high salaries during their terms of office, and afterwards are usually able to secure lucrative employment. This is not to imply that all candidates for formal offices are self-seeking politicians. However, it is generally recognized that tribal council membership is a major vehicle to economic security.

The greatest visible resemblance that this group has to the dominant white middle-class society is their family
structure. Mainstreamers are usually married and live in stable nuclear families. Contact with close relatives is maintained, but it plays a secondary role to the immediate family. A typical mainstreamer household includes only members of the nuclear family. Mainstreamers do not adhere to the traditional Ute practice of sharing resources with all members of their extended kinship group. Male-female relationships tend to be egalitarian, the male assuming a share of the responsibility for child rearing and family management. Often both husband and wife are employed by the tribe.

It is not uncommon to find all adult members of mainstreamer families involved in community activities, both on the reservation and in the white communities, and particularly in those activities which foster inter-racial relations. For example, the annual Uintah Basin Industrial Conference, held each July in Roosevelt, is structured to encourage the participation of all Basin citizens, but of the Utes only the mainstreamers participate actively. They provide floats for the parade, give authentic Indian dances, and produce a large Indian pageant on the last night of the Conference. The rest of the Utes attend if they are interested, but they do not participate.

A similar example can be related in a recent attempt by the University of Utah to foster Indian interest in the Basin public schools. Every effort was made to create
a widely-based committee representing all segments of the white and Indian communities. Although the University based its efforts on reports that many of the Indians, mainstreamers and others, had been complaining to school officials about the alleged mistreatment of their children, very few Utes attended the meetings. All of those who did attend were the familiar mainstreamers. Similarly, the only Utes who attend school Parent-Teachers Association meetings are mainstreamers.

Furthermore, the mainstreamers are more interested than other Utes in state and national affairs. Even after extensive efforts to formally educate the Utes on the wider political process and after fifteen years of exposure to national television, only the mainstreamers appear to know their political rights as citizens. Whereas 79 per cent of the mainstreamers know that Indians have the right to vote, only 57 per cent in the other two groups were so informed. Only 25 per cent of the Utes are registered to vote, and of these most are mainstreamers. In 1968, the mainstreamers attempted to elect one of their members to the school board through a write-in campaign. Although their effort failed, it is indicative of their growing political awareness. This awareness is further evidenced by visits of local and state candidates to the reservation in attempts to win support for their campaigns. Such campaigning did not occur a few years ago.

Until very recently, the mainstreamers could not be
considered a political faction in the sense that they formed a united front about any particular issue. Traditionally, individual candidates for tribal office gathered votes within their own extended families and political issues and allegiance were determined by band membership. However, as mainstreamers have become increasingly more committed to economic development, they sought to elect council members who will promote their cause. It now appears that extended families are not the real source of political capital. One successful candidate admitted that he, in fact, did not receive any support from his own family, and furthermore, did not seek it. Instead, he informed the mainstreamer families that he would promote further development on the reservation. This is only one example of the shift in factionalism from the traditional bands to the three groups discussed in this chapter. Although the mainstreamer group is a numerical minority on the reservation, its greater skill and organization has placed it in solid control of the decision-making process.

The achievement orientation of mainstreamers is also demonstrated in their personal activities. For example, 47 per cent indicated that they made trips three or four times a year to shop in Salt Lake City. Several women said that they did all of their shopping there for children's school clothes and for Christmas presents because "The selection is better, and the prices are lower." Mainstreamers are also greatly concerned with the education
of their children; 48 per cent desire at least some college training for their children, as opposed to only 24 per cent among the working households and 6 per cent among the poor households. One mainstreamer stated, "This reservation is going to really move in the future. It is going to be a place where my kids can make it like the whites but still stay at home. But they are going to need education to run things and deal with the whites. I want them to get all the education they can get, all the way through college." As discussed above, mainstreamers are actively engaged in developing a better educational environment for their children in the local schools and in the tribally-administered Head Start program. Moreover, many mainstreamers have taken advantage of the adult training programs and classes offered in the Basin.

In their new socioeconomic status, these Utes have become sensitive to the negative image most of the Basin whites hold of Indians, particularly in regard to public drinking. This fact was made quite clear when a number of individuals complained in a bi-racial meeting that the whites are unfair when they stereotype Indians. One Indian woman said, "You whites treat us as if we are all drunks." Indeed, few Utes wish to discuss the subject of excessive drinking. A tribal leader who recently made the mistake of speaking about the Ute drinking problem on public television was afterwards castigated for presenting an unfair image of all Utes. This concern with the tribal
image has created a rather effective social sanction against drinking for at least some of the tribal members.

The importance of this sanction is obvious among the mainstreamers. A check of tribal and Roosevelt court records related to alcohol consumption shows that only thirteen per cent of the mainstreamers had been arrested over nine times in the past fourteen years, compared to 81 per cent of the members of poor households during the same period. Indeed, 53 per cent of the mainstreamers had never been arrested. Direct observation of mainstreamer drinking patterns confirms the validity of court records as a reasonably accurate index of individual drinking. Many mainstreamers never drink, usually those who are practicing Mormons or active members of the Native American Church (Peyote Cult). Others drink occasionally but do so covertly in the privacy of their own homes or when they are some distance from the reservation. A few never take a drink even in their own homes but become excessively drunk when they find themselves among other Indian groups while on business trips for the tribe.

Considering that the mainstreamers ultimately decide who will be hired to fill the higher-status positions, it is not surprising to find that men with a reputation for excessive drinking are ignored in the processing of job applications. Individuals holding responsible jobs are aware that one arrest for drinking may result in the loss of their positions and their political influence. This
may explain why a few of them "let go" when they are off the reservation. However, their life style is not the same as that of a man who has been a drinker aspires to higher occupational status or membership on the tribal council, he must stop drinking completely or drink only covertly. Mainstreamer men say that this change of behavior is difficult, for it ultimately means the severing of peer-group ties. Only after an individual has demonstrated to the satisfaction of other tribal members that he no longer drinks, can he begin to achieve his goals.

In the past two years only one Indian has been able to violate this sanction with impunity and still maintain a tribal administrative post. This man frequently drinks to excess in public bars in Roosevelt and Vernal. However, he is not a Ute. When an informant was asked about this situation, he indicated that "The tribe is talking about that bum, but the tribal council is afraid to take action on him." During this same period, the Ute manager of the cattle enterprise was arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol and was promptly dismissed. Although he may have had continuous employment for many years, he does not identify with work success or advancement. Generally, he sees his job as a means of avoiding the financial hardships of other tribal members while allowing himself to maximize the pleasures of life in his family and peer group. One man revealed his attitude toward work when he described his job: I could be doing the same thing at home [sitting around].
dominant white middle-class society and to some aspects of
the Ute traditional culture. However, their life style is
not merely a manifestation of a relatively higher income.
Mainstreamers must establish respectable and responsible
reputations before they can begin to secure a higher sala­
ried position. In addition to their occupational charac­
teristics, mainstreamers demonstrate an orientation toward
long-term goals. They identify their jobs as measures of
success and, therefore, aspire to more responsible posi­
tions. Their social relationships, patterns of behavior
and attitudes on achievement serve as indications of their
identity with the dominant white middle-class society.

Working Households

Each working household is headed by a man who is em­
ployed in a steady job or who has formerly held a steady
job for over five years. His employment ranges from limi­
ted ranching operations to unskilled or semi-skilled jobs
in the tribe or BIA. He is usually a ditch rider, game
warden, custodian, heavy-equipment operator, cowboy or a
bus driver. Although he may have had continuous employ­
ment for many years, he does not identify with work suc­
cess or job advancement. Generally, he sees his job as a
means of avoiding the financial hardships of other tribal
members while allowing himself to maximize the pleasures
of life in his family and peer group. One man revealed
his attitude toward work when he described his job: I
could be doing the same thing at home [sitting around],
Another man lamented the fact that he had to work for his money at all.

The working man is usually married and maintains a relatively stable household. His household often includes his married children and their spouses and children. Frequently, children of other relatives are given more or less permanent residence in his home. On the average, the working-man's household includes slightly over six members. Regardless of their relationships, each member shares equally in what resources are obtained by the head of the household. Sharing, however, does not extend to distant relatives living outside the household.

Family relationships are not as intense in this group as they are in the mainstreamer group. Men carry status as wage earners but tend to share less responsibility in the management of their households. They define a good wife as one who will "stay off the back of the man, let him do what he wants." This attitude is reflected, in part, by the lack of interest these men show in their children and household affairs. Child discipline is usually left to women. When men are not working, they are generally involved in activities such as hunting, or just "roaming around." A significant number participate in the activities of the Peyote Cult. Weekend drinking sprees are common for these men, usually with close male friends and occasionally with their own wives. Most of these men own automobiles or pick-ups and have driving licenses.
which offer them greater mobility to visit friends and relatives on distant reservations.

The women in this group tend to be more responsive than their husbands to family and community needs. Generally, they take an active interest in their children's education. When children need extra money for school clothes and other expenses, it is the women who take the case to the tribe to make the necessary arrangements. Their greater experience with outside agencies and business establishments gives them the appearance of more poise than their husbands in these situations. They also have a greater skill in the use of English than their male counterparts. Some of these women demonstrate their achievement orientation by refusing to speak their native language in front of their children.

Women in the working households maintain intense relationships with their mothers and sisters. In the past the women of a family lived in close proximity to one another, but this residence pattern is being broken by the building of the self-help housing in tracts. Nevertheless, even under these new circumstances, lineally related women attempt to remain in the same community. In Randlett, for example, nine of the ten new self-help homes are occupied by separate households related through female ties.

Indian community organizations and Head Start Project meetings have almost become the exclusive domain of
the women in all three groups. In 1964 when the communities were reorganized to expedite communication between the tribal council and the people, only men were elected to the post of president and vice-president. This has changed. Women currently head four of the active organizations. As one male informant described the situation, "At first they only wanted to run things in their own communities, but now they have become so powerful they think they can do a better job running the tribe than we can." Mothers active in Head Start programs have also become involved in the problems of the public schools. Recently, they invited several teachers to one of their meetings to have them explain alleged mistreatment of Indian children. One school principal stated that this is the first time since the public schools were integrated that anyone from the Indian communities has indicated any interest in the operation of the school system.

The children of working families form tightly-structured peer groups early in life within which they spend most of their free time. To these children, the home is a place to sleep and pick up meals. Their mothers, though concerned for their development, bring little structure to their lives. A six-year old child has been observed to leave home in the morning and not return until the evening meal, without the mother or any adult in the family having any idea where the child was or what activities he was engaged in. When their elders attend evening
meetings or social gatherings in a neighboring community, children often leave their homes and stay away until late at night. No concern is shown for their activities or well-being in these situations.

Powerful intra-group loyalties and dependencies develop among these children. By the time they reach junior-high school, the peer groups have developed strong hostilities toward whites and the schools they are forced to attend. One young adult described his involvement with such a group:

When I was in junior and senior-high school we didn't compete with the white kids or care what they were doing. I didn't care if I received a "B" (grade) or a "D"; just so it wasn't higher than my 'buddies'. We would sit in the back of the classroom and never raise our hand to answer questions. We ignored the teacher, and she ignored us. If we didn't raise too much hell, we didn't get into trouble, and she would pass us just to get rid of us. We didn't go out for organized sports; we had our own reservation teams to play on. The important thing was to please your friends.

The same individual went on to describe how he beat up white kids just because his gang leader had told him to do so. Racial separatism in the schools is further indicated by a report of one white woman from the reservation agency. She said that she had been encouraging her son to interact with both white and Indian children but that when he reached the sixth grade he was informed by other white children that he had "to choose one side or the other."

Peer-group influence on school performance is dramatically demonstrated among the youth who have returned from
urban areas outside the Basin. For example, a girl who had been living in a Mormon foster home in central Utah returned to the reservation to attend her senior year at Union High School in Roosevelt. Although she had been achieving a "B" average in her previous high school, her grades slipped to a "D" average almost immediately. Her older brother reported that her attendance was poor and that she frequently spent her time drinking with friends. Her parents were so disappointed in her change of attitude that they attempted to make arrangements with the Mormon Church to have her reassigned to another home. Another mother reported that her daughter had performed well in public school in Denver but that when the family returned to the reservation, her daughter deliberately allowed her grades to fall to avoid being physically abused by other Indian children. This mother did not hesitate to blame the peer-group for her daughter's academic failure, but she also criticized her daughter's teachers for not trying to correct the situation.

Witherspoon's (1961:186) study of Ute children showed that school performance dropped dramatically in about the sixth and seventh grade. He concluded that this change was brought about by the traditional Ute world view that begins to influence the child by the age of twelve years. In light of the peer-group influence, it appears that his conclusion is somewhat naive. This phenomenon can best be explained by the social environment. A child who does
well in school is not one to be intimidated by the threat of social ostracism. As one capable school counselor noted, "Some of the brightest kids know they don't have to achieve in school. They know they can always get a job working in the tribe as a ditch-rider or something."

The working families, obviously, are not the only parents to have this problem with their children. A number of mainstreamers have expressed anguish over the prospects that their own children will become involved in the reservation peer groups. Some deliberately maintain homes in areas where their children are almost isolated from other Indian children. A few send their children to private academies outside the Basin. Most parents, however, although they realize that the situation is difficult, prefer to have their children grow up knowing how to get along with all Indians than have them "act like white Indians."

Generally, the working households are oriented to immediate gratification of their needs. They are ambivalent about proceeding with economic development. They desire the jobs that economic development created but are apprehensive about the changes they might cause in their life style. Most would rather have the benefits that per capita payments provide rather than see the council invest tribal funds in long-range programs. A young woman stated, "We want things now; we want to live modern. We can't have things if the Business Committee ties our money up.
In projects." A further example of this orientation occurred in the fall of 1969 when the tribe announced that a Christmas payment of $75 would be made to each member on December 1. Immediately, several adults were demanding their payments earlier than the announced date. The local bank made an arrangement with these individuals to provide money on November 1, but only to the sum of $60. The additional $15 was kept by the bank as an "interest charge."

Even so, 425 adults accepted the bank's offer. If it is assumed that most of these adults were over the age of twenty, this figure represents 66 per cent of the approximately 645 adults currently in residence on the reservation. The list of names of those withdrawing their money was not given, but informants indicate that most of these people were from working and poor households.

The major difference between the working families and the mainstreamers hinges on patterns of drinking, particularly among the men, who identify drinking and violence as a masculine activity. The working men drink excessively but usually only on weekends and at home. Their attitude toward work is in part reflected in this behavior. As one man said, "There are days I will show up for work drunk or not show up at all, but I know just how much I can get away with before I get into trouble or lose my job." Many heavy drinkers have been able to hold jobs in the BIA or tribe for as long as fifteen years. Their relatively low arrest rate is an index of their relative stability and
discretion. Ironically, some individuals in this category consume more than some Utes who have the highest arrest rates. One member of the sample had never been arrested, yet he had to resign his tribal job after seventeen years when it finally became impossible for him to function. He said he had always drunk, but never in public.

Usually, a working man's wife attempts to keep his drinking within bounds. She knows the effect drinking has on their family and is aware of the threat of dismissal. When working-household women were asked to define what they thought was the worst life they could imagine, 51 percent indicated that having a husband who drank was the worst life. Other than the influence of their wives and the threat of unemployment, there appears to be no sanction operative against excessive drinking in the working households.

It is interesting to note that the women in this group tend to drink more often than their counterparts in the other groups. Generally, the rate of drinking-related arrests is lower for women than men on the reservation (Table VI). The greater frequency of arrests in the working households may arise from the fact that these women tolerate drinking in the home. Since the husband is the single source of support, he is able to dictate the ground rules in the home. Quite often a woman will drink with her husband on weekends. This activity, at times, leads to domestic conflicts and the tribal police are called.
A number of informants have reported that when the men assume more responsibility in these households, the women's responsibility tends to diminish accordingly.

### Table VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Arrests</th>
<th>High*</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 14.1834 \]
\[ p < .01 \]

*High arrest is defined as 5 or more arrests in the 12 years between 1954 and 1968.

Nevertheless, the higher incident of female arrests in this group does not influence the growing involvement that most of the women in this category have demonstrated in tribal and community organization.

In summary, the working households maintain stable employment on the reservation but at relatively lower income than the mainstreamers. Their life style is marked by many of the features common among other low-status groups in the United States. For example, interpersonal relationships are characterized by considerable suspicion of persons outside the immediate household. The men do
not participate in any local voluntary associations other than the Peyote Cult, while the women limit their activities to specific community organizations. Both men and women show little interest in or knowledge of the wider society. They demonstrate a dependence on the government by frequently referring to themselves as "wards of the government." At the same time, they register a high degree of hostility toward government agencies. In most cases, this group has low levels of aspiration for education and manifests little desire to possess the white-collar or managerial positions on the reservation.

The Poor Households

This group is composed of poor people living in women-based households, with marginal men. The household composition is unstable, and the marriage structure is relatively weak. The household can best be described as an aggregate of female relatives sharing limited resources. Most of their income is derived from public assistance. If the woman heading the household is married, her husband is unemployed and provides little in the way of support. Usually, the home is owned by the woman or is rented at a low cost from the tribe. All public assistance and child support channeled into the household is the responsibility of the woman. She is in complete charge of discipline of all children in the household, her own and others. She is the director and manager of the entire household.
operation, and ultimately makes the decision as to which individuals may reside under her roof.

The men in this group have had their roles changed radically. Beginning in the 1950's with the first per capita payments, a man's wife and children became independent of what support he could provide. Previously, he ran a few head of cattle or picked up seasonal labor as the need for cash arose. This casual labor also provided him the opportunity to involve himself with his friends and relatives. After the 1950's, however, there was little need for him to pursue his former work patterns. With his family or household financially solvent, he could invest his time and new income as he so desired. Generally, he used his payments to intensify his relationships with his male peer group. As was indicated in Chapter IV, no small amount of his per capita payments went to the purchase of alcohol, automobiles, and court fines. A check of the court records reveals that from 1954 to 1961 men in this group had the highest rate of arrests for intoxication, drunkenness, drunk driving, and disturbing the peace. As the amount of money available to these men has decreased in the past decade, so has their number of arrests.

When payments ended in 1959 and the man had to seek his former occupations, he found they were no longer available to him. Seasonal labor had disappeared with the mechanization of local agriculture. The land he had
once used to run his few head of cattle had been taken over by the tribe because of his failure to pay his water bill. All available land leases were being used by the cattle enterprise for more efficient livestock production. Moreover, many of these men had established a reputation for excessive drinking which made the tribe less inclined to hire them. Thus, they had little alternative but to attach themselves to households which would accept their low productivity.

The drinking pattern of men in this group is quite different from that described for the working households. For example, much drinking is overt and usually in full view of the white community. The men in this group are affected less than other Utes by the social sanctions against excessive drinking. One informant explained, "These boys have been told that drinking is bad for so long that they go out and drink and then go into town and say, 'Look at me. I'm drunk. I'm being bad.'" In this behavior, the man is not only demonstrating his hostility toward the white society. He is also expressing his hostility to the mainstreamers by reinforcing the whites' stereotype of Indians. The same informant went on to describe how the Peyote Cult treats these drinkers:

As long as they don't show up for a meeting drunk, we let them in. We know that drinking and peyote don't mix, but we let them in and don't say anything to them. God knows they have been preached to enough.

Among these men, drinking appears to be a symbolic
act, a way of telling friends that they are all together against the whites. One VISTA volunteer once asked a young male why he was drunk, and the reply was, "Why? Because I am an Indian. This is what Indians are supposed to do." Another excessive drinker was attempting to quit. He had been going to the tribal chapter of the Alcoholics Anonymous and said he felt he was doing pretty well. "Then my old buddies caught me in town and asked me to have a drink. When I told them no, they beat the hell out of me and held me while one of them poured whiskey down my throat. Hell, it ain't worth it!" A number of informants have indicated that such incidents are not unusual. Men in this group appear to regard drinking as a social criterion for assigning status, an attitude that is typical of other groups in similar marginal situations (Lement 1951:75).

All too often drinking leads to conflict within the household, for it is usually accompanied by violence. Fighting and the destruction of property is not uncommon, and all of the reservation homicides in the last three years have been carried out under the influence of alcohol. The woman who heads a poor household will tolerate a man's drinking to an extent, but he is ultimately turned out of the home. One individual reported that he had lived in five different households in the past year. As one woman described it, "I don't care who they are, even my brothers. If they come around here drinking I call the
police. I won't have any drinking around my kids."

Providing these men with jobs frequently solves their problems, particularly if they are married. At least drinking becomes less overt. In some cases, however, a man finds that drinking with members of his peer group is so significant that he does not wish to give it up for long-term steady employment. He does not consider the benefits gained through secure employment as much of a bargain. Without a job he is able to fish or hunt whenever he desires, visit with his relatives, or drink with his close companions. He is aware that the tribe has money, and he is determined to get some of it. As one individual described his reasons for quitting a job, "It tied me down. You know, the summer is for Indians."

Generally, the members of this group are not involved in the reservation community organizations. For example, only one household has ever attended secular meetings. A few women attend the various church missions, but their interest cannot be considered intense. Most of the men registered a negative attitude toward the Peyote Cult. The formal tribal political structure is considered a "white man's thing." In fact, most of the hostility toward the tribal council is generated in this group. They consider the council members "a bunch of kids spending our money." They demonstrate their disaffection with the council by voting with their feet at each tribal election. Moreover, they have little interest in the dominant
society. Only one person in the sample from this group is registered to vote, and 63 per cent had no idea that Indians were even allowed to vote. This group has never accepted the policies of the Indian Reorganization Act. Therefore, they are against the objective of centralization and reject the authority of those who act as their representatives.

The hostility toward the tribal economic projects is not completely emotional. The poor households, subsisting on county welfare, find that their small annual dividends from tribal investments are deducted from their public assistance checks. To them, the only rational solution is to divide all tribal assets equally, including the land and cattle in the corporation. It is impossible for the poor households to understand why they have to seek welfare from the county when the tribe has several million dollars in the local bank. Moreover, the tribe places their children's per capita payments in accounts that neither the children nor the parents can withdraw until the children have reached adulthood. As one individual described his view, "We own that bank in Roosevelt, but the only ones that can get a loan on it are these Mormon vultures. They won't let us have our kids' money that belongs to us. I don't understand those people down there."

In short, this group wants money, not programs or the jobs that programs provide. This group maintains that if their economic situation
is severe, it is only because the government has not fulfilled its treaty obligations. Indeed, most of these Indians do not consider themselves poor. This view is made apparent in their attitude toward the current struggle of the urban blacks. A civil rights movement is not their concern. As one Indian explained, "They are fighting to gain their [the blacks'] rights; we already have ours in treaties. All we have to do is make sure the government lives up to them." They resent any VISTA volunteer's suggestion that they are part of America's poor and in need of help. And most of all, this group resents being referred to county welfare departments for public assistance.

It is therefore understandable that the poor households have never endorsed a tribal project. Nor do they identify with any of the economic programs. The program incorporating the reservation in the 1930's has never been accepted. The current attempt by the Indian agency to convince them that the payments they receive are dividends from corporate profits and not per capita payments has largely fallen on deaf ears. Any money coming from the government or tribe is seen as just a token payment for what the government owes them. The few individuals among them who profess to know the treaties are considered their spokesmen or representatives. In short, this group is still fighting the battle against the Indian Reorganization Act. Twenty years of economic development has
changed neither their economic situation nor their political position.

At the outset of this investigation it was assumed that the marginal economic status of the poor households, coupled with their extensive exposure to the dominant society, would lead to extreme psychological maladjustment. Indeed, it was assumed that the excessive drinking among the men in this group was an indication of stress. Such is not the case. A chi-square test shows no significant difference between the mainstreamers and the other two groups on measures of external-internal control. In other words, there does not appear to be a real correlation between degrees of relative affluence and feelings of fatalism. This fact could be an indication of the limited identity that the poor households have with the dominant white middle-class society. They do not view this dominant society or the mainstreamer group as a standard of success. When asked what was the worst life they could imagine, two individuals answered, "The white man's way of life is the worst life."

In summary, this group tends to possess all of the features of low-status groups outlined in Chapter I, page 4. Their income is derived from public assistance. Family life is unstable and marked by a high rate of divorce and separation. Most households are headed by women and men play only marginal roles in household activities. Neither men or women are involved in reservation or
community affairs outside those considered to be traditional Ute institutions. Their value orientation is directed toward reservation society. Moreover, their lifestyle has been least affected by the reservation prosperity and white influence.

Summary

The new opportunity structure created by the recent economic change on the Ute reservation has led to extensive social heterogeneity among the formerly traditional full-bloods. Predictably, mainstream-oriented full-bloods with greater occupational skills have been able to assume the positions vacated by the termination of the mixed-bloods in 1955. Full-bloods with aspirations for a middle-class life style have been able to move into the white-collar and managerial positions created by economic development.

The mainstreamer group is economically well off by local community or reservation standards and by the standards of the neighboring white community. Since both the men and women tend to have greater occupational skills than other Utes, in many families both married adults hold down high-paying positions. Moreover, these families have the advantages of free medical care, college scholarships for their children, and an equal share in the profits that the tribal enterprises pay to all Ute members. In some cases, these families have received government housing at a minimal
cost and surplus food supplements. It is not surprising that few of these individuals ever seek employment off the reservation. It is also understandable that those Utes who have left the reservation for employment in larger urban areas tend to return to the reservation as new opportunities are created. Ironically, it is in this group, which could assimilate easily into the dominant society, that the concepts of "Uteness" and racial separatism are promoted as primary values.

The working households have profited from economic development, but their life style has not changed as drastically as that of the mainstreamers. Their aspirations are different. The men are not achievement oriented. They hold no aspirations for political office, and they view their jobs only as means of avoiding poverty. Social relationships are oriented toward the extended family and peer group. Their world view does not extend beyond the local community or the reservation. Perhaps the most visible change within this group is the growing involvement of women in reservation politics. Their increased skills, particularly in English, have increased their influence in the formal political process.

The last group, the poor households, has been influenced the least by the economic changes of the past decade. Since most of their income is derived from public assistance, they are unaffected by the social sanctions created by tribal leaders. Few of the men have
demonstrated interest in stable employment or projects. Generally, they view tribal projects with disdain, as just one more attempt by the government to avoid its treaty obligations.
CHAPTER VII

Reservation Institutional Change

Indian Status

In unguarded moments, some Utes will candidly admit that very little remains of their traditional culture. Indeed, one disgruntled mainstream youth stated that, "The only thing left is my black skin, and that is what the whites use to discriminate against me." Most often, Utes will point to their native language and to their religious tradition as the major surviving Indian traits. This response is quite common among all three of the groups discussed in the preceding chapter. At times, informants appear defensive when asked questions about their cultural traits. In this chapter, the traits most frequently identified by Utes as integral parts of their culture are investigated in an attempt to determine: (1) their viability in light of recent economic change; (2) their function in the present reservation society; and (3) their political significance, if any, in relationship to the dominant society.

A critical aspect of any ethnic-minority survival lies in the continuing use of a native language or at least a common dialect of non-standard English (Labov 1964). As a group, the Utes are clearly aware of the importance of their native language in the maintenance of their Indian identity. Major efforts are being made to

...
keep it alive. For example, it is often used in the home, at social gatherings, and in public meetings. Frequently, opening prayers are given in Ute at bi-racial events such as dedications and social events. Tribal members are often critical of elected leaders who cannot converse with them in Ute. Young adults aspiring to tribal offices maintain that being able to converse with the older people in their native language is a political advantage. By the same token, parents consider it a great accomplishment when their children use Ute at home. Some 72 per cent of the sample households stated that Indian children should learn to speak the native language. Furthermore, 70 per cent thought that community meetings should be conducted in Ute. In spite of this predisposition to retain the language, English is becoming more common. For example, although Lang (personal communication) found it necessary to use interpreters in his 1952 survey, this was not necessary in 1968. In fact, in 1968 there was only one household with a preschool child who did not understand English and in only a few cases did the adults have difficulty with the interview questions. Bi-lingualism has become a fact of life for most tribal members in less than a generation.

One of the most significant changes in language use is found among the school age children. A high percentage of these children understand Ute but rarely use it. Many parents report that their children simply refuse to
converse in Ute even when they are at home. The language is never used in peer groups by children younger than fifteen. In part, this attitude is generated by the intensive exposure they have had to the wider society. Nearly all reservation children under the age of fifteen have been exposed to television since birth. When the medium was made available to the Basin in 1956, most families with electricity purchased a set. If a child does not have a set in his household, he does not have to look far to find one in the home of a relative. Also, the local schools have been integrated since 1952. Although the children continue to be segregated by peer groups, they are under greater exposure to the values of white society than their parents were at the same age in the boarding school at Whiterocks. The younger teenagers will freely admit that they wish to "live modern." One girl said she wanted fashionable clothes because "Clothes bring us status." A high school boy reported that he used English because "You get a lot of girls that way."

The future implications of this current attitude among young children are difficult to predict. It may be politically expedient for them to learn Ute after they become adults, thus keeping the language from extinction. However, if such is the case, they will not speak the language as their native language (first language) if they have not used it under the age of ten (Labov, personal communication). Hence, they will never feel as
comfortable with the Ute language as does the present adult generation. The language may soon become extinct in spite of efforts to preserve it.

Another cultural aspect of major significance to the Indians is the Sun Dance which is held twice a year, in July and August. A great deal of attention has been given to this institution in past studies. Jones (1955), Jorgensen (1964), and Lang (1954) all considered it as a meaningful part of reservation life, particularly among less acculturated Indians. These studies have pointed up the importance of the Sun Dance as a means of gaining power for the reservation shamans of providing other Indians with identity, and as a political forum for those who rejected the formal political structure. Some of these functions of the Sun Dance have gone by the board in the past decade. However, the current importance of this four-day ceremony to reservation life cannot be denied. Most Utes, and many Indians from other reservations, attend the Sun Dance. Of the households interviewed, 61 per cent indicated that they camped at the dance site, while 98 per cent at least visited each dance. Each year, temporary shade houses are constructed, and tents are pitched to provide shelter.

In the past three years, there has been an average of eighteen dancers in the July ceremony and roughly forty in the more prestigious August dance. About one-third of these Indians are non-Ute; the rest are Utes from the
working and poor households. Some mainstreamers dance, but usually these are younger adults. Only one mainstreamer over the age of thirty was observed dancing during the past three years. The most frequent participants among the older males are from the poor households; a few are from the working households. The younger participants tend to treat the Sun Dance as a rite of passage, something that every young man should go through "to prove himself." Participation in the Sun Dance is taken as evidence of commitment to "Ute ways." Participation also carries some political advantage, but not to the degree Jones (1955:256) found in 1943. He states:

"... as a result of Sun Dancing [the male] acquires prestige. This prestige may be formally recognized by appointment to political committees as an important man, or elected to political office as representative of the people.

A man can no longer gain political office through the Sun Dance. As explained in the preceding chapter, elective offices are now gained through the demonstration of commitment to mainstreamer values.

For the older members, the Sun Dance continues to carry a great deal of religious significance. They dance frequently to "gain power" or to achieve a cure for some ailment that "the white man's medicine can't help."

These men, when inside the Sun Dance enclosure, are highly respectful and often ask for blessings from their male relatives who have just completed the dance. Conversely, the younger people appear to be more impressed with the
religious tradition. One young man frankly admitted that his participation was influenced by the fact that "It was a good way to get girls."

Jones (1955:255) reported that Julian Steward had observed that the Sun Dance had already begun to decline through over-commercialization as early as the 1930's. However, he added, much of the curing function had been retained. Currently, the Sun Dance has lost much of its religious aspect, but not because of tourists and commercialization. The Ute working families and poor households do not encourage non-Indian attendance and public facilities are poor or non-existent. The concession stands are poor (usually constructed of the same material the Utes use to make their temporary shade houses), and the unsanitary conditions under which food is prepared do not enhance one's appetite. The Sun Dance leader is empowered to collect an entrance fee of one dollar per car from non-Indians. However, this collection is poorly organized, and most of the time people enter without being charged. The mainstreamers are aware of the tourist potential and the possibility for increasing tribal revenues but they have not been able to gain enough control over the ceremony to fully exploit its potential.

Perhaps the major changes in the ceremony come from within the tribe. The average Ute tends to view the Sun Dance as a highly social affair. It is a time for visiting with relatives and friends from other reservations.
Individuals who do not have the opportunity to gamble or engage in hand games through the rest of the year do so at this time. A common complaint by the Sun Dance leaders is that people seem more interested in gambling than in the performance of the dancers. Indeed, many more Indians are found observing the gambling than are found in the Sun Dance enclosure at any time during the four days of the ceremony. One of the leaders said he was disgusted with the way the people acted while in the enclosure. He said, "They would not carry on like that in the white man's church." Another informant added, "It has become something like the white man's Christmas. People don't take it seriously."

Further evidence of the decline in the Sun Dance's religious significance can be found in the behavior of the men constructing and preparing the enclosure. On the three occasions that this investigator helped in this work, he was told that this participation was a great honor for a white man. However, as it turned out, he was the only volunteer in the project. All of the Indians involved in the task were getting paid for their efforts. Men who did not receive pay refused to contribute their labor. Usually, they sat and kibitzed or worked on the construction of their shade houses. In no way could the construction of the Sun Dance enclosure be viewed as a religiously significant community effort.

Drinking on the Sun Dance grounds is considered...
highly disrespectful. Individuals observed to be drinking or intoxicated are immediately arrested. Nevertheless, the highest incidence of arrest throughout the year comes in July and August, usually during the time of the two dances. A check of the arrest records for the past four years shows that many of the individuals strongly committed to the ceremony are those who are most frequently arrested. In one case, a dancer was arrested for intoxication on the same night he had completed his fast. A singer taken out of the enclosure by the police for drinking later said, "I knew I was breaking the rules, but I thought I was strong enough to get away with it." The prevalence of drinking is a clear indication of the diminishing importance of the religious aspect of the Sun Dance. Indeed, if Jørgensen's (1964:461-479) report of the intensity of Ute religious belief is accurate, the decline of the Sun Dance's religious significance has been rapid. Most studies on the Utes have stressed the political importance of the Sun Dance and its role in reservation integration. Jones (1955:256) states:

The Sun Dance has become the binding factor for all of the Northern Ute who have remained culturally Indian. Those who have become oriented toward white values do not partake. It is the symbol of the native culture which has practically disappeared and all of the frustrations inherent in an acculturation situation are expressed through it. After twenty years, the Sun Dance continues to serve the
Ute as a symbol of his Indian identity and his allegiance to his tribe. However, the Sun Dance's integrative role in terms of the reservation society is less important than formerly. Generally, groups of relatives camp together and share their meals at the Sun Dance. No attempts are made to extend hospitality to strangers or casual acquaintances. Utes who avoid one another during the rest of the year continue to do so at the Sun Dance. Interfamily hostility is as strong during the Dance as it is other months of the year. In short, there is little evidence to demonstrate that the Sun Dance currently promotes integration of the reservation membership.

The political importance of the meetings proceeding the Sun Dance was stressed by Jorgensen (1964:482) less than a decade ago. At these meetings several hundred members gathered to discuss current issues, to verbally attack the formal tribal structure and the Indian Service, and to pass resolutions. Jorgensen's study was undertaken when the issue of resource allocation was being contested. The members believed that per capita payments were the only proper approach to reservation development. Although some Utes still maintain this position, most have been convinced that such payments are a policy of the past. New issues have failed to generate much interest. Therefore, the post-Sun Dance meetings are rarely held for lack of an issue. In the past three years, only one meeting has been held, and this attracted only the poor
household Utes and non-Utes from other reservations. The topic was the national efforts of conservative Indian organizations. No issues pertaining specifically to the Ute reservation were introduced. The mainstreamers and the working households were uninterested. They have an effective community organization in which to present their political views. Thus, the Sun Dance has lost an important function in less than eight years.

Other religious traditions of reservation life have also undergone extensive change in the past two decades. For example, shamans no longer hold prominent positions on the reservation. As recently as 1954, Lang noted (1954:79) that shamans "are important in the political sphere. There is suspicion that their presumed supernatural powers are used for political purposes." There were three prominent shamans on the reservation in the 1950's. One has recently died, another was terminated with the mixed-bloods, thus losing his influence, and another is currently a leader of the Sun Dance. This leader still does some curing, but his power to influence people has been reduced. Only one informant named him as a leader on the reservation and only older members seem to solicit his aid.

Younger men have not replaced these three older shamans for several reasons. Because the Utes are thoroughl; aware of the benefits of modern medicine, fewer individuals feel it is appropriate to call on a shaman. Also,
younger men, aspiring to be shamans, have not been able to gain the confidence of the people. These men are frequently involved in the male drinking patterns. One individual who is trying to gain shamanic power admitted that he was unsuccessful in this endeavor because he could not leave drinking alone. There are no active shamans under the age of 60 on the reservation today.

The Peyote Cult has undergone some significant changes in the past twenty years. In the 1950's, Lang (1954:177) found that almost every meeting held was for the explicit purpose of providing a cure for one or more participants. Today, the meetings are never used for curing. Peyote Cult members and their families are convinced of the effectiveness of modern medicine and clinics. As one old informant described the situation, "I had never been to a white doctor in my life until five years ago. I believed the peyote way would cure me. But then I had gall stones. The medicine [peyote] didn't work." After this man had surgery, he gave up peyote as a cure. Now he attends meetings because "It is the Indian religion."

Meetings are held on weekends throughout the year. Most often, they are held to commemorate holidays such as Easter, New Year, Christmas, Fourth of July, and Mother's Day. Special meetings are held at the death of a close relative or to honor a young man returning from military service or a Mormon mission.

Although its functions have changed, the Peyote Cult
appears stronger today than it was in the early 1950's; its membership is no longer marginal to the reservation society. In the 1950's Lang observed (1954:178): 

that some of the members of the Peyote Cult are marginal to the activities of the full-bloods. It cannot be ascertained whether their marginal status is due to the fact that they are Peyote users or that they were marginal to begin with and felt membership in the cult would provide a means of gaining status, at least within the structure of the cult.

Currently, some of the most influential tribal members are active in the Peyote Cult, including 21 per cent of the mainstreamers. In addition, 34 per cent of the working households and 19 per cent of the poor households are members of this cult.

Peyote Cult meetings apparently were more popular in the 1950's when the Utes had more available cash. Informants report that several meetings were held on a single night around the reservation. However, as the money diminished, so did the number of meetings and the elaborate feasts. One informant recalled that in the 1950's, "Some people were going to meetings just to fill their bellies at the feast, the same way we take in all the functions in the Mormon Church that have feeds now." Today the feasts have been replaced with minor breakfasts of boiled beef, fruit in season, and a sweet dessert. Also, the cost of peyote is now prohibitive for most of the poor households. Thus, few, if any, ever hold meetings.
Many social relationships influence participation in the Peyote Cult. As previously mentioned, Cult members do not deliberately exclude excessive drinkers from meetings. However, those most intensively involved in the Cult are usually total abstainers. Some members have had severe drinking problems in the past and therefore tend to be highly critical of the use of alcohol by other Utes. Often the fact that they do not drink tends to exclude them from the male peer groups, particularly those of the poor households.

Furthermore, the poor-household men look upon the Peyote Cult as too Christian. Although they do not oppose the idea that some Indians may wish to participate in the Peyote Cult, they prefer "the Indian way," the religion of the Sun Dance. Today, there is no meaningful opposition to the Peyote Cult, especially when compared to the situation described by Stewart (1943:4) in the 1930's and earlier. He states:

Opposition to the new religion was not limited to educated Indians . . . and some of the more conservative Indians devoted to traditional Ute culture. Government administrators also did all they could to repress the new cult. They, as well as laymen, thought peyote as harmful as opium and morphine, clinging to the idea because none has visited the meetings and tried the medicine [peyote]. Peyote is blamed, usually falsely, for much of the poverty, illness and death on the reservation, in spite of the scientific opinion . . .

A similar situation was reported by Lang (1954:178) almost a generation later: "Peyote . . . is constantly attacked
not only by government officials but by whites in general, especially being held demoralizing and sinful by the missionaries." Today, it is very rare for anyone, white or Indian, to condemn either peyote or the people who use it. The Indian agency personnel are impressed by the general decorum shown by the Peyote Cult members, particularly in regard to their abstinence from alcohol. Indeed, the tribal leaders have indirectly given sanction to the Cult by providing police guards at its meetings.

In sum, the Peyote Cult has gained considerable prominence. Although it has dropped its curing function, its membership considers it a logical answer to their need for an Indian religion. It has a viable formal organization with a legal state charter. Also, many of its members are prominent Utes in positions of responsibility in the tribal bureaucracy. Judging from the trends in the past decade, it is conceivable that the Peyote Cult will increase in importance as a mechanism for maintaining Ute identity.

Other aspects of traditional Ute culture show greater decline than either the native language or religion. For example, the Bear Dance, one of the oldest aboriginal ceremonies, is still held each spring in two communities, but interest tends to be low. Only a few of the older men from the poor households make the necessary effort to cut the brush and construct the ritual enclosure for this dance. The actual participation in the Bear
Dance is limited to less than fifty men for the first three days. On the fourth day, the tribe sponsors a feast which attracts from 200 to 300 people, all of whom appear to be more interested in eating than in watching the Bear Dance.

Native craft work appears to be in a similar state of decline. It is primarily restricted to simple beading of belts and pendants, although women still manufacture leather goods such as moccasins and cradle boards. The tribe and several local businesses catering to tourist trade have attempted to encourage crafts, but few craft items are actually sold. A number of women have complained that the prices they receive are not worth the time it takes to produce quality material. One informant added, "Women never made beaded articles for selling, they made it for their men in the Sun Dance. Now that there are fewer dances, the women don't make the stuff anymore."

Perhaps one of the most significant changes in any of the reservation institutions has been in gambling. According to Lang (1954:45), the gambling grounds in each of the Indian communities formerly provided the center of community activity. It was more than just a place to play cards or hand games; it functioned as the major clearing-house for all reservation news. If there were important political issues to discuss, the older members of the various bands held meetings at the grounds. As
Lang (1954:145) describes it, "Sometimes a meeting may arise spontaneously out of the discussion in the gambling groups, and this may be the nucleus for further... structured meetings." All the full-blood adults participated in these meetings.

At present, gambling is continued in only one community, Fort Duchesne. And then only the "real pros," as one informant put it, are involved in this activity. The number of observers is usually limited to fewer than twenty adults at any one time. The gambling grounds continue to function as a communication center but on a reduced scale. Only 29 per cent of the households indicated that they attended the grounds "to learn what was going on in the tribe." Why the gambling stopped in Whiterocks and Randlett is not clear. It was always a favorite pastime even when the Utes were broke in the 1940's. Apparently, the Indians had become accustomed to playing for large stakes during the period of high individual payments. As the payments diminished in the early 1960's, the interest in gambling dwindled and finally stopped in these communities. Individuals who once used the grounds as a political forum turned to the various community organizations to discuss the issues.

A few Utes, probably less than eight per cent, continue to participate in traditional Turkey Dances or sings. Most of these Utes are members of the mainstreamer and working household groups. Several have pick-up
trucks equipped with campers or station wagons with which they can travel to visit Indian "pow-wows" held throughout the Western states each summer. Many families regularly visit and participate in the Indian dances at the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho. Members of the poor households are interested in these activities but lack the financial means and the transportation to attend them.

In summary, the native language, though showing some change in frequency of use among the young school age children, remains relatively stable. The Sun Dance and the Peyote Cult have continued to be a viable part of the reservation tradition. Other traditional traits, however, have shown rapid decline. The shaman, curing practices, and gambling grounds have nearly disappeared. Traditions such as the Bear Dance and Turkey Dances carry only limited interest for most tribal members. Craft work is done on a reduced scale. The decline of these traits over the past two decades has many causes. Mass media, travel, and formal education have served to bring the Indians into the wider society. The automobile has provided people with many alternatives. They are no longer restricted to their communities for all their entertainment. Frequent visits to medical facilities in Basin towns and in Salt Lake City have demonstrated the effectiveness of modern medicine, thus decreasing the popularity of the Indian curing practices. Most women prefer to gain their income through means other than unprofitable craft work. In general, the
economic development of the past two decades has hastened the decline of many reservation cultural traditions.

The fact that this decline has not affected all cultural traits equally deserves further consideration. Why, for example, have the Sun Dance and the Peyote Cult continued to be popular among the Ute? It has been demonstrated that the changing life styles of the mainstreamers have not decreased their involvement in these institutions. Instead of moving toward ultimate assimilation, as the mixed-bloods did in the 1950's, the mainstreamers have actively promoted their "Indianness" through their use of the native language and their involvement in the traditional religion. This trend can best be explained by investigating the attitudes of the local white community and the political power of the Utes. A number of examples of the negative and patronizing attitudes of the whites have already been offered, and many more could be cited. Also, it has been shown that the Indians, the mainstreamers in particular, are resentful of the white attitude toward Indians. Although the mainstreamers have aspired to and have obtained a value orientation similar to that of the whites, they have been excluded from full membership in white society. As Stern (1965:263) has indicated, Indians cannot achieve a crucial stage of assimilation until they interact with the white society in primary relationships (i.e., inter-marriage, adolescent play groups, home visits). It is patently obvious the
Utes have not achieved full integration into Basin society. Because the mainstreamers have been rejected by the same middle-class society with which they identify, it is understandable that they should compensate for this rejection by becoming hostile toward the whites and by seeking stronger identity with those traits considered "Indian." Parker and Kliener (1970:55) have reported a similar phenomenon among urban middle class blacks:

...Their internalization of white middle-class goals and values and the concomitant nonacceptance by the white community, engender hostility toward the very group they wish to emulate. The individuals often compensate for their devalued self-image as Negroes and for their marginal position in the white community by becoming leaders in the Negro community.

In the Basin white prejudice has had a similar effect. The racial attitude of the Basin whites has been a major factor in turning many Utes back to the reservation society to find status and to achieve psychological satisfaction.

The other major factor which has served to maintain reservation cultural traits is the unique political power of the Utes. The mainstreamers have achieved a high standard of living through their favorable employment situation in the tribe. Several mainstreamers who hold administrative and managerial positions have relatively little formal education and training. It is unlikely that they would have been able to secure similar positions...
under conditions of greater competition. A number of Utes who secured jobs in urban areas, including those who were able to make the necessary adjustments to urban life, have found it to their economic advantage to return to the reservation. Furthermore, the Utes have derived numerous economic benefits from the federal government—grants, loans, and technical assistance. If the Utes had not been incorporated, the government could not have justified this aid to such a limited population, even under conditions of greater deprivation. The Utes' status as an incorporated tribe has enabled them to make demands on the federal bureaucracy. Other minority groups in Utah have not had this influence. It is clear, for example, that none of the state's 40,000 Mexican-Americans can telephone either of the Senators and expect to speak directly to him. Ute tribal leaders, on the other hand, have a high degree of access to all of the State's Congressional representatives. Needless to say, the mainstreamers are more aware than other Utes of the advantages of their Indian status. They are fully committed to keeping their "Uteness" intact. They clearly recognize that the cultural traits which maintain their separateness have become political symbols, and that to lose their separateness would be to forfeit extensive political power. Members of working and poor households are equally aware of the political implications of "keeping things
In fact, even their drinking is used to emphasize their Indian identity and their rejection of white culture. They perceive their task as merely holding the government responsible to the treaties and agreements arranged long ago. They are not particularly impressed with programs or the jobs that programs provide. They argue that it would be more reasonable for the government to provide them with direct individual payments, so that they could more fully implement the lifestyle to which they aspire. Therefore, these groups go one step farther in their attempt to maintain separateness by instituting additional norms which communicate their rejection of the core values of American society.

In conclusion, economic change over the past two decades has greatly accelerated the rate of decline of some reservation cultural traits. However, it is also clear that those traits considered most crucial to Ute identity have remained constant and in some cases have been further strengthened. This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that the tribe has a considerable stake in maintaining its separateness. It can make demands on the wider society which are not afforded to other ethnic minority groups in the state. Cultural traits such as the native language and various religious ceremonies, by maintaining Indian identity, have become political symbols. The Utes interpret any weakening of these traits as a loss of power. Thus, economic change has no influence on these cultural traits.
CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

The amount of investment capital acquired by the Northern Utes over the past 65 years makes their experience unique in the history of community development. Never, in the United States, has so much been spent in an effort to induce social change among such a small population. This study has described the conditions under which economic development occurred and has analyzed the effects they have had on the behavior norms of the tribal members. In particular, it has attempted to illustrate the effects of new economic opportunities on family structure, work performance, political participation, and ethnic identity. In the next few pages, the economic development schemes and the changes they have effected will be recapitulated and interpreted.

Since the allotment period began in 1905, the Utes have been the recipients of a variety of development projects, all with the expressed goal of creating a self-sufficient community. Generally, these projects have followed one of two approaches: (1) emphasizing tribal enterprise through self-government, and (2) emphasizing individual or household development. The basic premise of the Allotment Act of 1905 was that if each Indian was given land he would automatically become a farmer or rancher. This premise proved to be false; the Utes did not become farmers. In fact, a number of Utes refused to occupy
their assigned land. The concept of private ownership and the necessary rigors of agricultural life were too foreign to them. Their past life of hunting and foraging had not prepared them in agriculture skills. Moreover, farming interfered with the daily routine of reservation life.

Before 1905, the Utes had enjoyed annuity payments from previous treaty agreements. Through these payments, the Indians had learned that cash could provide them the means to satisfy their needs and desires. When life became difficult, their logical solution was to seek more money without necessarily laboring for it. After 1905 allotted land provided the means for obtaining cash. Instead of pursuing a life of farming, the Indian elected to lease or sell his land. From 1905 to 1920, the Utes freely parted with 30,000 acres of their best agricultural land. It has been estimated that the Indians must have received at least $320,000 for this land, a significant sum considering the severe economic difficulties of the rest of the Basin population at this time. Furthermore, in 1911 Congress awarded the tribe an additional $4,000,000 for lands which the government had set aside as public domain in Colorado. It is small wonder that other Western tribes came to regard the Utes as wealthy. The Utes were financially well off even by white standards. The attitudes which the Utes developed about receiving financial assistance during this period have
tended to influence their economic development.

The Indian agent assigned to Fort Duchesne in 1914 attempted to change the Utes' attitudes by demonstrating they could not gain "money by way of the dole." He forced them to work on road construction to earn income that was legally their own. One of the older informants recalls that the Utes thought the agent was a "crook like all the rest of the agents the Utes have had." The road-construction project was only one of many events to increase the Utes' hostility toward all whites and all federal government policies. All further attempts at development or planned change came to be regarded by the Utes with suspicion. Money became the only tangible aspect of the white's economy for which they had any respect.

Further moves in development did not come until 1933, when each Ute received a per capita payment of $1,000 for land settlements in Utah. Again, the government attempted to initiate individual or family-level planning. Spending was to be restricted through guided payments. Funds were not received directly, but only through purchase orders for items which the agency personnel considered necessary. The Utes circumvented this policy by buying goods which could be resold readily to non-Indians for cash.

The 1930's also brought the Indian "New Deal" and the Indian Reorganization Act. The new policies retained the basic goal of encouraging the Indian to become
self-sufficient, but with a different approach. Development was to come through tribal enterprise and self-government. The federal government proposed to recreate a structure of tribalism and communal property which, in fact, had never existed in Ute reservation society. In fact, most Utes had become independent of even the limited band and kinship-based authority structure which had previously regulated Ute society. In spite of sincere efforts by the Indian Service, the policy of tribal government was rejected by all but a few Utes. When the tribal constitution was placed before the reservation members for ratification, a large number demonstrated this rejection by refusing to cast their votes. After ratification, only those members who were nearly assimilated into the wider society, and who were marginal at best to the reservation society, attempted to implement the Constitution.

The "New Deal" policies affected the main core of non-participating members only negatively. The tribal government attempted to buy individual allotments and to consolidate reservation land holdings. Rights to irrigation water use were rigidly enforced. Major emphasis was placed on community development and on making a profit for the tribe. Individual family development was considered less important. For example, individuals who could not pay their water tax had no alternative but to give up their marginal farming operations. They were forced to sell their privately-owned land back to the
tribe or to lease it to non-Indians. The economically lucrative positions in the new tribal bureaucracy were generally withheld from unskilled members. In retaliation, the non-participating members refused to cooperate in the new tribal program and refused to associate with individuals who took an active role in the tribal administration.

The decade of the 1950's registered the greatest economic change of this century. In 1951 the tribal government was awarded almost $18 million for Colorado land taken from the Utes in 1880. The litigation in this case started in the late 1930's and slowly inched its way through the legal process over a period of twelve years. The non-participating members had been waiting a long time for this money and were not to be denied their share. They aligned their forces to do battle if the money was not distributed on a per capita basis. Given this tense situation, a development plan was quickly instituted to provide individual payments to all members over a period of three years. The Three Year Plan, as it was called, was, in fact, not a plan in any sense of the word. It merely distributed money with the vague intention of alleviating poverty on the reservation. The reaction was immediate. Most Indians spent their money with little concern for future solvency and a number of them quit their jobs. There was little cooperation within the family with regard to spending. Each individual spent his money as his personal desires dictated. By the end of the Three
Year Plan, most of the Utes were broke and demanding more subsistence from the tribal government. During the 1950's the federal government had altered its policies. The agency at Fort Duchesne followed a hands off policy in preparation for the day when it would be able to withdraw from its supervisory role. In reality, there was little action the government could take in a situation where a tribe had so much capital. Also, the government assumed that the increase in consumer goods would create a greater desire for stable employment once the payments had ended.

A more comprehensive program, known as the Family Plan, was devised in 1957. The tribal government, with the assistance of the Washington Planning Division, established a policy of family development through guided spending. As in 1933, the individual was required to outline a plan for the expenditure of his funds. Purchases were to lead to a higher standard of living and ultimately to self-sufficiency. In retrospect, the outcome of this program was predictable. The individual viewed his personal account as a means of satisfying his every-day needs. When denied funds for general use, he would devise a more "suitable plan" to satisfy the agency personnel. Frequently, new items were purchased and resold on the same day to acquire cash. As long as money could be obtained, employment could be deferred. When adults exhausted their personal accounts, they turned to the
accounts of their children. In short, the Family Plan proved to be as inadequate as the Three Year Plan and the 1933 plan for community development. In less than 8 years $11,000 was paid out to each member. Little remained of this sum by 1960. Reservation poverty had not been eliminated nor had the Ute life style been altered appreciably.

The current development programs and policies were started in the early 1960's after new sources of wealth, from additional government awards and mineral royalties, had returned the tribe to solvency. Attempts to promote individual development have been abandoned and new emphasis has been placed on profit and creating employment for members "who desire a job." Large investments have been made in a cattle operation and a hunting enterprise. Additional schemes have been directed at social development through greater opportunity for education and recreation. A number of jobs have been created within the tribe to make work for the unemployed. In the last two years, federal agencies created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 have provided additional development through direct grants and technical assistance. Head Start and the Community Action Program have created a number of jobs.

Economic development has greatly increased the opportunities for the Ute full-blood society. Perhaps the most significant change came as a result of the mixed-blood termination. Termination opened many new positions
encouraging many Utes to move into employment to which they were aspiring. Relatively greater income provided them with the means to pursue a lifestyle similar to that of the dominant white middle-class society. The mainstreamers, as this group has been labeled, have altered their family structure and patterns of behavior. For example, the mainstreamers cannot be characterized as possessing any of the essential features of low-status groups outlined in Chapter I. They are active in community affairs. Their increased political participation indicates a greater interest in the wider society, and generally, they are committed to improving the socio-economic position of the reservation in the wider society.

It should not be implied, however, that the mainstreamers' new position stems only from greater occupational skills. Indeed, the skills they now possess are directly derived from greater exposure to the dominant society and not from formal job training. The value orientation which took many of them out of the Basin in times of economic deprivation has brought them back to seek the greater economic opportunities to be had on the reservation.

Economic development has also increased the opportunities of the working households. They have secured stable employment and higher incomes. However, it is clear that they have not aspired to the higher-status positions in the tribe. The men in this group rarely seek elected
office, even when they hold sufficient political capital to obtain the necessary votes. They do not identify with job success and they do not value the rewards of higher occupational status. A job is merely a means of obtaining income to sustain their families and to maximize the pleasures derived from their peer-group relationships.

The increase in income from employment and supplementary payments has not changed the life style of the working families. Drinking, for example, tends to be less overt but continues to be excessive. Little interest is shown in the wider society, either through participation or voting. Travel is usually limited to visits with relatives or to "pow-wows" on other reservations. More recently, the women in this group have become involved in community organizations and educational associations. However, the men usually restrict their community activities to traditional institutions such as the Sun Dance and the Bear Dance. Some also participate in the Peyote Cult. The composition of the households is stable in this group, but each of its members seeks out his own peer group with which he spends most of his leisure time. In sum, the working households have responded to new economic opportunities by more fully implementing their aspirations and by improving their style of living. They have not, however, demonstrated any visible desire to become middle-class.

In similar fashion, the poor households have not
changed their economic orientation. They view themselves as "wards of the government" and therefore expect to be provided with an adequate standard of living. They perceive their economic welfare as the sole responsibility of the federal government. If they are on public welfare, they consider this a temporary arrangement until the government can be forced to honor its treaty agreements.

The poor households have no interest in the wider society, nor do they desire a lifestyle similar to that of the mainstreamers. They have consistently opposed tribal economic development. Generally, they look upon the tribal council and its programs as another effort to deprive them of their resources and the style of life to which they aspire. They generally ignore tribal elections. Their membership in voluntary associations is limited to conservative pan-Indian organizations such as the Peyote Cult.

Because the men in this group are only marginally attached to households, they spend most of their time within a tightly-structured group of male friends. Drinking is excessive and commonly public. It is an ingroup activity, a means of communicating that they are "real Indians" and not the "white Indians" who are running the tribe. In this sense, the poor households have established a counter-culture. They "want to keep everything Indian," but few aboriginal traits are left with which they can identify. Through excessive use of alcohol,
they are able to effectively communicate their rejection of the core values of the wider society.

Thus, there has been little change registered among the working and poor-household groups. It appears that internal aspiration plays a more significant role in social change than does the economic situation. Those individuals who have used the new opportunities for upward mobility or to change their life style were only marginal to the reservation subculture before economic development began. Although only one external variable has been controlled in this study, it is reasonable to conclude that the external situation is not the only major factor to be considered when attempting to eliminate poverty.

The second hypothesis with which this study is concerned focuses on the role of power in social change. The events on the reservation during the last 20 years have made all of the Utes aware of the advantages to be gained from the special status they hold with the government. Moreover, they have been able to observe the effects of termination on the mixed-bloods. While some mixed-blood individuals and families have assimilated into the wider society with relative ease, others have suffered economically. Many have spent most of the last fifteen years attempting to legally rejoin the tribe. Currently, they have no alternative but to become fully assimilated in the wider society and to face individually the competition for survival. The full-bloods fully recognize the
advantage of dealing with the wider society as a group. They recognize that their special status as wards of the government provides them power in making demands on the government. Therefore, with regard to their political situation, few Utes wish to tamper with the status quo.

Although it is clear that the mainstreamers have achieved a level of sophistication equal to that achieved by the mixed-bloods before their voluntary termination, it is highly unlikely that the mainstreamers will follow their example. Many mainstreamers realize that they could not maintain their present standard of living without the benefits derived from tribal status. For example, some individuals now possess managerial jobs with relatively poor formal education and training. Their required job performance is not demanding. Several, who hold full-time managerial positions, find time to engage in private ranching operations on tax-free land. Free health and educational scholarships are available to their children. They even receive free government food subsidies from time to time. Consequently, it is understandable that this group is fully committed to the perpetuation of their "Indianness" and their special status. Most mainstreamers use their native language; several are engaged in pan-Indian activities such as the Peyote Cult, "pow-wows," and native dances.

It could be argued that the Ute emphasis on Indian identity is a predictable response to the prevailing
white racism in the Basin. This argument is valid, in part, but closer inspection shows that the Indian identity promoted by some Utes is not always positive. Recall that the special status of Indians is predicated on the assumption that they need continuing supervision or wardship. Too much economic success, as measured by self-sufficiency, would ultimately result in their loss of special status. Therefore, it is evident that the main-streamers do not wish to push their success too far. Their economic ambivalence is clearly stated in the following letter (Ute Tribe Annual Report 1968:37) from the Business Council to the tribal members:

And for the future, we want to remain in the Uintah Basin, identifiable as Ute Indians... We want to keep the resources we now have. We feel we are doing a good job right now in using the resources available to us. We are searching for new and better ways to use our resources... But it is in the finding of these ways to better use what we have that we fear the word 'termination.' Will our future progress mean the abandonment of us by the Bureau of Indian Affairs? As we become more capable, will not the help that made us capable be withdrawn? Some of our membership would like to see a re-examination of our agreements with the government, to be sure that old obligations are being met. We, of the Business Committee, feel that the Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs should give us assurance that the development of our capabilities does not also mean the withdrawal of Bureau services, the opening of avenues through which we will again lose, as we have in the past, more of our land and resources.

This apprehension about achieving self-sufficiency has been translated into normative role behavior in the Ute society. If an individual becomes economically independent, he becomes a target for gossip and social exclusion.
If one Ute demonstrates that he can achieve economic solvency, other Utes find it difficult to externalize their own situation. Examples of Ute apprehension about achieving self-sufficiency can be found among children in school and in the tribal practice of hiring non-Indians to fill top positions. In short, the Utes perpetuate a number of Indian traits as a demonstration of their inability to achieve self-sufficiency so that they can maintain the political power derived from their special status. Failure, or at least a condition short of economic self-sufficiency, has become normative.

In conclusion, this study of the Ute economic experience demonstrates that a massive assault on a group's poverty does not necessarily lead to the relative improvement in the group's economic position. In spite of what many current well-meaning and very vocal social engineers proclaim, there is a definite need for more research into the causes of poverty. Any number of proposed economic programs are doomed to failure if their ultimate goal is the elimination of a subcultural complex. Greater economic opportunities and increases in income will not necessarily hasten the end of a particular life style. Indeed, they may only strengthen it.
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Name of Household: ________________________________
Name of Community: ______________________________

1. What is the age of ______?

2. If interviewee is different than the 150 sample, what is the relationship?
   a. da.    b. son.    c.  

3. Type of housing:
   a. welfare    b. renter    c. self-help    d. frame-poor    e. tenant

4. How long have you lived in this building?
   a. weeks    b. month    c. year    d. 4-10 years

5. Do you now own any land? (Yes: Yes, No: No, others: etc.)
   a. yes    b.  

6. (If Male) Have you ever worked?
   a. yes

7. If Yes, state:
   a.  

8. Have your partners had children?
   a.  

9. If Yes, state:
   a.  

10. How often do you eat out?
    a. never    b. once a week    c.  

11. Where do you live?

12. Do you have any off the ______?
    A.  
    B.  
    C.  
    D.  

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN 1968 CENSUS

Name of Household: ________________________________
Name of Community: ________________________________

1. What is the age of subject? __________

2. If interviewee is different from the 1954 sample, what is the relationship?
   a. da. b. son c. sib.

3. Type of housing:
   a. welfare b. barracks c. self-help
d. frame-poor e. frame-good

4. How long have you lived in residence here?
   a. weeks b. months c. 1-3 years
d. 4-10 years e. longer

5. Do you now own any land (assignment, allotments, etc.)
   a. yes b. no

6. If yes, ask: Are you now working it?
   a. yes b. no

7. If Male) Have you served in the military?
   a. yes b. no

8. If Yes, ask: How long?
   a. 2 years b. 3 years c. longer

9. Have you ever lived out of Uinta Basin?
   a. yes b. no

10. If Yes, ask: Where?

11. How often do you make trips farther than 50 miles?
    a. never b. once a year c. once a month
d. once a week

12. Where do you usually travel?

13. Do you have any children, brother or sisters living off the reservation (Uinta Basin)?

14. What type of school? (number of years for each and
    a. public b. boarding
c. some college d. 11-12

15. Have you attended any special technical school or
    a. satisfied b. some high school c. H.S.
d. college degree e. college degree

16. Did you go as far as you wanted in school, or your
    a. never b. yes
c. H.S. d. college degree e. college degree

17. What is the length of time you have been married?
    a. less than 5 years b. 5-10 years c. 10-15 years
d. 15-20 years e. longer

18. What is the length of time you have been married?
    a. never b. once a year c. once a month
d. once a week

19. Which sex is your child?
    a. male b. female
c. both d. unknown

20. Who would you like to have help with the children?
    a. DK b. Anyone who will give us a job
c. the government d. the Tribe
d. I will help if I can e. be self-employed f. a white businessman

21. Where do you usually travel?

22. How many times have you traveled out of Utah?
    a. 1 time b. 2 times c. 3 times
d. 4 times e. 5 times

23. What is your relationship to the person you are living with?

NAME: ________________________________
RELATIONSHIP: ________________________________
WHERE LOCATED: ________________________________
13. What is the highest grade you attended in school?
   a. 3-6 b. 7-8 c. 9-10 d. 11-12 e. Some college

14. What type of school? (Number of years for each and where)
   a. Public
   b. Boarding
   c. Private

15. Have you attended any special technical school or taken any special training?
   a. Yes b. No

16. If yes, ask: What was the school? Where was it located?

17. Did you go as far as you wanted in school, or your course of training?
   a. Yes b. No

18. If no, ask: Why not?

19. How much schooling would you like to have for each of your children?
   a. Satisfied b. Some high school c. H.S. degree d. Some college e. College degree

20. Are you now working?
   a. Yes b. No

21. If yes, ask: What kind of work do you do?
   a. Tribe b. Government c. Self d. Other

22. If no, ask: Are you physically able to work?
   a. Yes b. No
   What is the longest period you have ever spent on one job? Where?

23. Who would you like to have as an employer?

24. Do you belong to a church? a. Yes b. No
24. Here is a description of three different kinds of jobs. Which description fits the kind of work you would like to do best?

a. A job where you work regular hours each week and have a vacation each year.
b. A job that is steady, but you have to work very hard some months... like farming.
c. A job you can take up or quit anytime you wish... like day labor.

25. If you could get the kind of job you like the best would you be willing to live off the reservation (out of the Uinta Basin) to keep it?

26. If no, ask: Would you be willing to work off the reservation (Uinta Basin) if you could get home on weekends? a. yes b. no

27. Do you think Indians should work for a living (even if their Development Plan makes enough profit to support each individual in a reasonable manner)? a. yes b. no

28. Do you have a television which now works? a. yes b. no

29. If yes, ask: How much time do you watch T.V. each day? a. less than an hour b. an hour c. 2-3 hrs. d. 4-5 hours e. more

30. What are your favorite programs? a. news b. westerns c. movies d. other

31. Do you read the papers? a. yes b. no (If yes) How often? a. once a week b. once a day c. once a month


33. What magazines do you read:

RELIGION:

34. Do you belong to a church? a. yes b. no
35. If yes, ask: Which one?
   a. Episcopalian    d. Catholic
   b. LDS           e. other (specify)
   c. Native American Church

36. Do you attend weekly services?
   a. yes   b. no (If less) How often?

37. How many of your children are baptized?
   a. all   b. some   c. none
   In what church?

38. Do you do any work for the church, or perform any duties for the church? a. yes b. no

39. Are you an official of your church? a. yes b. no

SUN DANCE PARTICIPATION:

40. Do you ever camp at the Sun Dance? a. yes b. no

41. Do you ever visit the Sun Dance? a. yes b. no

42. If male, ask: Have you ever danced in the Sun Dance? a. yes b. no
   (If yes) When?

43. If yes, ask: Why did you dance in the Sun Dance?

44. Have you ever been to a meeting of the Native American Church? a. yes b. no

45. Do you still attend Native American Church meetings? a. yes b. no

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR:

46. Does an Indian have the right to vote for a county commissioner, or a State senator, or a Governor, or President? a. yes b. no c. DK

47. Are you registered to vote? a. yes b. no

48. Have you ever voted for any of these offices? a. yes b. no

49. If full-blood, ask: Do you attend Community meetings? a. yes b. no

50. If yes, ask: How often?
   a. each week   b. once a month   c. once every three months
51. What clubs do you belong to at present?

52. How many times in the last four years have you attended a General Council meeting? a. four times b. three times c. two times d. once e. none

53. Have you ever attended the County Commissioner Meeting, P.T.A. or school board meeting? a. yes b. no Which one? ____________________________ How often?

54. If yes, ask: Do you still attend these meetings? a. yes b. no

55. How many times in the last year have you attended a Business Committee meeting? a. over ten times b. 10 times c. 9-3 d. 3-1 e. none

56. Who would make a good spokesman from this community if you had a problem to talk over with the Business Committee? (If mixed-blood, ask: A good spokesman to represent your interest for mixed-bloods) (If white, ask: Spokesman for the County Commissioner's meeting)
   a. Male ______________________
   b. Female _____________________

57. Have you ever (written your Congressman) or (Gone to a Business Committee meeting) to complain about something or tried to influence policy? a. yes b. no

58. Have you ever been elected to any office? a. yes b. no

59. If yes, ask: What was it ____________________________ When? ________________

60. Do you ever attend the gambling grounds? a. yes b. no

61. If yes, ask: How often? ____________________________

62. Why do you go to the gambling grounds? ____________________________
INTERNAL-EXTERNAL SCALE:

I'm going to read some questions now each of which has two parts, a and b. I'd like you to tell me for each question which part you believe is more true.

1. a) If you've got ability (skill) you can always get a good job.
   or b) Ability does not count, getting a good job depends on knowing the right people.

2. a) It is really easy to have friends, if you want to have friends.
   or b) Making friends depends on being lucky enough to meet the right people.

3. a) You need the right breaks (luck) for a marriage to be happy.
   or b) You can always have a happy marriage if you work hard at it.

4. a) Getting into trouble depends completely on the kind of life you lead.
   or b) If the breaks are against you, you can get into trouble.

5. a) If I have an idea I can always explain it to people so they understand me.
   or b) Most of the time I can't explain my ideas to people.

6. a) If I decide what I will do next month, I can generally do it.
   or b) I have usually found that what is going to happen will happen regardless of my plan.

7. a) The way a person's life turns out is completely in God's hands.
   or b) What happens in this life depends on what I want to make out of it.

8. a) Working hard and steady is the way to get ahead in a job.
   or b) Getting ahead in a job depends on what kind of boss you happen to have.

9. a) No matter how hard a person tries, some people just don't like him.
   or b) When a person isn't liked, it is because of the way he does things.
10. a) If we have bad government it is our own fault. 
   or b) There is not much the average person can do about how the government runs.

11. a) Most people who get into trouble start out looking for it. 
   or b) Often trouble starts because a person happens to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

12. a) No matter how much a person tried, it is hard to change the way things are going to turn out. 
   or b) A person can pretty well make whatever he wants out of his life.

PERSONAL LIFE GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS:

Subject will be asked: "Everyone wants certain things in life. When you think about what really matters to you, how would you describe the best life you can imagine? Now think of the kind of life you would not want. How would you describe the worst life you can imagine?"

"Here is a picture of a ladder . . . Let's say at the top (pointing) is the best kind of life that you have just described. At the bottom is the worst kind of life. Where on the ladder do you feel that you personally stand at the present time? Where do you expect to be in five years?"