



# American Indian and Alaska Native Children: Results from the 2000 Census

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August 2005

This report was prepared by the Population Reference Bureau with support  
from the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

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The Population Reference Bureau is the leader in providing timely and objective information on U.S. and international population trends and their implications.

## **Executive Summary**

Between 1990 and 2000, the population of American Indian and Alaska Native children virtually doubled, largely reflecting changes to the 2000 Census that allowed respondents for the first time to identify their background as consisting of more than one racial or ethnic group.

Overall, 4.1 million people reported “American Indian” or “Alaska Native” as their race on the 2000 Census, representing about 1.5 percent of the total U.S. population. About 2.5 million people identified themselves as only American Indian or Alaska Native, while another 1.6 million people identified themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native along with one or more other races.

Children make up 1.4 million of the total American Indian and Alaska Native population. Of these, 550,000 were identified as multiracial—American Indian and Alaska Native plus some other race. The remaining 850,000 were identified as only American Indian or Alaska Native.

American Indians and Alaska Natives are among the poorest groups in American society. In 1999, while the nation’s poverty rate stood at 13.6 percent for families with children (and 9.4 percent for white families with children), 27.0 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native families with children were in poverty. The poverty rate is even higher (32.4 percent) for American Indian and Alaska Native families with children under age 5.

American Indian and Alaska Native children have parents who are on average less educated and poorer than the parents of non-Hispanic white children. Among older youth (ages 16 to 19), American Indians and Alaska Natives are more likely to be high school dropouts, jobless, and outside the civilian labor force than non-Hispanic white youth.

Only about one-third of American Indians and Alaska Natives live on designated reservations or tribal areas. Compared with single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children, multiracial American Indian or Alaska Native children are more likely to live with both parents, less likely to be in the care of grandparents, and more likely to live in households with higher incomes.

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### **Introduction**

Among U.S. racial and ethnic minority groups, American Indians and Alaska Natives occupy a singular position by virtue of having been the first people to occupy the land that is now the United States. Their unusual relationship with the federal government has grown out of a long history of conflict and struggle.<sup>1</sup>

This unique relationship stems from the fact that in the early history of the United States, American Indians were not considered a part of the nation.<sup>2</sup> From 1790 to 1871, the federal government dealt with American Indians much as it would with foreign nations, using a mixture of diplomacy, treaties, and warfare. When the opportunity arose, federal efforts were devoted to “civilizing” American Indians by persuading them—using whatever means necessary—to surrender their tribal culture and adopt the habits and lifestyles of European Americans.

This ongoing conflict led to a steady decline in the American Indian population. By the late 19th century, the population of American Indians had dwindled to an estimated 250,000.<sup>3</sup> The federal government had successfully overwhelmed American Indians’ military resistance and had turned to the task of assimilating them into modern society. Adult American Indians were expected to become farmers and, later, workers in urban labor markets.<sup>4</sup> Children were frequently sent to boarding schools far from their homes; the schools’ curricula were intended to indoctrinate Indian children with Anglo-American cultural ideals while at the same time imparting basic academic skills.

The campaign to assimilate American Indians lasted throughout much of the 20th century. However, the failure of these efforts, combined with increasing American Indian opposition, led the federal government to abandon the campaign in the 1960s. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government gradually replaced the old assimilationist policies with new ones allowing self-determination. These new policies recognized American Indians’ rights to decide their own future and to have the principal responsibility for overseeing the affairs of their communities.<sup>5</sup>

Since the 1960s, the population of American Indians and Alaska Natives has increased dramatically. In 2000, 4,119,301 people reported American Indian or Alaska Native as their race—about 1.5 percent of the total United States population—including 1,383,502 American Indian and Alaska Native children. (The reporting of race in the 2000 Census involves a number of complicated issues that are briefly explained later in this report beginning on page 5 and described in more detail in Box 2 and Box 3, on pages 22-25.)

Despite their move to self-determination and their population gains, however, American Indians and Alaska Natives remain one of the poorest groups in American society. In 1999, while the rest

of the country was enjoying an economic boom and the nation's poverty rate stood at 13.6 percent for families with children (and 9.4 percent for white families with children), the poverty rate for American Indian and Alaska Native families was 27.0 percent. The poverty rate was even higher (32.4 percent) for American Indian and Alaska Native families with young children under age 5. The persistently high levels of poverty found among American Indian and Alaska Native families bespeaks a host of other disadvantages tied to low levels of education, geographic isolation, and discrimination.

### **Self-Determination and the Indian Child Welfare Act**

To any community, few matters are more vital than the maintenance of family life and the well-being of its children. Before the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act in 1978, responsibility for child welfare lay with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and on occasion with local authorities. The decommissioning of the boarding school system began in the early 1930s and accelerated after World War II, so ever-larger numbers of Indian children were able to remain at home with their parents. To oversee the welfare of these children, especially those in distressed or abusive homes, the BIA established the Indian Adoption Project in 1958, a collaborative effort with the Child Welfare League of America.

The number of American Indian children in foster or adoptive homes grew rapidly. In 1961, the BIA placed more than 2,300 children with foster or adoptive parents. Very few of the placements were made on reservations with American Indian families; indeed, the overwhelming majority of children were placed in non-Indian families at considerable distances from tribal communities. There was little consideration of tribal culture or the value of the child remaining in the tribal community. One quote from this program reveals its lack of cultural sensitivity: "One little, two little, three little Indians—and 206 more—are brightening the homes and lives of 172 American families, mostly non-Indians, who have taken the Indian waifs as their own."<sup>6</sup>

By the late 1960s, American Indian advocates had become alarmed by statistics showing that American Indian children were placed in foster and adoptive homes at rates far higher than the rates for non-Indian children. For example, between 25 percent and 35 percent of all American Indian children were being raised in foster and adoptive homes at that time, and about 85 percent of those in foster care were in non-Indian homes. Some advocates accused the placement services of being motivated primarily by financial motives and of caring little about the well-being of Indian children.

In 1976, the American Indian Policy Review Commission investigated these claims and issued a report agreeing that the problem was serious. The following year, legislation was introduced in both houses of Congress to deal with what one House committee called the "Indian child welfare crisis." After a year of hearings and deliberations, Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) in late 1978. About six months later, the *Federal Register* of July 21, 1979, published detailed guidelines for the act's implementation.<sup>7</sup>

The ICWA contained a number of provisions designed to slow the adoption of Indian children outside of tribal communities. Perhaps the most significant provision gave American Indian tribes—and American Indian parents—the jurisdictional authority to intervene in child custody

proceedings held in state courts when American Indian children were involved. The law also set forth criteria to which state courts must adhere when rendering decisions in child custody cases involving American Indian children. The criteria gave preference in adoption proceedings to members of the child's extended family, other members of the child's tribe, and other American Indian families. The law was intended to keep American Indian children in cultural environments similar to, if not the same as, those into which they were born.

Initially, the ICWA was hailed as a victory by Indian rights activists, and was widely praised as a much-needed action to deal with a very grave problem. But in the more than 20 years that have passed since its enactment, the ICWA has come to be viewed in less sanguine terms. American Indian children continue to be placed in non-Indian homes, and the ICWA has been at the center of a number of intensely controversial child custody cases. Critics have vigorously attacked the act, prompting Congress to introduce legislation that would diminish or eliminate its key provisions.

After several highly publicized custody battles in the early 1990s, a 1996 bill that would have significantly weakened the ICWA was introduced in the House of Representatives. The bill—H.R. 3286—would have restricted tribal jurisdiction over Indian children residing on reservations. It also would have required that at least one of the child's biological parents “maintain(s) a significant social, cultural, or political affiliation” with the tribe. In other words, the law would have required one of the child's parents to demonstrate that he or she was a “real” Indian, forcing the courts to determine the validity of parental claims to an ethnic identity. Despite vociferous opposition from advocates for Indian children's welfare, the House passed the bill, which was ultimately killed by a Senate committee. Since 1996, several other amendments have been introduced, but none that would significantly affect the ICWA's original intent.

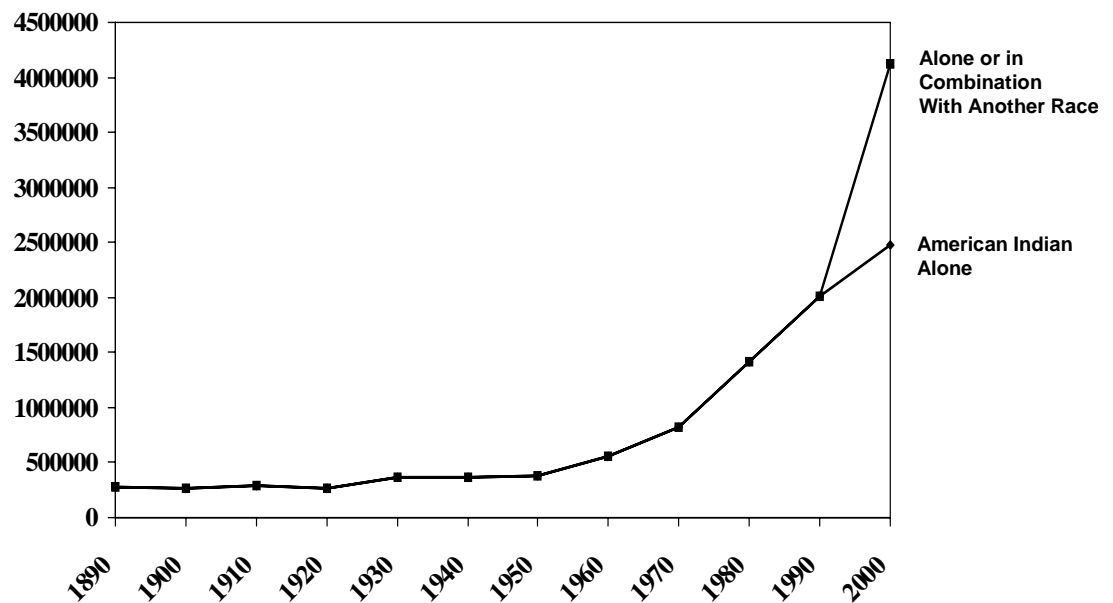
### **Size, Distribution, and Diversity of the American Indian and Alaska Native Child Population**

The custody battles that followed the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act have illustrated a key point of contention: Namely, who is a “real” Indian? A multitude of legal disputes and federal legislation has established the importance of this question, which is also directly relevant to understanding data about American Indian and Alaska Native children. Determining who is and is not an American Indian is a complicated matter, and American Indians can be counted in a number of different ways (see Box 2, page 22). In this report, statistics on American Indians and Alaska Natives are based primarily on information provided by household members who completed the 2000 Census questionnaires.

The U.S. Census is conducted every 10 years and collects information about the size, distribution, and characteristics of the population and population subgroups. Since 1960, reliance on self-identification to elicit information about race has been associated with dramatic growth in the American Indian and Alaska Native population. At the end of the 19th century, barely 250,000 people were counted as American Indians in the census. A century later, the American Indian and Alaska Native population had increased eight-fold, exceeding 2 million for the first time in U.S. history (see Figure 1).

Population growth of such magnitude cannot be accounted for simply by an excess number of births relative to deaths. Some of the growth is attributable to improved coverage by the census, but the largest part is almost certainly the result of people changing the race they report for themselves from one census to the next. The fact that a substantial number of “new” American Indians and Alaska Natives have appeared in each census makes comparisons over time very difficult (see Box 3, page 24). Analysts cannot be certain whether changes in

**Figure 1: American Indian and Alaska Native Population Growth, 1890 to 2000**



Source: Author’s analysis of data from decennial censuses, 1890 to 2000.

population characteristics such as household income (a) stem from the addition of people who formerly identified themselves as some other race or (b) reflect changing conditions in the social environment of American Indians and Alaska Natives.<sup>8</sup>

There were some important differences in how the census was implemented in 2000. The changes stem from rules, adopted in 1997 by the Office of Management and Budget, stipulating how racial data should be collected for use in federal statistical systems. One rule specifies that “American Indian” may include people of Central or South American heritage. This rule’s impact is difficult to gauge. Another rule, which allows respondents to select as many categories as they wish to express their racial heritage, significantly impacts estimates of the size of the American Indian and Alaska Native population.

Because the population includes a very large number of mixed-race individuals, allowing respondents to mark all races that describe them has also had a major effect on the count of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Historically, American Indians have had high rates of intermarriage with other groups, mostly whites and blacks.<sup>9</sup> (The first celebrated instance of intermarriage involved the wedding of John Rolfe and Pocahontas.) American Indians in the Midwest often married French fur traders, and those in the Southeast commonly married runaway slaves and Scots-Irish traders. Some 19th-century reformers advocated intermarriage as a means of civilizing American Indians, and the 1910 Census found that barely one-half of all American Indians were “full-bloods.” Today, many people can legitimately identify themselves as American Indian and white, American Indian and black, or some other combination, even though many choose to identify themselves simply as “American Indian.”

Intermarriage and mixed heritage are particularly important matters for the enumeration of American Indian and Alaska Native children. With levels of intermarriage exceeding 50 percent, the population of American Indian and Alaska Native children includes a large proportion with mixed heritage. Some American Indian and Alaska Native children have only one racial ancestry, while many others have more than one; some children have as many as six. For the sake of simplicity, only two sets of numbers appear in this report: One set of numbers for children with only American Indian and Alaska Native as their reported ancestry, and another set for children whose race was reported as American Indian and Alaska Native in combination with some other racial heritage.

In 2000, 840,000 children under age 18 were identified as American Indian or Alaska Native only, and 1.4 million children who were identified as American Indian or Alaska Native alone or in combination with some other race. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of American Indian and Alaska Native children increased either by 21 percent (if single-race children are compared) or by 99 percent (if multiracial children are added).

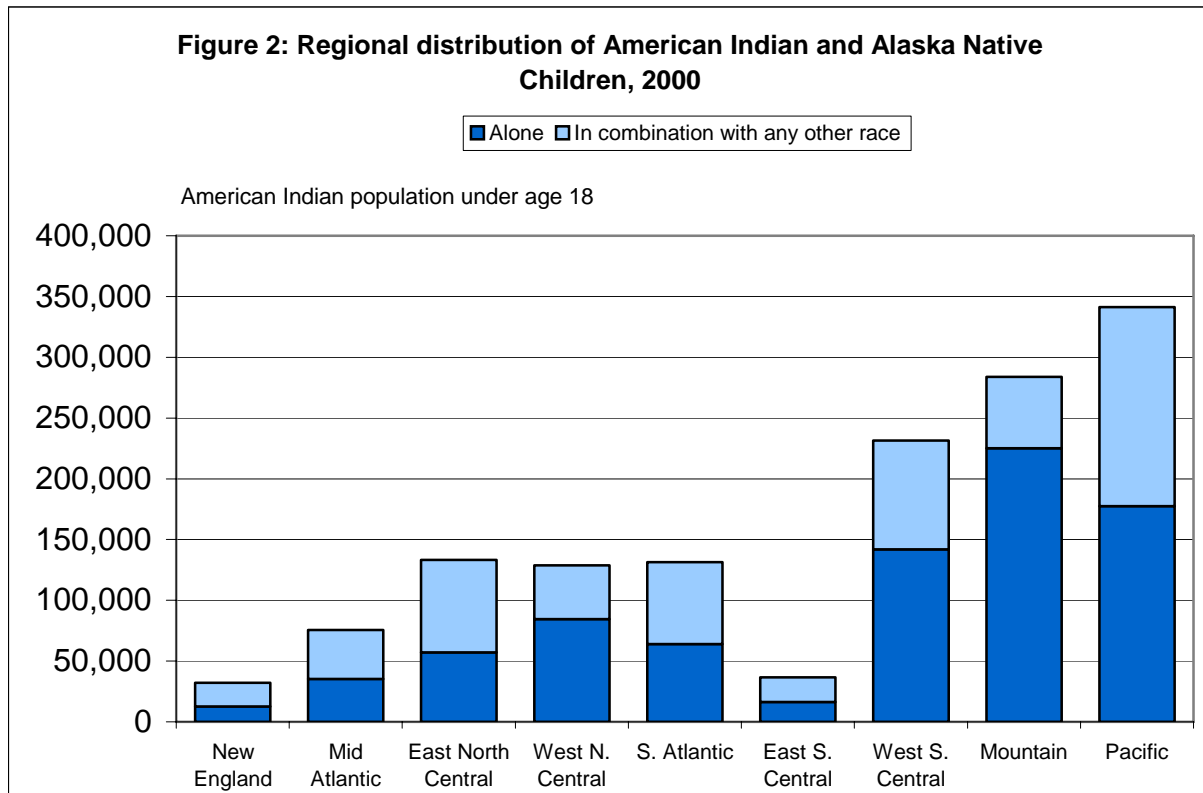
The median age of the total American Indian and Alaska Native population is 28.7 years. For people who report their race as American Indian and Alaska Native only, the median age is 28.0, suggesting that this group is somewhat younger. In contrast, the median age of the U.S. white population—which includes relatively few mixed-race individuals—is 38.4 years. About 34 percent of the total American Indian and Alaska Native population is under age 18, compared with only 23 percent of the white population. The relatively young age structure of the American Indian and Alaska Native population reflects in part the population’s high fertility rates compared with most other racial and ethnic groups.

The young age structure of the American Indian and Alaska Native population also presents important public policy implications. This population has fewer economic resources than most other racial and ethnic groups, but also has to provide for a larger pool of potentially dependent children and youth.<sup>10</sup> American Indians and Alaska Natives will benefit disproportionately from programs that target the well-being of children, particularly in rural areas. Policies to increase school attendance and educational attainment are especially important because many American Indian and Alaska Native children do not have sufficient skills to make a smooth transition to adulthood and to be competitive in the work force.



**Geographic Distribution.** American Indians and Alaska Natives are geographically concentrated in states west of the Mississippi River. In 2000, California (with 205,000) and Oklahoma (with 142,000) had the largest populations of children identified as being American Indian. In 1990, the number of American Indians in Oklahoma (94,000) exceeded the number in California (74,000). In 2000, however, there were 99,000 American Indian children with a multiracial ancestry in California, more than double the number living in Oklahoma. Clearly, a substantial number of people who did not identify themselves as American Indian in 1990 (when choosing more than one race was not an option) reported in 2000 that they were American Indian and some other race. (See Box 1 on page 18 for a regional look at tribes across the country.)

The East Coast has relatively few American Indians compared with other parts of the country, but American Indians in the eastern United States include a substantial proportion of people who identify with more than one race (see Figure 2). New England, for example, had approximately 12,500 American Indian children identified as this race alone, but another 19,700 identified as American Indian along with another race. Census results show that the heritage of about two-thirds of the 1,800 American Indian children in Vermont included some other race. The West Coast (Pacific Region) had a much larger number of American Indian and Alaska Native children—about 341,000—and this population included more or less equal numbers of multiracial and monoracial American Indian and Alaska Native children. Other states with large American Indian and Alaska native populations in 2000 included Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Washington.



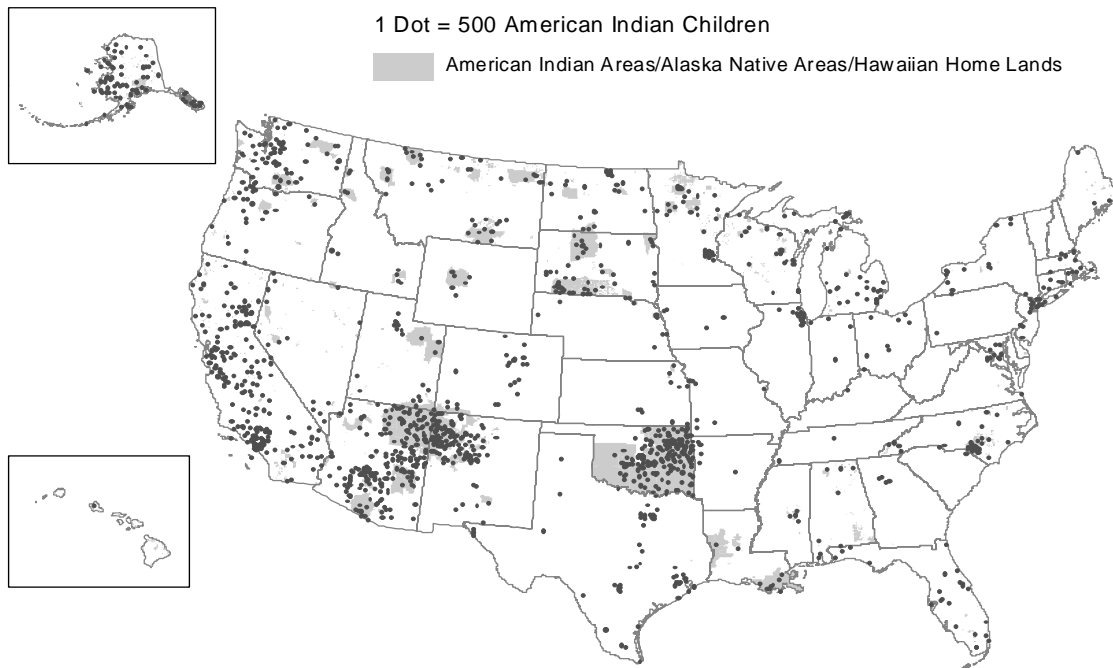
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 1.

There is a typical misconception that the majority of American Indians and Alaska Natives live on reservations. In 2000, only 29 percent of all American Indian and Alaska Native children lived in the 619 American Indian reservations and Alaska Native villages in the United States. The largest of these lands, the Navajo reservation, overlaps the boundaries of three states (Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah) and is about the size of the state of West Virginia. In 2000, there were 73,000 American Indian children living on the Navajo reservation, about two-thirds of whom lived in the Arizona portion of the reservation.

The Mountain States (Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah) have the largest number of reservations in the United States. These reservations are relatively isolated and distant from urban centers. Given this remoteness, residents of these reservations intermarry less with non-Indians than do residents of other reservations—a fact reflected in the small share of American Indians reporting a multiracial heritage. On the Navajo reservation, for instance, only 1 percent of American Indian children were identified as multiracial. Overall, about one-fifth of American Indian children living in the Mountain States were identified as multiracial. The western North Central States (which include the Dakotas) and the western South Central States (which include Oklahoma, the former Indian Territory) also have relatively small numbers of mixed-race American Indians.

**Figure 3**

### Distribution of American Indian Children\*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 1.  
 \*Note: Includes only those who selected "American Indian" alone.

Figure 3 shows the geographic distribution of American Indian children for whom only one race was selected on the 2000 Census. Indian reservations and Alaska Native areas are highlighted in gray, illustrating the concentration of American Indian and Alaska Native children in those areas. The map also shows relatively large numbers of children living outside reservations in Alaska and in states on the Pacific Coast.

Overall, about 20 percent of the total U.S. population lives outside of metropolitan areas, while 43 percent of single-race American Indians and Alaska Natives lives in nonmetro areas. Of those American Indians and Alaska Natives who live in metropolitan areas, most are living in the suburbs. More than three-fifths of blacks and more than one-half of Hispanics who are living in metropolitan areas are in central cities, compared with slightly more than one-third of American Indians and Alaska Natives. This reflects American Indians' high rates of intermarriage with non-Hispanic whites (who are also geographically concentrated in suburban areas) as well as the placement of a large number of American Indian foster children in white families.

### **Economic Conditions**

The economic circumstances of American Indian and Alaska Native children reflect almost entirely the economic fortunes of their parents. Just as the educational experiences of American Indian and Alaska Native children predict their economic future, their parents' educational attainment levels determine the economic conditions in which these children live.

In contemporary American society, completing the 12 years of school required for a high school diploma is now considered the absolute minimum amount of education needed to function effectively in the job market. Workers with less than 12 years of schooling are consigned to low-wage, unstable jobs with few benefits and few opportunities to advance to more desirable employment. People lacking a high school diploma are effectively blocked from additional education such as post-secondary vocational training programs, military service, and training sponsored by labor unions.

The educational attainment levels differ sharply between parents of children whose only race is American Indian and Alaska Native and that of parents of mixed-heritage children. About 58 percent of multiracial American Indian and Alaska Native children have at least one parent with an education beyond high school. The percent of single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children who have a parent with post-secondary education is substantially lower, at 44 percent.

The disadvantages of lower education levels are made most visible by examining income levels for various groups. Non-Hispanic whites are normally considered the most affluent racial group in American society; not surprisingly, the income statistics for this population starkly contrast with those for the American Indian and Alaska Native population. While non-Hispanic white families had a median income of \$54,698 in 1999 (based on data from the 2000 Census), children identified exclusively as American Indian and Alaska Native lived in families with a median income of \$30,200. The families of mixed-race American Indian and Alaska Native children fared somewhat better, with a median income of \$37,400. In other words, the families of

American Indian and Alaska Native children earned incomes that were 55 percent to 67 percent of those earned by non-Hispanic white families.

The low incomes of families with American Indian and Alaska Native children are mirrored in the poverty rates among these families. The official poverty threshold is determined by the federal government, which estimates the income required to sustain a modest standard of living, taking into account family or household size and adjusting annually for inflation. In 1999, the government estimated that \$17,029 was the minimum income required for a family of four to meet basic needs such as food and shelter. 2000 Census data show that 27 percent of multiracial American Indian and Alaska Native children lived in households with incomes below this poverty threshold. The situation for single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children was even more distressing; nearly one-third of these children (32 percent) lived in families with incomes below the poverty line—nearly six times the poverty rate of non-Hispanic white children.

American Indian and Alaska Native children living in rural areas tend to be economically worse off than those living in cities. In 1999, the poverty rate was 27 percent for single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children living in metropolitan areas, compared with 36 percent for those living in nonmetropolitan areas. This difference reflects the low wages and underemployment common in much of rural America as well as the geographic isolation of many American Indian reservations and Alaska Native areas. Counties with large American Indian reservations in the northern Great Plains states have some of the highest child poverty rates in the country—exceeding 50 percent in some areas.

### **Family and Household Structure**

Most social and behavioral scientists agree that the presence of parents is essential for the well-being of children. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule; parents who are physically and psychologically abusive, who have problems with substance abuse, or who have serious mental health problems are often detrimental to their children. Nonetheless, for most children, having at least one and ideally both parents present in their lives is a key precondition for their health and welfare.

In 2000, about one-half of single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children resided in married-couple families, while nearly one-third (32 percent) were living with a single parent (see Table 1). In contrast, three-quarters of non-Hispanic white children lived in married-couple families. In addition, a relatively large number of American Indian and Alaska Native children were not living with either of their parents—11 percent of single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children and 7 percent of multiracial American Indian and Alaska Native children. This finding—that children solely identified as American Indian or Alaska Native are more likely than other children to live with neither parent—is significant because such children are also more likely to live on reservations, where grandparents have an important role in childrearing.

Many reservations have relatively large numbers of older and younger people and a relatively small number of young and working-age adults. The most common explanation for this age

distribution is that adults in the prime working ages must leave the reservation to find employment, and grandparents fill the role of family caregivers for children while parents are away. Furthermore, in many tribal cultures, grandparents traditionally have an active role in rearing their grandchildren.

*Table 1*  
**Percent Distribution of Children by Family Type, 2000**

Family Type	American Indian and Alaska Native "Alone" <sup>A</sup>	American Indian And Alaska Native in Combination with Any Other Race <sup>A</sup>	White, Non-Hispanic
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Neither parent	11.0	---	3.7
Mother only	24.1	23.7	13.1
Father only	7.5	6.6	4.6
Married couple	49.9	55.9	75.2

<sup>a</sup> Includes Hispanic and non-Hispanic American Indians and Alaska Natives.  
Source: Census 2000, SF2: Table PCT19.

Table 2 shows the proportion of American Indian and Alaska Native children who reside with their grandparents as well as those who are in their grandparents' care. These numbers are conservative estimates because they include only grandparents who are designated as householders (i.e., the individual who is nominally responsible for the household). Not included are arrangements in which grandparents may reside with their children and provide some child care but may have less overall responsibility for the affairs of the household than grandparents who are designated as householders on census forms.

*Table 2*  
**Percent of Children Residing with and Receiving Care from Grandparents, 2000**

	American Indian And Alaska Native "Alone"	American Indian And Alaska Native in Combination with Any Other Race
Children living with grandparents	11.1	8.6
Children in grandparents' care	7.8	4.7

NOTE: Does not include children living in group quarters and includes only the grandchildren of householders.  
Source: 2000 Census, SF2, Table PCT19, Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample, version 3.0.

Since children identified as solely American Indian and Alaska Native are more likely to be living on reservations, it is not surprising that a larger share of this population is found residing with grandparents than mixed-race American Indian and Alaska Native children. About 11 percent of the single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children live with their grandparents, compared with about 9 percent of mixed-race children and only 5 percent of non-Hispanic white children. While a sizable share of monoracial American Indian and Alaska

Native children live with their grandparents, fewer (about 8 percent) are actually in the care of their grandparents. Likewise, only about 5 percent of mixed-race American Indian and Alaska Native children are in the care of their grandparents.

In the absence of grandparents or other family members to provide care, a small number of American Indian and Alaska Native children reside in group quarters. While this number of is relatively small (barely 1 percent of the total population), it is nonetheless significant because it reflects the numbers of children living outside a family environment. Some of these children are living in institutional settings, which by definition are places where they live under close supervision and have little autonomy with respect to their daily lives. Juvenile detention facilities are one example of institutional group quarters. Other children in institutional settings are living in dormitories in colleges or boarding schools. Attending boarding schools is not unusual for American Indian and Alaska Native children, especially if their families reside in exceptionally remote areas where schools are not easily accessible, such as Alaska, the Southwest, or the Great Plains.

2000 Census data show that roughly one-half (48 percent) of the single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children who live in group quarters are housed in settings where their everyday lives are carefully regimented and monitored (see Table 3). While this number may appear substantial, it is slightly lower than the corresponding share for non-Hispanic white children (53 percent).

Table 3

**Percent Distribution of Children Living in Group Quarters, 2000**

	American Indian And Alaska Native "Alone"	American Indian And Alaska Native in combination with any other race	White, Non-Hispanic
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Institutions	48.4	50.3	52.7
Other group quarters	51.6	49.7	47.3
Number in group quarters	8,570	3,619	130,457

Source: Census 2000, SF2, Table PCT19.

**Education**

Few predictors of social and economic well-being are more powerful than educational attainment. Well-educated people hold better jobs, earn more for their work, and live longer, healthier lives. Yet American Indians and Alaska Natives have not fared well by this measure. They have historically been one of the least-educated groups in the nation, and this deficit is manifest in the variety of social and economic hardships they face. For this reason, patterns of school attendance and educational attainment of American Indian and Alaska Native children are a crucial measure of their future well-being.

About 93 percent of multiracial American Indian and Alaska Native children ages 15 to 17 are enrolled in school—about the same percentage as single-race American Indian and Alaska

Native children (92 percent). Although these percentages are slightly lower than that of the non-Hispanic white population, these numbers are noteworthy because they represent significant improvements in the education of American Indians. During the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) struggled to increase the enrollment of American Indian children with little success. After World War II, the BIA again made increasing school enrollments a priority—particularly because in some parts of the country, fewer than one-half of school age American Indian and Alaska Native children were attending school (Szasz 1999). Clearly, these numbers indicate significant progress toward ensuring the universal enrollment of American Indian and Alaska Native children.

Nonetheless, the 7 percent to 8 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native teens who are not enrolled in school remains a troubling statistic that deserves further attention. One plausible concern is the extent to which family conditions are associated in some way with school enrollment. Table 4 shows patterns of school enrollment for children in single-parent and married-couple families. The table combines the data for all American Indian and Alaska Native children—either monoracial or multiracial—because these groups are virtually identical with respect to school enrollment and their family status. This table is noteworthy because of the controversy surrounding the impact of divorce: Researchers still disagree as to whether children in single-parent families face more challenges than children in families in which both parents are present. The percentages in Table 4 speak to these disagreements, but certainly do not render a decisive conclusion.

Focusing on school enrollments, few differences appear in the school attendance patterns of American Indian children in single-parent or married-couple families, especially in the ages during which children may attend public school. Among children ages 5 to 14, enrollment patterns are virtually identical across family types. A slightly more complicated age-specific difference, however, is manifest among older youth and young children. Married-couple families, for example, are somewhat less likely than single-parent families to enroll very young children in school. Although this difference is small, it nonetheless underscores the need single-parent families have for childcare and the role schools play in providing that care.

*Table 4*  
**Percent distribution of school enrollment status for American Indian children in single-parent and married-couple families, 2000**

	Enrolled In School	Not Enrolled In School
<i>Married-couple families</i>		
Ages: 3 and 4	44.4	55.6
5 to 9	95.9	4.1
10 to 14	98.7	1.3
15 to 17	94.5	5.5
<i>Single-parent families</i>		
Ages: 3 and 4	46.4	53.6
5 to 9	95.8	4.2
10 to 14	98.6	1.4
15 to 17	91.0	9.0

Source: 2000 Census, Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample, version 3.0.

For older adolescents, Table 4 reflects a somewhat different set of circumstances. While it is important to stress that children from married-couple and single-parent families differ little with respect to school enrollments, one important difference is visible across family types: Among American Indian youth age 15 to 17 not enrolled in school, a greater percentage are found in single-parent families (9 percent) than in married-couple families (5.5 percent). In other words, a youth living in a single-parent family is more likely to drop out of school than a youth living in a married-couple family.

Table 5 amplifies some of the findings suggested in Table 4 for young adults ages 18 to 24. These figures contrast the high school graduation status of American Indians and Alaska Natives with non-Hispanic whites. Among non-Hispanic whites, about 81 percent have completed high school by their late teens or early 20s. A much smaller percentage of American Indians and Alaska Natives have attained this level of schooling by the time they reach adulthood. Slightly fewer than two-thirds (64 percent) of young adult single-race American Indians and Alaska Natives have completed their secondary education, and there is a notable gap between this group and American Indians and Alaska Natives who identify themselves with one or more other races. For this latter group, about 71 percent have completed high school, putting them between the single-race population and non-Hispanic whites.

Table 5

**Percent Distribution of High School Graduates Among American Indians and Alaska Natives and Non-Hispanic Whites Ages 18 to 24 Years, 2000**

	<b>White, Non-Hispanic</b>	<b>American Indian and Alaska Native "Alone"</b>	<b>American Indian and Alaska Native in combination with any other race</b>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
High school graduate	81.2	64.1	71.3
Did not finish high school	18.8	35.9	28.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, American Fact Finder, Summary File 4, PCT65.

A common assumption about older adolescents who are not enrolled in school is that they are employed or seeking work. Estimating the share of “idle youth” in a population tests this assumption and gauges the well-being of young people about to enter adulthood. “Idle youth” are defined here as young people ages 16-to-19 who have not completed high school, who are not enrolled in school or serving in the military, and who were unemployed or not in the labor force at the time the census was conducted in April 2000.<sup>11</sup> This definition focuses attention on young people who are disadvantaged by virtue of their education, who lack gainful employment, and who face a very uncertain economic future.

There are sizable racial disparities among these youth. While only about 3.5 percent of non-Hispanic whites ages 16 to 19 can be regarded as “idle,” nearly 11 percent of young people who identify only as American Indian and Alaska Native fit the definition. Multiracial American



Indians and Alaska Natives again fall between these two groups, with about 7 percent of their number meeting the designation of “idle,” about two-thirds as high as the American Indian “alone” population. Quite clearly, a substantial number of American Indian and Alaska Native youth confront a future far bleaker and much less certain than those of most other American youth.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

American Indian and Alaska Native children are a unique group in American society in so many ways. Their historical legacy confers a special legal and political status unlike any other group in American society: They are subject to the laws of the United States as well as the authority of tribal governments that also have a large stake in their well-being and in their future. American Indian and Alaska Native children are also the subjects of special legislation—such as the ICWA—that are designed to ensure adopted American Indian children can retain a strong connection with their tribe in the absence of their parents or other close relatives.

A great deal of diversity, however, exists both within the American Indian and Alaska Native population and among the children of these groups. Some of these children live within a tightly knit circle of family, clan, and tribal members situated in remote reservations. Others live in cities distant from their family’s reservation and have only limited contact with their families or tribe.

Some of this heterogeneity is manifest in the “mark all that apply” option for racial identification in the 2000 Census. About 2.5 million people were identified as nothing other than “American Indian” or “Alaska Native” in the 2000 Census. But another 1.6 million people were identified as American Indian or Alaska Native along with one or more other races, making a total of 4.1 million people who claim some connection with an American Indian or Alaska Native heritage. And clear differences distinguish children who are identified as American Indian or Alaska Native “alone” from those who are identified in connection with another race. In particular, multiracial American Indian or Alaska Native children are more likely to live with both parents, less likely to be in the care of grandparents, and more likely to live in households with higher incomes than single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children.

Regardless of how American Indians and Alaska Natives choose to identify themselves, they also possess some common characteristics. For example, American Indian and Alaska Native children have parents who are less educated and poorer than the parents of non-Hispanic white children. Among older youth, American Indians and Alaska Natives are also more likely to be high school dropouts, jobless, and outside the civilian labor force than are non-Hispanic white youth. By most measures and regardless of how they are identified, American Indian and Alaska Native children live in more precarious economic conditions and have more uncertain economic futures than those of non-Hispanic white children.

Many if not most American Indian tribes devote substantial resources to assure the well-being of their youngest tribal members. These efforts include pre-school programs, vigorous enforcement of the ICWA, measures to keep adolescents in high school, and initiatives to provide childcare for working parents. While these efforts have no doubt improved the lives of American Indian

and Alaska Native children, many needs remain and much still must be done to ensure a bright and healthy future for these children. No greater and more important challenge faces the leadership of American Indian and Alaska Native communities across the nation.

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## **Box 1: A Regional Look at Tribes Across the Country**

American Indian and Alaska Native tribes are highly diverse, representing communities that vary greatly in their tribal language, history, and cultural traditions. While each tribe's unique culture sets it apart from tribes in other parts of the country, different areas of the country are identified with tribes that share some common qualities. The regions profiled here offer a glimpse of the tribal diversity that exists today.

***The Southwest.*** The southwestern states of New Mexico and Arizona have historically been home to large numbers of American Indians. The largest reservation in the country—the Navajo—is located in this area, and there are a number of smaller reservations as well, including Tohono O'odham and the Havasupai. The region is also the location of numerous pueblos, such as Taos, San Juan, Cochiti, and Islet.

In 2000, 429,362 American Indians were enumerated in the Southwest, about 39 percent who were children under age 18. The American Indians who occupy this region are among the poorest in the nation: 42 percent of American Indian children in the Southwest are living in families with incomes below the official poverty threshold. The endemic poverty and lack of economic opportunities in this area create an environment in which parents frequently seek work elsewhere, leaving their children in the care of grandparents. About 16 percent of children under age 18 are living in such situations. The economic hardships and lack of opportunities that characterize this region are compounded by persistent low levels of educational attainment among American Indian youth. For example, nearly 17 percent of Indian youth ages 16 to 19 are have dropped out of high school.

***The Northern Plains.*** The Northern Plains states include Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Until the mid-19th century, this region was home to nomadic plains tribes—including the Sioux, the Crow, the Cheyenne, the Mandan, and the Arikira—and was also the site of some of the bloodiest conflicts between American Indians and the U.S. Army. These tribes still are present in the region but live on lands that are a small fraction of what they once possessed. The Great Sioux reservation once covered most of the Dakotas, but persistent conflicts followed by land cessions negotiated in treaties eroded the Sioux land base to what is now a handful of reservations scattered across North and South Dakota.

Today, economic conditions on these reservations are not much better than they were 150 years ago when the reservations were first established. Without question, some of the most impoverished areas in both “Indian Country” and the nation as a whole can be found in this area. For example, Shannon County, S.D., includes a large part of the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation and is routinely listed among the most impoverished counties in the nation by virtually any measure.

The American Indian and Alaska Native population of the Northern Plains includes a large concentration of children and youth: About 41 percent of the total American Indian population here is under age 18. Not only does this area include a large share of young people, but a large proportion lives in poor families: About 48 percent of children live in families or households with incomes below the official poverty threshold. Only 37 percent live in married-couple

households. Not surprisingly, grandparents are important caregivers in this region, with about 15 percent of children residing in homes where a grandparent is the nominal household head. The future of these children is further clouded by high rates of high school dropouts (21 percent) and “idle” youth (23 percent), who are defined as children not in school, without a high school diploma, and without a job. Unemployment among these youth—those looking for work without success—is nearly 40 percent.

**Oklahoma.** In the wake of the Louisiana Purchase, Thomas Jefferson once envisioned a place where the American Indian tribes located in the growing American frontier could be relocated, distant from the United States. This “Indian Territory,” Jefferson thought, would provide a haven for these tribes, allowing them to live as they had before the arrival of Europeans. Andrew Jackson and successive presidents aggressively deployed Jefferson’s vision by removing thousands of Indians from points east of the Mississippi River and relocating them to what became in 1907 the state of Oklahoma. As a result, Oklahoma today has more tribes represented than any other part of the country. Present in Oklahoma are dozens of tribes removed from the East (such as the Cherokee, Seminole, Creek, Delaware, Sac, and Fox), along with tribes that once claimed the southern plains (including the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Pawnee, and Osage). The number of American Indians who call Oklahoma home is second only to California.

Compared to most other parts of the country, Oklahoma Indians and their children fare relatively well. Oklahoma’s American Indian population is somewhat older than American Indian populations in other parts of the country; about 36 percent of the total population is under age 18. (However, this population is still relatively young—even within Oklahoma, where less than one-quarter of the non-Hispanic white population is under age 18.) A relatively large percentage of these children—about 60 percent—live in married couple families. The presence of intact families may contribute to the relatively low rate of high school dropouts (12 percent) among American Indians here who are ages 16 to 19.

Nonetheless, American Indians in Oklahoma are by no measure affluent. The 2000 Census found that nearly 27 percent of Oklahoma’s American Indian children were living in families with household incomes below the poverty line. And the poverty rate for American Indian children in Oklahoma being raised by single mothers was even higher, at 47 percent.

**California.** Before the arrival of Europeans, California Indians lived together in small bands known as “triblets.” While contact with Spanish colonists brought disease and many other unwelcome changes, these afflictions paled in comparison to events following the 1849 Gold Rush. During that period, California Indians were systematically exterminated to the brink of extinction by ranchers and gold miners who regarded them a pestilence equivalent to coyotes and mountain lions.

Nonetheless, California today has 333,346 American Indians and Alaska Natives, more than any other state. Ironically, many of these American Indians are not originally from California. In the 1950s and 1960s, the federal government resettled thousands of American Indians and Alaska Natives from tribes around the country to California’s urban areas—principally in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas—in the hope these groups would find jobs in the booming

post-war economy. In addition to these relocatees, many more American Indians from every part of the country came to California in search of jobs and opportunities.

As a result, California also has the largest urban Indian population of any U.S. state: More than 80 percent (272,251) of California's American Indian and Alaska Native population lives in metropolitan areas. While many of these urban Indians are also the descendants of the original tribes of California—a number of small reservations (“rancherias”) are located in the Los Angeles and San Diego metropolitan areas—virtually every tribe in the nation is represented in the state's diverse mix of urban American Indians and Alaska Natives.

However, despite the thriving California economy in the 1990s, American Indian and Alaska Native children in California do not fare significantly better than their counterparts in other states. Among California's American Indian and Alaskan Natives, for example, child poverty in 1999 stood at 28 percent, and the share of high school dropouts ages 16 to 19 was about 15 percent—numbers are lower than some areas with American Indians, but higher than others.

***Upper Great Lakes.*** The Upper Great Lakes Tribes are located in the states of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Many of this region's tribes originated from this region, with the most numerous the various bands of Ojibwe (also known as Chippewa), each of which possesses a reservation. Other tribes indigenous to this region include the Menominee; the Ho-Chunk (also known as Winnebago); and several bands of the Sioux tribe (in Minnesota). Other groups such as the Oneida and Stockbridge-Munsee were resettled here in the 19th century.

A number of the region's tribes have developed successful casino operations, notably the Ho-Chunk, the Mille Lacs Ojibwe, and the Oneida. Other tribes have enjoyed less success or have refrained entirely from gaming endeavors. Nevertheless, the casino operations appear to have only a limited influence on child well-being in these tribes: American Indian and Alaska Native child poverty in this region stands at about 26 percent, in the middle of all regions. Similarly, high school dropout rates and the share of American Indian and Alaska Native youth ages 16 to 19 who are idle are roughly comparable to areas such as the Pacific Northwest and California, but well below the levels of regions such as the Northern Plains and the Southwest.

One noteworthy characteristic of American Indian and Alaska Native children in the Upper Great Lakes region is the relatively high percentage living in single-parent families. About 39 percent of all American Indian and Alaska Native children in this region reside in such families, a share higher than anywhere else in the country. Furthermore, grandparents do not appear to be mitigating these situations: About 9 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native children in this region live with their grandparents, a percentage not much different from American Indian and Alaska Native children in other parts of the country.

***Alaska.*** The Native population indigenous to what is now the state of Alaska should be considered distinctly different from American Indians and even other Alaska Natives residing in the lower 48 states. One obvious reason is the extreme environmental conditions found in Alaska. For example, Alaska Native villages are often located in exceedingly remote areas, unreachable by transportation sources that would ordinarily be sufficient in most other areas of

the country. Alaska Natives are also unique because they still rely heavily on subsistence hunting and fishing for their livelihood.

A less obvious distinction is that the 1971 Alaska Native Claims and Settlement Act (ANCSA) has had an overriding influence on the legal and political status of Alaska Natives—an influence that is also unparalleled among American Indians in the rest of the nation. As a result, while Aleut, Inupiat, and Yu'pik are important cultural divisions among Alaska Natives, they do not possess the same political and legal status as tribes in the rest of the United States. In Alaska, the relevant political and administrative units are designated Alaska Native Villages (numbering more than 200) and 43 Regional Corporations.

Finally, census data for Alaska also can be misleading if the state's high cost of living and equally high wage rates are not taken into account. Incomes that might be considered adequate in many parts of the nation may be significantly less than adequate when purchasing goods and services in the Alaskan economy. For this reason, Alaska's relatively low child poverty rates for American Indians and Alaska Natives (23 percent) must be viewed with some caution. Other measures of well-being are less sanguine. For example, the percent of American Indian and Alaska Native youth ages 16 to 19 who are neither in school nor employed stands at 19 percent. And 31 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native children in Alaska are living in single-parent families.

***Southeast.*** The states that once belonged to the antebellum South are home to approximately 297,000 American Indians—an especially noteworthy figure because of the extensive efforts the federal government made in the early 19th century to rid this region of American Indians. The American Indians who live in the Southeast today are the descendants of American Indians who escaped removal by fleeing into the hills and swamps or by forcibly resisting resettlement. In other instances, the tribes were too small or too peaceful to attract the notice of federal authorities.

Today, a number of tribes in the Southeast that are not recognized by the federal government as American Indians are recognized by state officials. These groups include the Lumbee and Haliwa-Saponi tribes in North Carolina, the Catawba in South Carolina, the Pawmunky and Chickahominy tribes in Virginia, and the Houma tribe in Louisiana. The Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles were officially removed from this region, but they still retain a presence, with reservations in North Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida, respectively.

The majority (56 percent) of American Indian households in this region do not have children living in them. About 25 percent of American Indian children residing in the Southeast are living in poverty. While this poverty rate is high compared to the nation as a whole, it is lower than the rates for American Indian and Alaska Native children living in other parts of the country.

## **Box 2: The Dilemma Over Who is Counted as an American Indian**

The U.S. federal government has used a variety of methods to identify who is counted as an American Indian.<sup>12</sup> Historically, the government has used a rule of *hyperdescent*, which defines the minimum amount of heritage one must possess to be officially recognized as an American Indian. For decades, the government deemed one-fourth blood quantum as the minimum amount of ancestry for such recognition. For example, an individual could claim to be American Indian if he or she had at least one grandparent with a lineage that included only American Indian ancestry (i.e., a “full-blood” Indian).

Since the 19th century, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has maintained records about the blood quantum ancestries of the American Indian population. Blood quantum was once believed to convey information about people’s cultural assimilation as well as about their ancestry. “Full-bloods” had no biological ties to European or African ancestry and were thought to possess a complete repertoire of Indian cultural characteristics. A person whose ancestry was one-half European and one-half American Indian would have a blood quantum of one-half. Perhaps more significantly, this person would have been considered twice as civilized as a full-blood American Indian, having only one-half the cultural characteristics of an American Indian. For most official purposes, a person ceased to be considered an American Indian once their blood quantum fell below one-quarter. In practical terms, if three of an individual’s grandparents were non-Indians, that individual would have been considered an American Indian only if the fourth grandparent was a full-blood.<sup>13</sup>

For much of the 20th century, blood quantum was the operational standard for determining who would be officially recognized as an American Indian. But by the 1970s, a series of legal challenges began to undermine the criterion’s usefulness. The American Indian Policy Review Commission (AIPRC) noted the problems associated with defining identity by using blood quantum and reiterated an earlier congressional action that defined American Indians as “members of American Indian tribes.”<sup>14</sup> Although somewhat circular, this definition of American Indian heritage has the virtue of allowing tribes to establish their own membership criteria. The decision to let tribes determine their membership was consistent with other congressional actions related to tribal self-determination: Few matters are more fundamental to tribal self-governance than determining who is recognized as a tribal member.

For many official purposes, tribal membership is considered a basic standard for determining who is an American Indian. But this criterion is also a source of considerable misunderstanding, in part because the procedures and documentation used for determining tribal membership vary considerably among tribes. Some tribes use highly restrictive criteria and have very strict requirements for documentation, while other tribes have more inclusive standards.

Confusion also stems from the fact that not all people who claim to be American Indian are enrolled members of recognized tribes. The number of enrolled American Indians is typically smaller than other estimates of the American Indian population, such as those from the census. This difference appears because not every individual eligible to enroll in a tribe bothers to do so, especially in urban areas far from tribal government offices and where few incentives to enroll

exist. Also, some people who regard themselves as American Indians are nonetheless ineligible for membership.

A third source of confusion is that some tribes are recognized by the federal government, some by states, and some by neither state nor federal authorities. The reasons for these different levels of official recognition are too complex to detail in this report, but suffice it to say that not everyone who might have a valid claim to being an American Indian is recognized by federal authorities or even by other American Indians.

Some branches of the federal government have eschewed the difficult task of verifying the ethnic identity of their constituencies. As discussed earlier in this article, the Census Bureau is notable in this regard. After evaluating the 1950 Census, the Census Bureau realized that allowing enumerators to observe and record the race of household members was a source of considerable error. To remedy this problem, the 1960 Census asked respondents to identify their own race and that of other members of their household. Self-identification significantly improved the coverage of racial and ethnic minorities in the census, and the reported size of the American Indian and Alaska Native population increased much more than had been expected. But the revised count included some people who were not enrolled as tribal members, who were not eligible for tribal membership, or who could claim little or no connection with other American Indians and Alaska Natives beyond a weak recollection of racial heritage.



### **Box 3: A Historical Look at American Indians and the U.S. Census**

The U.S. Constitution stipulates that a count of the population be taken every 10 years. This mandate is articulated in Article I, Section 2, which states that congressional representation is to be based on “the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.”

Although the authors of the U.S. Constitution certainly recognized the presence of American Indians in their midst, the federal government did not attempt to enumerate American Indians until 1850, and then only with a special count conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The distinction between “Indians taxed” and “Indians not taxed” was ambiguous at best. It roughly corresponded to whether an Indian was sufficiently assimilated to be living among white people (“taxed”), or was still “uncivilized” and practicing their traditional culture and lifestyle (“not taxed”).<sup>15</sup>

The census counts of American Indians from 1850 to 1880 were haphazardly conducted and given little attention in census publications. In 1890, however, the Census Bureau made a special effort to enumerate all American Indians—taxed and not taxed—and the results of this effort were published in an entire volume devoted to the American Indian population. In each subsequent census, the Census Bureau has reported characteristics of the American Indian population. The distinction between “taxed” and “not taxed” was discarded after the 1910 Census.

From 1850 to 1950, statistical information collected about American Indians was obtained by enumerators, who made a visual determination that they were speaking with an American Indian or Alaska Native.<sup>16</sup> As noted earlier, the Census Bureau in 1960 changed its procedures and allowed individuals completing the census form to identify their race and the race of others in their households. The introduction of self-identification to elicit information about race has been associated with dramatic growth in the American Indian and Alaska Native population. Between 1970 and 1980, the American Indian and Alaska Native population grew by about 73 percent, and between 1980 and 1990, American Indians and Alaska Natives increased in number by approximately 45 percent. Population growth of this magnitude cannot be accounted for simply by an excess number of births relative to deaths. While some of this growth is also attributable to improved coverage by the census and to a small number of “immigrant” Indians from Canada and Mexico, the largest part is almost certainly the result of people changing the race they report for themselves from one census to the next.

The substantial number of “new” American Indians and Alaska Natives that have appeared in each census make comparisons over time difficult. Analysts cannot be certain whether changes in population characteristics such as household income (a) reflect the addition of people who formerly identified themselves as some other race or (b) are the result of changing conditions in the social environment of American Indians and Alaska Natives.<sup>17</sup>

Compared with the population as a whole, increases in the numbers of American Indian and Alaska Native children have been more moderate. For example, between 1980 and 1990, the American Indian and Alaska Native child population grew 25 percent, from 556,000 to 697,000.

But ethnic switching may still have affected the counts for children. This phenomenon is most clearly shown in a comparison of cohorts of children across censuses.

For instance, 147,000 American Indian and Alaska Native children ages 5 to 9 were reported in the 1980 Census. Allowing for some small improvements in finding and counting American Indian and Alaska Natives, as well as for a small number of deaths in this age group, the number of American Indian and Alaska Native children ages 15 to 19 reported in 1990 should have been about the same as the number of children ages 5 to 9 in 1980. But 181,000 American Indian and Alaska Natives ages 15 to 19 were reported in 1990—an increase of about 34,000 people, or 23 percent. In light of the expected stability of this age cohort, this increase is quite large. Such changes in the number of people reporting themselves as American Indians or Alaska Natives have made it difficult to evaluate the causes of change in other characteristics such as household income, poverty rates, and other measures of child well-being.

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- <sup>10</sup> Willetto and Goodluck, “Overview of American Indians and Alaska Natives.”
- <sup>11</sup> The Census Bureau, however, does not track the share of the population engaged in activities outside the paid economy, such as subsistence agriculture and hunting.
- <sup>12</sup> Alaska became a U.S. territory in 1867 and a state in 1959. Between 1880 and 1940, Alaska Natives living in Alaska were added to the “American Indian” category in the decennial census. Following 1940, the Census Bureau used a variety of categories to report the Alaska Native population, making the data difficult to compare and isolate. Respondents to Census 2000 could choose a combined category “American Indian and Alaska Native” but were also asked for specific information on tribal membership.
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<sup>15</sup> Russell Thornton, "Tribal Membership Requirements and the Demography of 'Old' and 'New' Native Americans."

<sup>16</sup> As noted earlier, in U.S. censuses between 1880 and 1940, Alaska Natives living in the U.S. territory of Alaska were added to the "American Indian" category. Following 1940, the Census Bureau used a variety of categories to report the Alaska Native population, making the data difficult to compare and isolate. Respondents to Census 2000 could choose a combined category "American Indian and Alaska Native," but were also asked for specific information on tribal membership.

<sup>17</sup> Passell, "The Growing American Indian Population, 1960-1990."