

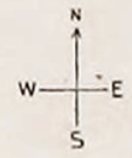


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MOUND BUILDERS TRAIL

SCALE OF MAP  
5/16 IN. TO MILE.



# ADVERSITY AND RESILIENCY FOR CHICAGO'S FIRST

## THE STATE OF RACIAL JUSTICE FOR AMERICAN INDIAN CHICAGOANS



**Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy**

*Research that Makes a Difference*



***Adversity and Resiliency for Chicago's First: The State of Racial Justice for American Indian Chicagoans*** is dedicated to all in Chicago who strive daily to surmount the racial and ethnic injustice they face so that those who follow may travel in a more equitable and principled world.

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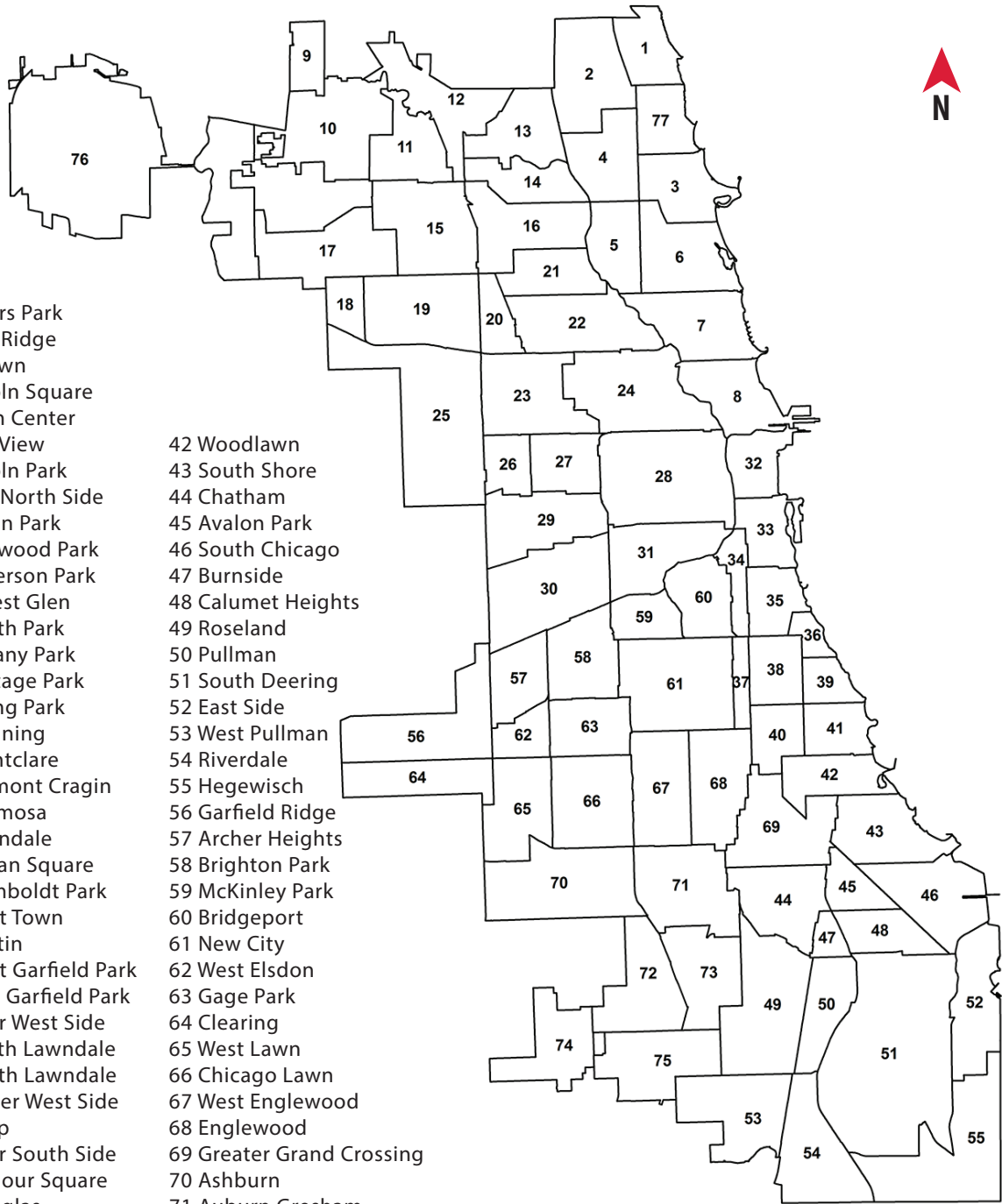


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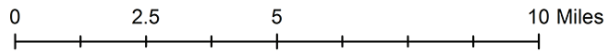
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| 14 Albany Park        | 55 Hegewisch              |
| 15 Portage Park       | 56 Garfield Ridge         |
| 16 Irving Park        | 57 Archer Heights         |
| 17 Dunning            | 58 Brighton Park          |
| 18 Montclare          | 59 McKinley Park          |
| 19 Belmont Cragin     | 60 Bridgeport             |
| 20 Hermosa            | 61 New City               |
| 21 Avondale           | 62 West Elsdon            |
| 22 Logan Square       | 63 Gage Park              |
| 23 Humboldt Park      | 64 Clearing               |
| 24 West Town          | 65 West Lawn              |
| 25 Austin             | 66 Chicago Lawn           |
| 26 West Garfield Park | 67 West Englewood         |
| 27 East Garfield Park | 68 Englewood              |
| 28 Near West Side     | 69 Greater Grand Crossing |
| 29 North Lawndale     | 70 Ashburn                |
| 30 South Lawndale     | 71 Auburn Gresham         |
| 31 Lower West Side    | 72 Beverly                |
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| 34 Armour Square      | 75 Morgan Park            |
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| 36 Oakland            | 77 Edgewater              |
| 37 Fuller Park        |                           |
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| 39 Kenwood            |                           |
| 40 Washington Park    |                           |
| 41 Hyde Park          |                           |



# INTRODUCTION

Long before European settlers arrived in the territory now known as Chicago, Native peoples identified and developed important infrastructure and resources that would one day enable a thriving metropolis. Centuries before John Deere produced the first steel plow, members of the Potawatomi, Miami, and Ho-Chunk were yielding surplus harvests from their farms throughout the region.<sup>1</sup> Many of today's major thoroughfares and train lines follow pathways originally created by Native Americans navigating the area's many marshlands and swamps.<sup>2</sup> Chicago's reputation as a transportation hub existed long before the city's canals, railways, and highways, as Native American travelers first discovered that the short portage between the Chicago and Des Plaines Rivers allowed for expedient access between the Great Lakes and Mississippi water systems.<sup>3</sup>

Today, Native Americans continue to play a central role in the social fabric of the city. On any given day in Chicago, tens of thousands of Native Americans representing over 100 tribes move about their daily lives in the city – attending Chicago Public Schools, working in organizations across the city, organizing community gardens, developing new art installations and walking museums, and gathering with friends and family. They are a core part of our schools, our civic institutions, our community groups, and our businesses. While not among the largest racial/ethnic groups in the city, they are an important part of our social fabric. And yet, Native Americans in the United States are too often understood solely as located in the distant past, not through the lens of their contributions but through the lens of their subjugation. While deep and forthright engagement with the long history of genocide, dispossession, and structural racism against Native Americans is critical to understanding the challenges they face currently, that is only part of the story. We also must recognize the manner in which Native Americans have found a way to persist, live life, make meaning, struggle, survive, and create. We must acknowledge the role they play today as thriving members and contributors to our communities.<sup>4</sup> Thus, herein we focus on the lives, experiences, and conditions of American Indian Chicagoans in order to ensure that they are part of conversations about our present and that their community is recognized as key to advancing racial justice in Chicago today.



In this report, we document the current state of racial justice for Native Americans in Chicago. Our aim is twofold. First, we highlight the historical and ongoing contributions of Native Americans to Chicago. In pursuit of this goal, we draw upon the work of local scholars and organizations focused on Native American history, community organizing, and development throughout the city. Our second aim in this report is to document the many ways that racial inequity affects Native Americans in Chicago today. Here, we draw on our strengths as a policy institute located within a public research university to analyze a range of data that helps us capture the current challenges facing Native American Chicagoans. These present-day challenges are, of course, deeply connected to the past and impossible to understand without acknowledging the history of Native American exclusion and the ongoing barriers created by systems of racial discrimination. By making these inequities visible, we hope to inform future pursuits aimed at addressing racial injustice in Chicago. Also, drawing on the expertise and background of our community partners, we highlight the manner in which Native Americans in Chicago have surmounted various obstacles and persistently demonstrated resiliency. In so doing, we both acknowledge the way in which various policies have constrained opportunities for Native communities and simultaneously recognize how these policies have not gone unchallenged.

## **SUMMARY OF REPORT**

Our report is organized across five substantive areas, each focusing on a different aspect of racial equity. In each section, we draw on available data to describe the current conditions and experiences of Native American Chicagoans, including areas where they are thriving and areas where they are negatively affected by the legacy of racial exclusion as well as ongoing discrimination. Key findings from each section include:

### **Population**

- While Native Americans are stereotyped as residing either in reservations or in rural areas, we document the growing reality of Native American residence in cities. Currently, Native Americans in the U.S. are just as likely to live in urban spaces as the general population.

- Chicago is one of the primary population centers for Native Americans, representing the largest population of Native Americans in the Midwest, the second largest east of the Mississippi River, and the ninth largest in the entire nation.

## **Housing**

- Native Americans reside throughout the city, with the largest population in the Brighton Park and Lake View neighborhoods.
- Half of Native Americans in Chicago are rent-burdened – paying more than 30% of their income in rent.
- We find evidence of housing discrimination toward Native Americans, who are almost twice as likely to be denied a home loan as whites after accounting for the gender of the applicant, presence of a coapplicant, loan amount, income, and neighborhood.

## **(Mis)Representations of American Indians in Popular Culture**

- When Native Americans are depicted in U.S. culture, they are most often represented as historical figures from the “long ago past,” thereby overlooking their importance as active members of contemporary U.S. society and contributors to it.
- Research has shown that Native American imagery in sports mascots or team names fosters negative cultural biases about Native Americans that increases discrimination against them by other groups and has harmful effects for Native American health and self-identity.

## **Education**

- Native Americans are less likely than whites to have a college degree.
- The wage increase associated with a college degree is lower for Native Americans than for all other race groups in Chicago.
- Just over 1,000 Native Americans are presently enrolled in Chicago Public Schools (CPS). Our analysis suggests that CPS may be neglecting the particular needs of these students in terms of test preparation and college readiness.



## Economics

- Native Americans in Chicago have higher levels of unemployment and lower median household income than whites in the city.
- Native Americans are paid 20% less than similarly positioned whites in Chicago. This racial wage gap is similar to that of black residents and larger than that experienced by Latinx and Asian American residents.

## Justice

- The adult incarceration rate in Illinois is much higher for Native Americans than for whites.
- Women's rates of incarceration in Illinois are higher for Native Americans than for women in all other racial/ethnic groups.

Our report also features five expert commentaries that provide a deeper examination of issues affecting Native Americans in Chicago. All five commentaries were written by leaders in the Native American community and offer insightful perspectives on the challenges facing Native Americans, as well as the efforts being made to overcome these barriers. First, Janeen Comenote, Executive Director of the National Urban Indian Family Coalition (NUIFC), provides a demographic overview of urban American Indians and Alaska Natives. In so doing, she debunks the myth that the majority of American Indians reside on reservations and briefly discusses government policies influencing these demographic shifts and subsequent community responses. Our second commentary, written by Jasmine Gurneau, Manager of Native American and Indigenous Initiatives at Northwestern University, focuses on the complexity of determining who “counts” as Native American. Gurneau highlights the various entities, (such as the U.S. government and tribal nations) that have sought to define the criteria for tribal membership and the implications of such decisions. She also discusses the methodological quandaries raised when conducting research on Native peoples. The third commentary in this report centers on housing. It is coauthored by Shelly Tucciarelli, Executive Director for Visionary Ventures NFP, and Pamala Silas, Associate Director for the Center for Native American and Indigenous Research at Northwestern University.

They discuss how the rental market and access to affordable housing has changed over time in Chicago, and the impact of these changes on the city's Native American community. While they outline narratives of displacement and relocation, they also call attention to the rich community networks and organizations that have emerged in response to the city's shifting housing landscape and instability. The fourth commentary is by Cynthia Soto, Director of the Native American Support Program (NASP) at the University of Illinois at Chicago. An alumna of the very program she currently oversees, Soto highlights some of ways NASP supports American Indian college students. She makes a case for university programs that both attend to the unique backgrounds and experiences of Native American students as well as educate the campus community as a whole about Native American history, culture, and peoples. Our fifth and final expert commentary examines the impact of pervasive stereotypes on Native American health outcomes, and is provided by Dr. Angela Lecia Walden, Research Assistant Professor at UIC's Department of Medicine and Clinical Assistant Professor at UIC's Institute for Juvenile Research. Walden traces the connection between the misrepresentation of Native Americans and public policy that neglects the health concerns of this group. She also calls attention to the important work of Chicago-based Native American groups who challenge stereotypes, increase visibility, and advocate for resources for their community.

## **A NOTE ON METHODS AND TERMINOLOGY**

Throughout this report, we have used the best available data to examine the state of racial justice for Native Americans in Chicago (see methodological appendix for details). Despite our best efforts to draw upon a wide range of existing data, significant limitations to our analysis remain. Importantly, we devote limited attention to differences across tribal affiliations. Small sample sizes in our data make it difficult for us to estimate reliable statistics for specific tribes in Chicago. As a result, we focus primarily on Native Americans as a pan-tribal group, including those who identify as "American Indian or Alaska Native." Because many Native Americans identify as mixed-race on the Census and in other administrative data, we include two designations throughout our report. When referring to Native Americans who do not identify as mixed-race, we use the designation "American Indian / Alaska Native." These individuals identified themselves



solely as American Indian or Alaska Native. To include multi-racial Native Americans in our analysis, we also use the more expansive category of “American Indian / Alaska Native alone or in combination with another race.” This category includes both people who identify as American Indian or Alaska Native alone *and* those who identify as American Indian or Alaska Native in addition to another race. Differentiating between *American Indian or Alaska Native alone* and *American Indian or Alaska Native alone or in combination with another race* also allows us to identify important differences in the experience of single- and multi-racial American Indians. We include more information on racial identification in the U.S. Census and American Community Survey in the appendix.

As in our previous reports, we want to explicitly acknowledge that we are building on decades of scholarship within the social sciences and ethnic studies that identifies the social, political, and historical processes involved in the construction of racial/ethnic groups and that contribute to differential outcomes between these groups. We recognize that the use of racial categories in research is often an imprecise measure of personal identity and experience. As Jasmine Gunneau addresses in her expert commentary, “The Politics of Counting,” issues around who gets included within the category Native American or American Indian are highly contested and deeply tied to long-running battles over self-definition, sovereignty, and racialization. As such, many methods of racial/ethnic data collection are imperfect for use with Native groups. Population surveys such as the U.S. Census, for example, rely on self-identification as opposed to tribal membership or kinship. While we acknowledge the imprecision of racial categories recorded in existing data, we also recognize the value of such data in identifying racial differences in patterns of inequity. We believe that the difficulty of measuring and researching Native Americans has too often led to their being left out (as happened with previous reports<sup>5</sup>), a factor that contributes to the invisibility of the challenges this group faces. Therefore, our aim in this report is to use the best available data to identify the conditions for Native Americans in Chicago so that we may be better positioned to create a more equitable society. We hope that where data limitations exist, the findings presented here will be used to motivate future research.

Related to the imprecision around who is counted as Native American by large-scale population surveys, we also recognize that multiple labels have been used in reference to this group. These include *Native American*, *Indigenous*, and *American Indian*. We

acknowledge the complicated history of these terms and their relation to colonialism as well as the way Native American groups have reclaimed them in efforts of self-determination and community building. Throughout this report, we use these terms interchangeably. We recognize that these are imperfect labels applied to a diverse population representing hundreds of different tribal nations. Throughout this report, we adopt these provisional labels in the service of identifying and describing patterns of racial equity. We intentionally avoid taking a stance on which term is most appropriate, deferring this decision to entities better suited to represent the interests of Native peoples.

Finally, given data limitations as well as time and labor constraints, we could not document group patterns in all domains relevant to Chicago's Native American community. For example, national studies have shown that Native Americans face particular challenges related to health and hate crime victimization,<sup>6</sup> however, we could not find data that would help us document the specifics of these topics in Chicago. These kinds of limitations represent key areas for future research.

## **CONCLUSION**

In closing, we wish to acknowledge that the efforts culminating in this report took place on the ancestral lands of American Indians. We recognize that our offices and homes are built in areas originally inhabited by Native Americans from multiple tribes, including the Potawatomi, Odawa, Sauk, Ojibwe, Illinois, Kickapoo (Kiikaapoi), Miami (Myaamia), Mascouten, Wea, Delaware, Winnebago, Menominee, and Mesquakie. Throughout this report, we seek to honor this history by making visible the contemporary challenges facing Chicago's Native American population. Our purpose is to shed light on these barriers so that we may be better positioned to remove them. Chicago's history of racial exclusion does not determine our destiny. It is our hope that the research presented here will contribute to broader efforts taking place to transform our city into a more equitable environment for all residents.





## URBAN INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES: A DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW



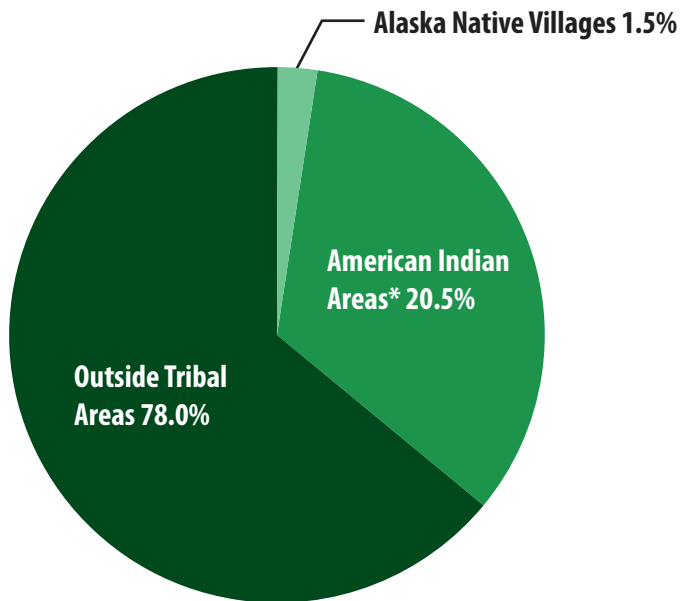
Janeen S. Comenote lives in Seattle, WA and is an enrolled member of the Quinault Indian Nation and is also Oglala, Hesquiaht, and Kwakiutl. Comenote is the founding Executive Director of the National Urban Indian Family Coalition (NUIFC). The NUIFC is a national coalition representing 39 urban Indian organizations in 27 cities and more than two million Native Americans living away from their traditional land base. The NUIFC remains one of only a few national organizations dedicated to, as they put it, “Making the Invisible Visible” and providing a platform and voice for this underrepresented population in America.

The United States is an immigrant nation to all but one population: American Indians and Alaska Natives. When examining the population of American Indians and Alaska Natives (AI/AN), it is important to know that these form two distinct groups: (1) the on-reservation population (governed by tribal governments) and (2) the off-reservation population of Native peoples (served by off-reservation or “urban Indian” organizations).

According to the United Nations, approximately 81% of the population of the United States resides in urbanized areas.<sup>7</sup> In 2010, according to the U.S. Census, the U.S. population was 308.7 million. Of that total, 2.9 million people, or 0.9%, were American Indian and Alaska Natives alone. In addition, 2.3 million people, or another 0.7%, reported as American Indian and Alaska Native in combination with one or more other races. Together, these two groups totaled 5.2 million people.

The geography of the AI/AN population is widely distributed in the United States, and contrary to popular belief, the majority of Native people do *not* reside on reservations. The chart below indicates that, in 2010, 78% of AI/AN resided off of reservation trust lands.<sup>8</sup>

## AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKA NATIVE GEOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN



Source: 2010 U.S. Census, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

Note: This data source includes federal American Indian reservations and/or off-reservation trust lands, Oklahoma tribal statistical areas, tribal designated statistical areas, state American Indian reservations, and state designated American Indian statistical areas.

## What Is an Urban Indian?

Native people who do not live on their reservation or territorial land have many diverse residential and cultural experiences. Describing these lifestyles adequately can prove difficult. This is partially explained by the fact that “‘urban’ is not a kind of Indian. It is an experience, one that most Indian people today have had.”<sup>9</sup>

One way to capture the diverse experiences of urban Indians is to consider the reasons that Indians live in cities and the length of time they have done so, as suggested by the following four categories of urban Indians:

- Long-term residents: Those who have resided in a city for several generations. This category also includes the Native people who traditionally owned the land on which the urban center is based.
- Forced residents: Those forced to relocate to urban centers by government policy or the need to access specialized health or other services.
- Permanent residents: Those who have permanently relocated from other areas in search of different or better opportunities.
- Medium- and short-term visitors: Those who may visit for specific purposes but do not intend to stay permanently (e.g., visits to family, relocation to pursue higher education, etc.).

Several of these categories overlap, and Native people’s experience may fall into multiple categories.

## History of Urban Indian Communities

In 1990, a significant demographic shift occurred for AI/AN: For the first time in history, 51% of all AI/AN resided in metropolitan areas rather than on reservations and trust lands. This movement to metropolitan areas has steadily increased over the last 30 years. As of 2010, 78% of all AI/AN lived off reservation, and it is estimated that as much as 70% of that population live in metropolitan areas. Many different AI/AN Nations are represented in this group, with a large number of urban AI/AN being of mixed heritage. Many implications in terms of access to resources and services accompany this double status of urban AI/AN, who are members of their tribes in addition to being residents of cities. This movement to urban residence is part of the long and brutal history in which Native peoples were displaced from their land, forced onto reservations and trust lands, and then relocated once again.

For example, legislative efforts, from the 1887 Dawes Act to the 1934 Reorganization Act, have decimated and dispersed American Indian populations throughout the nation. Moreover, in 1954, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) initiated the “Termination and Relocation” phase of the Reorganization Act, now commonly known as the “Relocation Act.” Over 160,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives were relocated from reservations to cities. The policy was designed to end the Indian “problem,” the notion that too many Indians lived on reservations without enough federal funds to cover services for them. But this so-called Indian problem or the lack of adequate services in AI/AN reservations in fact reflected the failure of the U.S. government to live up to treaty obligations. The government managed this failure by implementing the Relocation Act, which entailed giving any participating AI/AN a one-way ticket to a city as far from their reservation as possible and then placing them in substandard housing where no or very few other AI/AN lived.

While the government’s publicly articulated goal of the Relocation Act was to provide the opportunity for any AI/AN who agreed to be relocated to build a new life in a city, the lived realities for AI/AN were quite different. Once relocated, Native peoples rarely returned to their home reservation, and for many, relocation resulted in a decreased sense of tribal identity.<sup>10</sup> These represent different moments of a historically deeply fraught relationship between the federal government and American Indians given U.S. government attempts to legislatively disassemble American Indian lands, social structures, and value systems.



On the other hand, however, the migratory shifts that resulted from these policies created vibrant, multifaceted populations of American Indians living in cities. Contrary to government attempts to assimilate Indians into the dominant white culture, urban Indians organized among themselves in order to retain their cultural heritage and identities. They began to formally organize in the 1950s in Chicago and Phoenix and gained influence during the American Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Native groups successfully raised awareness of the needs of their constituencies and gained access to federal social and economic programs. Since then, urban Indian organizations – from highly evolved and well-funded centers to small grassroots groups – have provided much-needed services to the Native community residing in urban centers and have enabled AI/AN to maintain their values and ties to one another, serving as an important cultural anchor for urban Native families and children.

## POPULATION

Long before European and American settlers came to the land that is now Chicago, the area was a place of great significance for Native Americans throughout the Midwest. An elevated strip of land around present-day 31st Street and Kedzie Avenue separated two major waterways. To the Northeast, the Chicago River provided access to the Great Lakes and onward to the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic Ocean. To the Southwest, the Des Plaines River could be used to travel to the Mississippi and beyond to the Gulf of Mexico or the base of the Rocky Mountains. Native Americans from tribes throughout the region would portage their boats across this strip of land in what is now the Little Village Neighborhood in Chicago's Southwest side.<sup>11</sup>

Reflecting the area's geographic significance, historians have found that between 25 and 30 Native American tribes claim Chicago as part of their ancestral lands.<sup>12</sup> Among the most populous were the Potawatomi, Ojibwe, Odawa, Menominee, Miami, and Ho-Chunk. In addition to recognizing the significant impact that the two massive waterways might have for trade and exchange, these early Native American tribes also contributed to the development of what is now Chicago by farming the area's fertile land and cultivating its abundant wildlife.<sup>13</sup> The rich soil around Chicago was used to generate surplus crops used in trade for furs, boats, and other goods. Benefiting from the many travelers passing through its waterways, Native Americans soon established the area around Chicago as a hub of trade and commerce.<sup>14</sup>

The first U.S. settlement in Chicago was Fort Dearborn, built in 1803 at the present-day intersection of Wabash and Michigan Avenues. Fort Dearborn emerged after the Treaty of Greenville ceded the state of Ohio to the U.S. government.<sup>15</sup> After the passage of the treaty, U.S. expansion into Illinois continued throughout the 19th century. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 forced Native Americans throughout the U.S. to relocate to lands west of the Mississippi River. In Chicago, the 1833 Treaty of Chicago granted the U.S. government the legal authority to seize the remaining Indian lands in Illinois, thereby forcing Native Americans residing in the region to reservations, most of which were in the west. Many Native Americans, however, resisted government attempts at their forced removal, and often encountered violence as a result.<sup>16</sup> By the time Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1837, the U.S. government had forcibly removed most of the

Native Americans who had resided on the land for centuries. The creation of Chicago as we know it, therefore, is fundamentally connected to the forced removal of Native Americans as well as subsequent attempts to control their movement.

While the U.S. government viewed Native Americans as an impediment to progress and development in the early 1800s, it changed its stance during the economic booms of the 1920s and again in the 1950s when the U.S. government came to view Native American populations as a partial remedy to labor shortages.<sup>17</sup> The economic boom of the post-World War II era created huge demands for labor in manufacturing hubs such as Chicago. The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 was designed to address these shortfalls by encouraging the movement of Native Americans to the city. The Act designated federal funds to relocate Native Americans from reservations to cities like Chicago throughout the U.S.<sup>18</sup> Massive advertising campaigns in reservations touted the benefits of urban life, while government recruiters actively sought to convince those living on reservations to relocate to cities.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the fact that the labor needs in major cities were the explicitly stated motivation in the passage of the Indian Relocation Act, government officials worked hard to characterize moving off reservations and to urban hubs as beneficial to Native Americans, as a way to move to opportunity and away from challenging circumstances on reservations.<sup>20</sup> These sales pitches did not, however, acknowledge the historical political-economic context from which the bleak conditions on many reservations emerged – namely, previously government-sponsored relocation policies that pushed Native peoples onto infertile land without a sustained commitment to generating employment opportunities or infrastructure. Nor did many government officials acknowledge that programs aiming to encourage Native American urban migration were also part of a broader interest among some in Congress to terminate reservations and end federal obligations to Native peoples through the depopulation of reservations and the erasure of Native American heritage through urban assimilation.<sup>21</sup>

While Chicago is not often viewed as a major population center for Native Americans, they have a long and complicated history with the city. First forced to leave and then compelled to come back, the migration of Native Americans to and from Chicago has been greatly influenced by federal policy around land expansion and labor demands. Despite the fact that Native Americans remain the area's longest-term inhabitants, and despite their critical role in the history of Chicago's geography and infrastructure, Native

Americans persist today largely as an invisible minority among major stakeholders in the city.

In this section of the report, we present data on the Native American population in Chicago. In contrast to prevalent stereotypes of Native Americans as primarily residing in rural areas, we call attention to Chicago as one of the major population centers for Native Americans in the U.S. and home to the largest Native American population in the Midwest. We also show that Native Americans are just as likely to reside in cities as the general population.

### Current Native American Population in Chicago

The most recent data from the American Community Survey<sup>22</sup> estimates that the American Indian and Alaska Native population alone or in combination with another race in the U.S. is nearly 5.5 million, constituting 1.7% of all U.S. residents. While Native Americans have a sizable population, they constitute one of the smallest racial/ethnic groups in the U.S.

Native Americans reside throughout the country, with major hubs located in the Northeast, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Nevada, California, and around Seattle. Los Angeles County has the largest population of Native Americans in the U.S., with nearly 160,000 residents identifying as American Indian or Alaska Native. In Cook

## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### U.S. Counties with Largest Resident Population of American Indian / Alaska Native Alone and AIAN in Combination with Another Race, 2013 - 2017

Rank	City	Resident Population
1	Los Angeles County, California	157,517
2	Maricopa County, Arizona	117,941
3	Tulsa County, Oklahoma	69,176
4	McKinley County, New Mexico	57,270
5	Robeson County, North Carolina	54,666
6	Apache County, Arizona	53,580
7	Oklahoma County, Oklahoma	53,507
8	San Juan County, New Mexico	52,448
9	San Diego County, California	51,911
10	Pima County, Arizona	50,280
11	Navajo County, Arizona	50,094
12	King County, Washington	45,661
13	Riverside County, California	45,050
14	San Bernardino County, California	44,044
15	Harris County, Texas	43,386
16	San Joaquin County, California	40,958
17	Bernalillo County, New Mexico	40,012
18	Coconino County, Arizona	39,478
19	<b>Cook County, Illinois</b>	<b>38,651</b>
20	Anchorage Municipality, Alaska	37,535

Source: American Community Survey

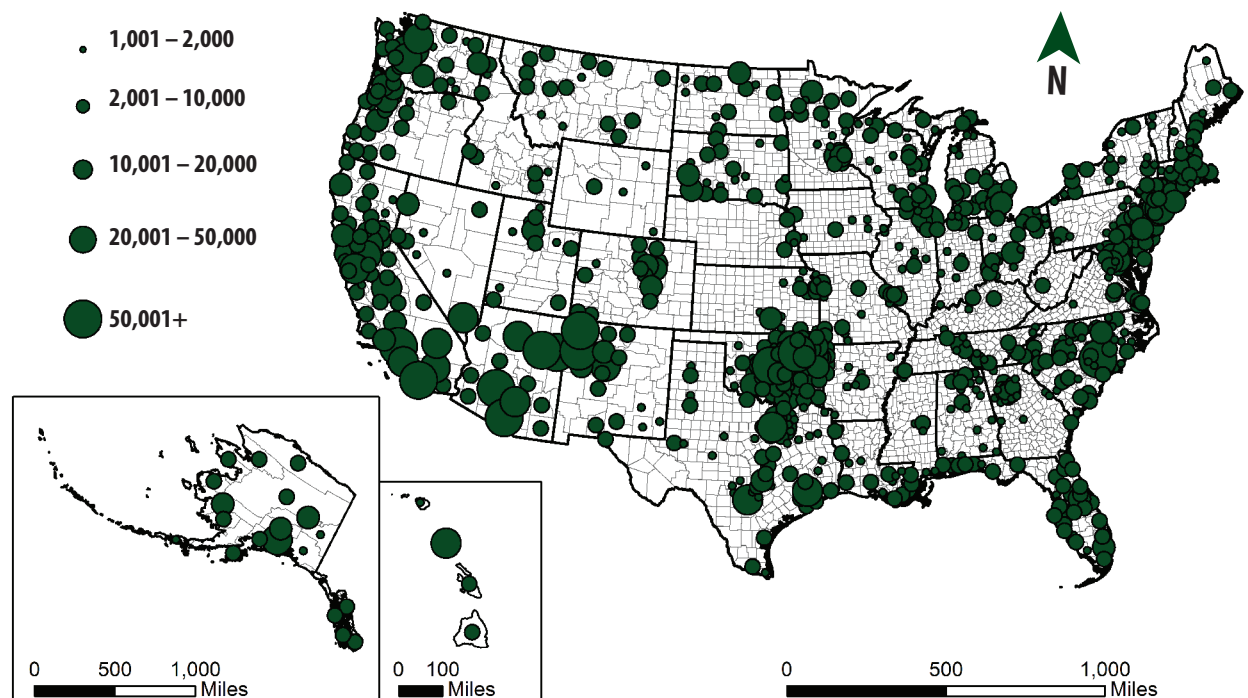


County, nearly 39,000 residents identify as Native American, making it the 19th most populous county for Native Americans in the country.

The effects of American Indian removal to reservations and their subsequent relocation to cities is evidenced in the counties where Native Americans are most likely to reside. Among the top 20 counties with the highest population of Native Americans, there is a mix of both urban (Los Angeles County) and rural (Robeson County) areas. Notably, there are only two counties east of the Mississippi (Robeson County, NC and Cook County, IL) on this list – indicating the prolonged effects of the Indian Relocation Act of 1830 that forced Native Americans to move west of the Mississippi and earlier military campaigns during the British colonization of the Eastern shoreline that removed Native Americans residing in the new colonies.<sup>23</sup>

Just under 22,000 Native Americans reside within the city of Chicago, making it the ninth largest Native American population center among major U.S. cities. New York City has the largest Native American population at 88,273. Besides New York and Chicago, all other cities with substantial Native American populations are located in the West or Southwest.

**POPULATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKA NATIVE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION WITH ANOTHER RACE ACROSS U.S. COUNTIES, 2013 - 2017**



Source: American Community Survey

## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

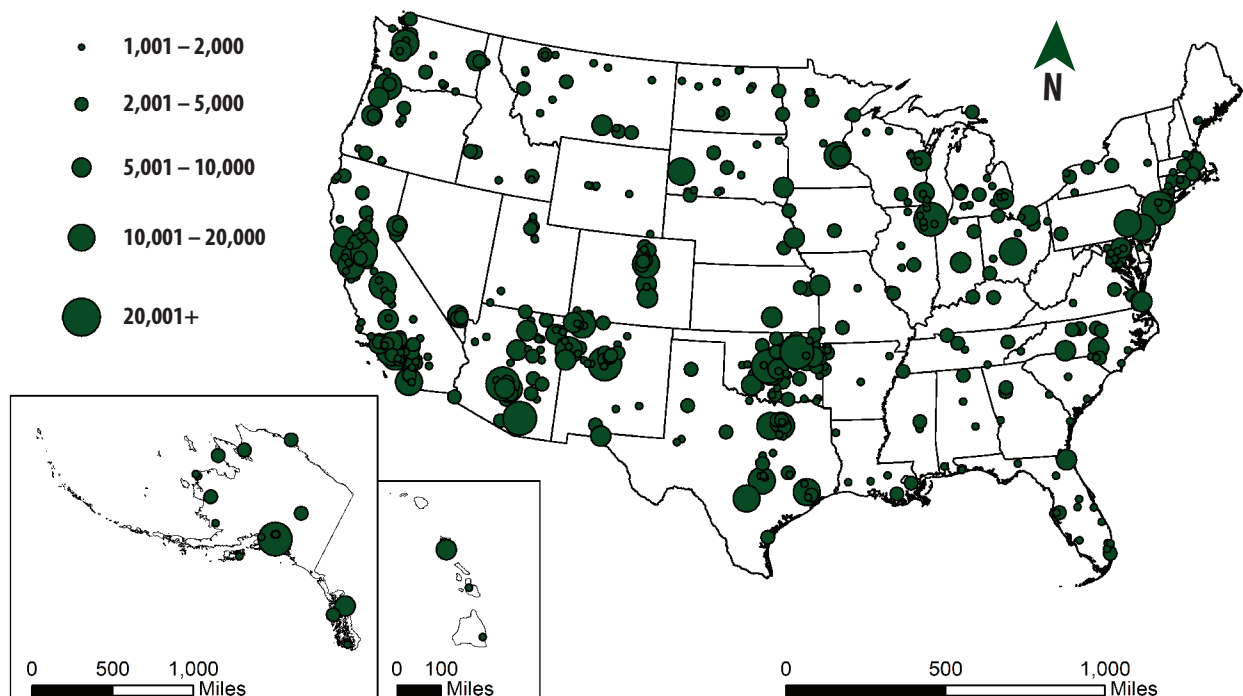
### U.S. Cities of over 250,000 with Largest Resident Population of American Indian / Alaska Native Alone or in Combination with Another Race, 2013 - 2017

Rank	City	Resident Population
1	New York City, New York	88,273
2	Los Angeles, California	57,995
3	Phoenix, Arizona	47,447
4	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	42,133
5	Tulsa, Oklahoma	40,020
6	Anchorage, Alaska	37,535
7	Albuquerque, New Mexico	31,749
8	Tucson, Arizona	25,347
9	<b>Chicago, Illinois</b>	<b>21,929</b>
10	San Antonio, Texas	19,845

Source: American Community Survey

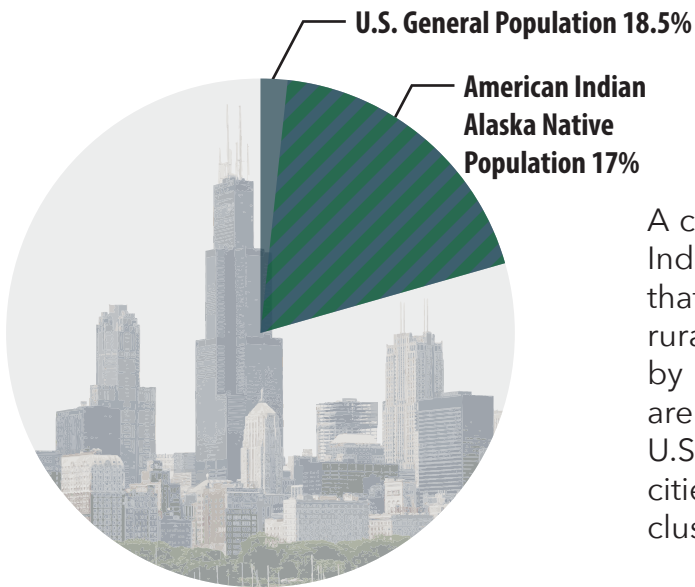
Native Americans are often stereotyped as primarily residing in reservations or rural areas.<sup>24</sup> Yet, our analysis found that Native Americans are no more likely to live in rural areas than the general population. In fact, 66% of Native Americans live in locations officially designated as urban clusters or urban areas by the U.S. Census Bureau (incorporated places with a population of at least 2,500 for urban clusters, and at least 50,000 for urban areas) compared to 71% of the general population. Using a more rigorous threshold, 37% of Native Americans reside in places with a population of at least 50,000, compared to 40% of the general U.S. population. Focusing on major cities, 17% of Native Americans live in cities with a population of more than 250,000, compared to 18.5% of the general U.S. population.

### POPULATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKA NATIVE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION WITH ANOTHER RACE ACROSS U.S. CITIES AND TOWNS, 2013 - 2017



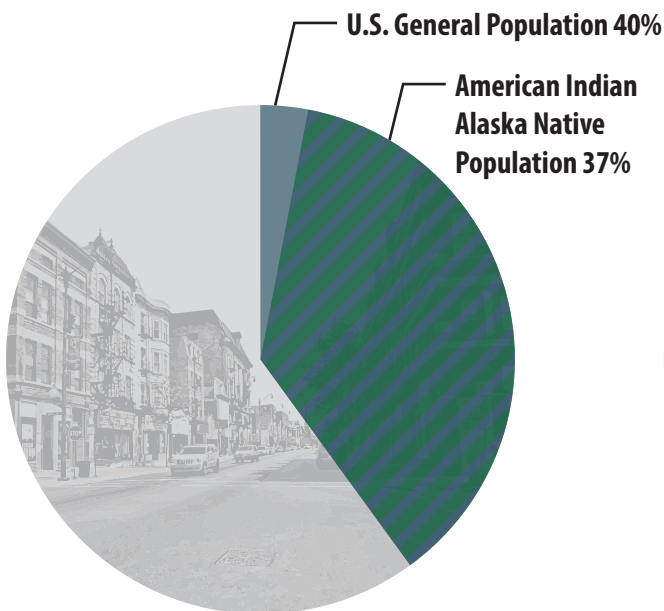
Source: American Community Survey

**AMERICAN INDIANS ARE JUST AS LIKELY TO LIVE IN LARGE CITIES AS THE REST OF THE U.S. POPULATION**

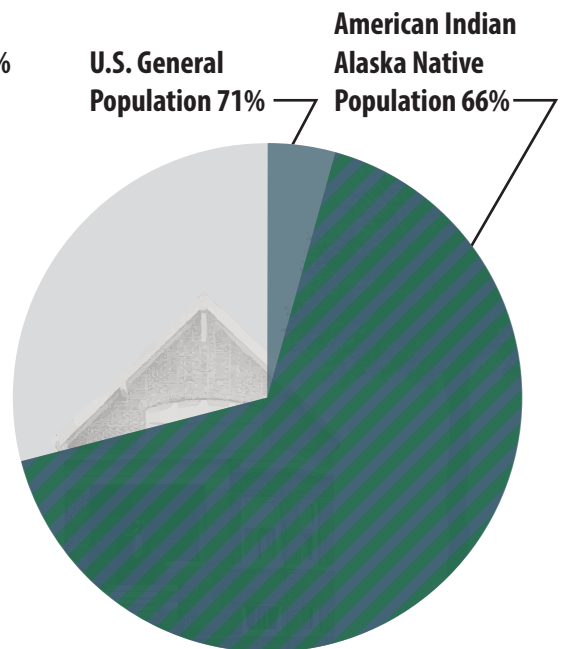


A common myth about American Indians is the incorrect perception that they live predominantly in rural communities. The fact is that, by and large, American Indians are just as likely as the rest of the U.S. population to live in large cities, urban areas, and urban clusters.

**Percent of People Living in Large Cities with a Population over 250,000**



**Percent of People Living in Urban Areas with a Population over 50,000**



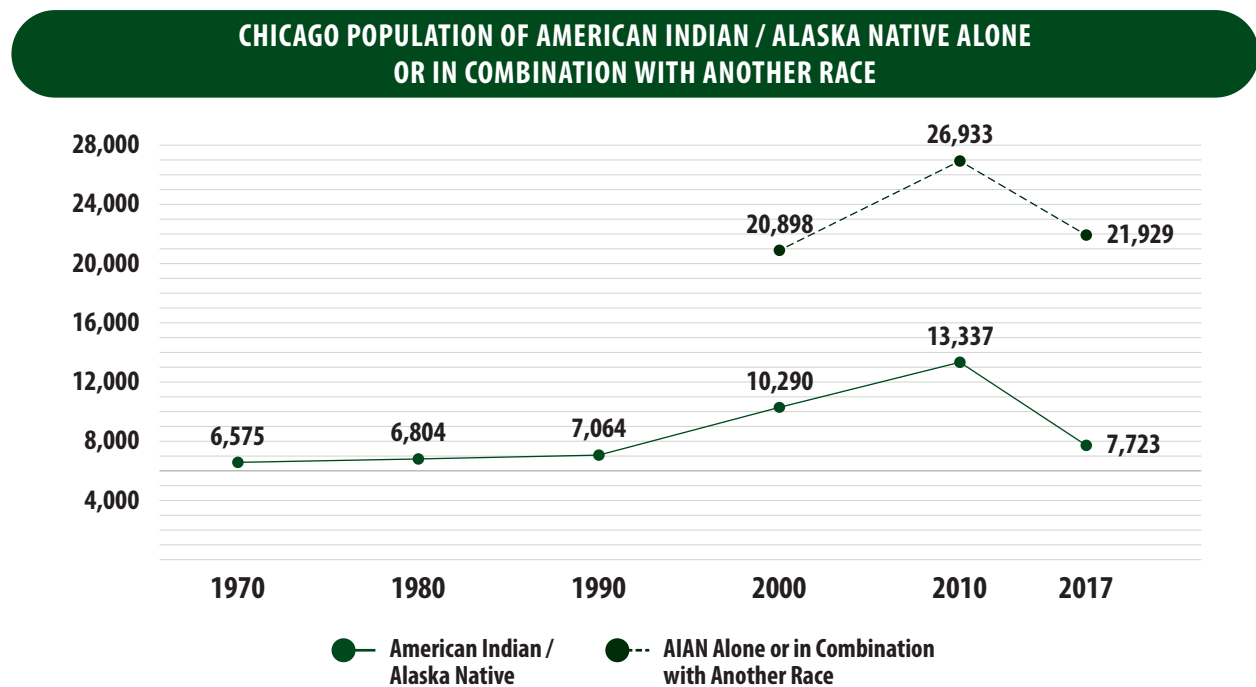
**Percent of People Living in Urban Clusters with a Population over 2,500**

Source: American Community Survey

## Population Change

The population of Native Americans in Chicago has fluctuated in recent years. Among those identifying as Native American alone or in combination with another racial/ethnic group, the population grew from 21,000 in 2000 to nearly 27,000 in 2010. The most recent data from 2017 indicate that the population of Native Americans in Chicago has almost returned to its 2000 levels. These declines in Chicago's Native American population are mirrored by population decline among the city's black population. As documented elsewhere,<sup>25</sup> Chicago's black population has decreased by over 20% since 2000.

Focusing on those who identified as Native American alone (not mixed race) allows us to track population changes from further back in history, since this identifier has been used more consistently in the U.S. Census prior to 2000. From 1970 to 1990, the population of Native Americans (alone) in Chicago grew slowly from about 6,500 to just over 7,000. Between 1990 and 2000, however, the population increased substantially to over 10,000, and by 2010, the population peaked at over 13,000. Between 2010 and 2017, however, we again see that there has been substantial population decline of nearly 50%. Again, this recent population decline may be part of broader shifts taking place in Chicago related to the massive out-migration of the city's black residents.<sup>26</sup>



Source: U.S. Census and American Community Survey



## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### Population Estimates for American Indian / Alaska Native Residents in Chicago, 2012 - 2016

Racial / Ethnic Affiliation	Chicago Population
Apache	87
Blackfoot	79
Cherokee	687
Cheyenne	28
Chickasaw	12
Chippewa	523
Choctaw	92
Iroquois	69
Lumbee	167
Navajo	66
Potawatomi	52
Seminole	45
Sioux	167
Tlingit	10
Hopi	9
South American Indian	232
Mexican American Indian	1,007
Other American Indian	350
Two or More American Indian Groups	85
Inupiat	109
Yup'ik	17
Tribe not specified	4,371
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,264</b>

Source: American Community Survey PUMS

## The Diversity of Chicago's Native American Tribes

Before European and American settlers came to Chicago, the area was an intertribal space of trade and exchange.<sup>27</sup> Today, Chicago remains an area where multiple tribes reside. The American Indian Center reports that over 140 tribal nations are represented in the Chicago metro area.<sup>28</sup> Of these, over 19 (some of which are not federally recognized) are identified by the American Community Survey as being represented within the city of Chicago and having a large enough number to be reported in publicly available data. The largest shares of Native Americans belong to Cherokee and Chippewa tribes. In contrast, the Potawatomi make up a very small proportion of Native Americans in Chicago, despite having the largest presence prior to the city's incorporation in the early 19th century.

In Chicago, 60% of those identifying as Native American in the American Community Survey also identified as another race/ethnicity. Nearly half of mixed-race Native Americans identify as white, and about one-fifth identify as black.

## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### Population Estimages for AIAN in Combination with Another Race in Chicago, 2012 - 2016

Racial / Ethnic Affiliation	Chicago Population
White / AIAN	5,735
Black / AIAN	3,017
AIAN / Asian Indian	43
AIAN / Other Race	706
White / Black / AIAN	2,453
White / Asian American / AIAN	97
White / Other Race / AIAN	339
White / AIAN / Filipino	21
White / Black / AIAN / Asian American	119
White / AIAN / Asian American / Pacific Islander	19
AIAN / Asian American / Pacific Islander / Other Race	133
White / Black / AIAN / Pacific Islander / Other Race	171
Black / AIAN / Asian American / Pacific Islander / Other Race	268
White / Black / AIAN / Asian American / Pacific Islander / Other Race	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,144</b>

Source: American Community Survey PUMS

### Summary

Native Americans have called Chicago home for longer than any other group. Yet, federal and local policies leading up to the incorporation of the city in 1837 forcefully removed Native Americans from their homes and relocated them to reservations located primarily west of the Mississippi River. By the mid-20th century, federal policies were instituted to encourage the migration of Native Americans from reservations to cities like Chicago. Multiple factors contributed to the government's efforts to promote the urban migration of American Indians. Labor shortage in cities following World War II provided an economic rationale to increase urban migration to meet production demands.<sup>29</sup> Another intention behind government programs encouraging the urban migration of American Indians was the goal of terminating reservations through depopulation and the erasure of Native American identity through assimilation.<sup>30</sup> While

having negative consequences on reservation life through prompting disinvestment, the agenda of reservation termination ultimately failed.<sup>31</sup> Not only did many Native Americans remain tied to communities on reservations, but the substantial number of those migrating to cities maintained their cultural heritage and Native American identity. Thus, instead, of disappearing into the mix of metropolitan populations, Urban Natives made novel contributions to the social fabric of cities. This was particularly true in Chicago, where the population of Native Americans grew substantially from 1970 through 2010. Organizations such as the American Indian Center helped ensure that traditions were remembered in urban environments like Chicago, where Native Americans made up a relatively small share of the city's population.

## ON THE POLITICS OF COUNTING



Jasmine Gurneau (Menominee/Oneida) is a Manager of Native American and Indigenous Initiatives at Northwestern University. She leads university-wide initiatives related to the inclusion of Native American/Indigenous students, faculty, staff, and alumni. Her role includes facilitating campus conversations and cultivating partnerships with tribal communities. Gurneau earned a B.A. in Sociology from DePaul University and an M.A. in Learning Sciences from Northwestern. Gurneau was named one of Chicago Scholars’ “35 Under 35: Young Leaders Making An Impact.”

### Data and Definitions

When it comes to data, erasure and invisibility are par for the course for Native Americans. In fact, the creation of racial categories itself acts as a form of erasure for Indigenous communities. The racialization of Indigenous peoples erases the diversity and variation among tribal nations and communities as well as undermining their sovereignty. Against that backdrop, the very process of data collection, which is premised on these existing racial categories, reinforces this erasure. For instance, some scholars examine how even the “Latino category erases Indigenous difference,” and point out that when Indigenous people from other countries come to the United States, they do not stop being Indigenous.<sup>32</sup> As a result, data are often not collected due to the difficulty in determining who “counts.” A great deal of variation exists in terms of who is counted – and much of this depends on who is doing the counting as well as how they are defining Native identity. This variation is in part about the historical complexity surrounding the definition of “Native American,” which, unlike other racial categories



in the U.S., is not just a racial category but also a legal and political status. A 1990 report by the American Indian Economic Development Association (AIEDA) summarized that “there are different criteria to determine Native American identity, such as tribal enrollment, blood quantum (percentage of Indian blood), community recognition, self-identification, or some combination of the above. Different definitions have different purposes: social, administrative, or legal. Despite much thinking in the area of who is Native American, *there has been no agreement on a singular definition or statement* [emphasis added].”<sup>33</sup> This statement remains true nearly thirty years later.

Prior to colonial presence, tribes identified citizenship based on “kinship, clans and even adoption”.<sup>34</sup> While this criteria has shifted over time, tribes are sovereign nations that have their own collective agreements regarding who belongs to their community. In addition to having different languages, customs and traditions, and governance structures, these sovereign nations also vary with regard to criteria for tribal inclusion.

Beyond the differing ways in which tribes determine tribal inclusion, political and legal battles over how the U.S. government recognizes tribal citizenship go back hundreds of years and are deeply connected to attempts to remove Native Americans from tribal land. For example, in legislative directives such as the Dawes Act of 1887, the U.S. government imposed specific guidelines on Native Americans to identify and track tribal recognition. This imposition emphasized individuality and individual (rather than collective) land ownership – two elements that run counter to Native American cultural values. Native peoples were removed from their land and simultaneously excised from the polity as the U.S. government sought out ways to rid themselves of their obligation to Native Peoples and acquire Native land. These imposed norms for counting citizenship persist in different forms as the tribes who technically have the freedom to set their own requirements according to the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Article 33 still are imposing restrictive requirements themselves, often fighting over limited (perceived and real) resources while figuring out how to maintain their sovereignty. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which reviews all regulations, continues to play an important role in these dynamics, limiting true tribal sovereignty in determining citizenship.

Meanwhile, self-identification, which is the practice in the case of college admission application prompts or U.S. Census surveys, poses its own unique set of difficulties. The problem with self-identification is that some people may check Native American

with the intention to “benefit” from misconceptions (e.g., Native Americans receive free college tuition). Others may identify as Native American on the basis that they simply misunderstand the term, interpreting it as meaning born in the U.S.A. or being of Indian American descent. Finally, due to the growing popularity of DNA tests, people may choose to identify as Native American because they believe that they have some distant connection to a Native American or “native blood,” undermining tribal sovereignty.

## **Implications for Counting**

Struggles around definition(s) and counting Native Americans have material implications and manifest in different programmatic and legislative rules used to determine “who counts.” Currently, the U.S. government honors tribal nations through federal or state recognition. Eligibility for services for Native Americans, however, varies widely across programs locally and nationwide. For example, programs like the Title VI American Indian Education Program and American Indian Health Services, which receive federal funding, require the recipient of services – whether it is a student in the Chicago Public School system whose grandparent has tribal affiliation or a patient in a clinic whose parent “counts” as Native – be only one or two generations removed from a family member enrolled in a U.S. federally recognized tribe. This approach to determine inclusion does not apply to any First Nations from Canada, or Indigenous peoples from Mexico or other parts of the Americas.

In addition to the difficulty associated with identification categories and criteria for eligibility, methodology, or the very manner in which researchers attempt to obtain data, has been a problem. It has been difficult for data collectors to reach indigenous communities. According to the U.S. Census, approximately 26 percent of the Native American population live in hard-to-count Census tracts.<sup>35</sup> Because the U.S. Census is a critical tool for the allocation of federal funds, the undercounting of Native American populations means the group will receive fewer government services and limited government representation. As the Leadership Conference Education Fund points out, “Undercounting results in Native peoples being denied a full voice in policy decision-making.”<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, people who are actually affiliated with a tribal nation or community in some form may choose not to report their personal information to the Census because of the

long history of distrust between Natives and the U.S. government. Native Americans are therefore simultaneously overcounted *and* undercounted. This skews data, which has ramifications for policy development and resource allocation.

In some cases, like the American Community Survey (ACS), researchers have collected tribal affiliations but have not collected information from individuals who identify with multiple tribes, or specific tribal nations within a larger tribal name such as Ojibwe or Iroquois. This failure to accurately gather data does not reflect the reality of many Native peoples. Inter-marriage is very common and so, as in the case of my own children, people may be part of five or more different tribal nations. To further complicate the data issue, these individuals are often unable to enroll in any one tribe. Even so, most tribes have restrictions that you are able to enroll in only one, thus, dismissing recognition of any other tribe (regardless of enrollment qualification). So both tribal as well as U.S. government survey researchers are not capturing multi-tribal communities.

## Challenging Invisibility

Heather J. Shotton, Shelly C. Lowe, and Stephanie J. Waterman, editors of *Beyond the Asterisk: Understanding Native Students in Higher Education*, unpack the issue of Native American erasure and invisibility within the context of higher education. They point out that Native Americans are “often excluded from institutional data and reporting, omitted from the curriculum, absent from the research and the literature, and virtually written out of the higher education story. In particular, Native American students are generally not reported or discussed in quantitative research findings or are noted as *not statistically significant* [emphasis added].”<sup>37</sup> The glaring lack of Native Americans in mainstream research has significant negative impacts. For instance, educators, politicians, and service providers remain uninformed about the issues and challenges Native Americans face, our achievements and contributions, and how best to serve our population. The absence of Native Americans in research data or narratives also perpetuates both invisibility and erasure, stereotypes, and the ongoing violence towards Indigenous Peoples.

While data collection pertaining to Native peoples has historically been difficult given the politics of self-identification, government classifications, and tribal eligibility criteria, it should not prevent researchers from including this population sample in

their research. Luckily, people around the country are working hard to fill this gap and counter our invisibility. Local organizations like the American Indian Center and the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative, and national organizations like the National Urban Indian Family Coalition and the Reclaiming Native Truth Project, seek to expand data available to social service agencies and policy makers so that they may better serve the Native community. The nuances surrounding who is counted as “Native American” and the consequences of excluding data on Native Americans, are reasons why researchers must be mindful of deficit narratives and instead partner with Indigenous researchers and organizations to ensure accurate representations of Indigenous communities.

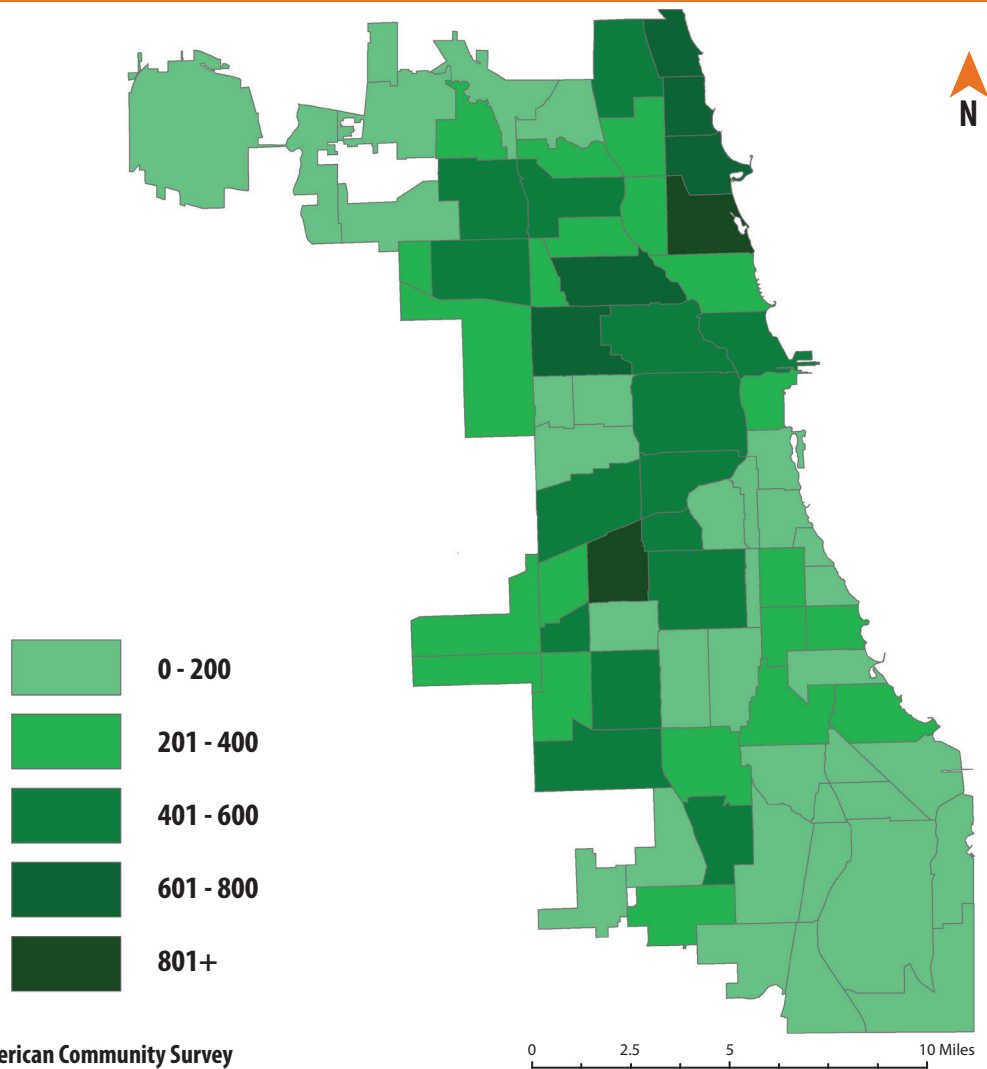


# HOUSING

## Where Do Native Americans Reside in Chicago?

Native Americans reside throughout Chicago, but some community areas have a large number of Native Americans while others have very few. Brighton Park and Lake View each have about 900 Native American residents, the largest population for all Chicago's community areas. As a share of the community area's population, West Elsdon and McKinley Park have the highest concentration of Native American residents, where 3% of the neighborhood's population identify as Native American.

**CHICAGO POPULATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKA NATIVE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION WITH ANOTHER RACE BY COMMUNITY AREA, 2013 - 2017**



Source: American Community Survey



## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### Population of American Indian / Alaska Natives Alone or in Combination with Another Race by Community Area, 2013 - 2017

Community Area	Total Population	AIAN Population	% of Community Area that is AIAN	% of Chicago Population Residing in Community Area
Brighton Park	44,813	916	2.04%	4.18%
Lake View	100,470	891	0.89%	4.06%
Rogers Park	55,062	678	1.23%	3.09%
Humboldt Park	56,427	662	1.17%	3.02%
Uptown	57,973	648	1.12%	2.95%
Edgewater	55,965	614	1.10%	2.80%
Logan Square	73,927	602	0.81%	2.75%
Portage Park	64,313	586	0.91%	2.67%
Chicago Lawn	53,098	585	1.10%	2.67%
West Elsdon	19,210	574	2.99%	2.62%
West Town	83,621	552	0.66%	2.52%
Lower West Side	32,888	546	1.66%	2.49%
New City	39,646	546	1.38%	2.49%
South Lawndale	74,851	542	0.72%	2.47%
West Ridge	76,215	536	0.70%	2.44%
Irving Park	54,606	518	0.95%	2.36%
Ashburn	43,792	502	1.15%	2.29%
Near North Side	88,893	487	0.55%	2.22%
Washington Heights	27,453	487	1.77%	2.22%
Mckinley Park	15,767	475	3.01%	2.17%
Near West Side	62,872	443	0.70%	2.02%
Belmont Cragin	79,956	408	0.51%	1.86%
Lincoln Park	67,710	393	0.58%	1.79%
Clearing	25,891	389	1.50%	1.77%
Loop	35,880	388	1.08%	1.77%
North Center	35,789	362	1.01%	1.65%
Auburn Gresham	46,278	350	0.76%	1.60%
South Shore	48,479	346	0.71%	1.58%
Lincoln Square	41,715	338	0.81%	1.54%
Morgan Park	28,262	331	1.17%	1.51%
Avondale	37,368	329	0.88%	1.50%
Washington Park	11,502	313	2.72%	1.43%
Albany Park	51,992	309	0.59%	1.41%
Montclare	13,784	305	2.21%	1.39%
Jefferson Park	26,808	275	1.03%	1.25%
Grand Boulevard	22,905	272	1.19%	1.24%
Greater Grand Crossing	31,766	265	0.83%	1.21%
Austin	95,260	253	0.27%	1.15%
Garfield Ridge	36,452	252	0.69%	1.15%

Source: American Community Survey

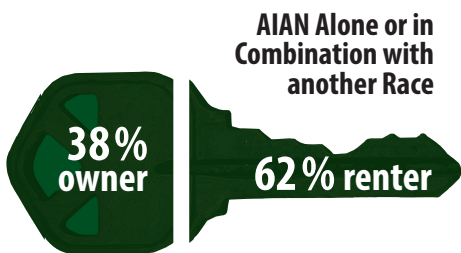
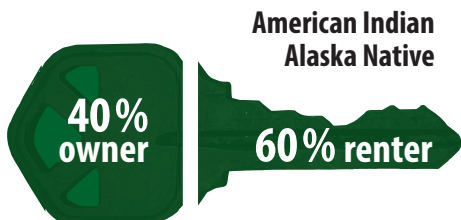
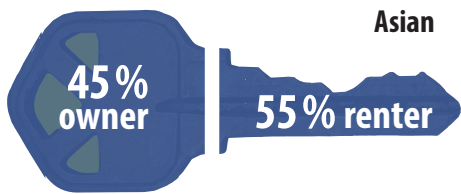
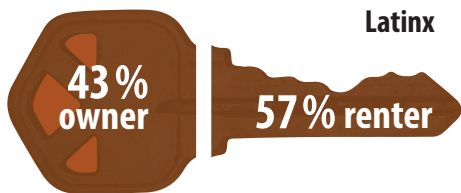
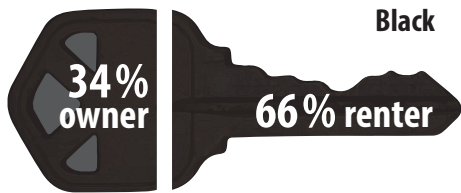
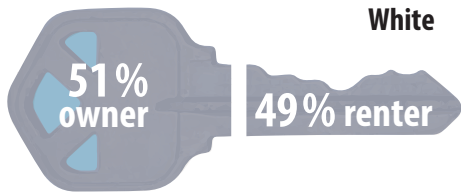
## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### Population of American Indian / Alaska Natives Alone or in Combination with Another Race by Community Area, 2013 - 2017

Community Area	Total Population	AIAN Population	% of Community Area that is AIAN	% of Chicago Population Residing in Community Area
Archer Heights	13,169	247	1.88%	1.13%
Hyde Park	26,827	228	0.85%	1.04%
Hermosa	24,144	221	0.92%	1.01%
West Lawn	33,108	212	0.64%	0.97%
East Side	23,771	191	0.80%	0.87%
Bridgeport	33,696	185	0.55%	0.84%
Roseland	42,433	171	0.40%	0.78%
West Englewood	29,929	167	0.56%	0.76%
Gage Park	40,873	148	0.36%	0.67%
Englewood	25,075	147	0.59%	0.67%
Beverly	20,822	145	0.70%	0.66%
West Pullman	30,804	116	0.38%	0.53%
Dunning	43,689	115	0.26%	0.52%
East Garfield Park	20,004	111	0.55%	0.51%
Mount Greenwood	19,277	111	0.58%	0.51%
Douglas	20,781	109	0.52%	0.50%
Norwood Park	42,304	102	0.24%	0.47%
Woodlawn	25,207	90	0.36%	0.41%
Chatham	31,071	82	0.26%	0.37%
Kenwood	17,189	81	0.47%	0.37%
North Lawndale	35,947	72	0.20%	0.33%
West Garfield Park	17,155	72	0.42%	0.33%
Armour Square	13,396	68	0.51%	0.31%
Forest Glen	18,997	64	0.34%	0.29%
North Park	18,842	62	0.33%	0.28%
Pullman	6,613	47	0.71%	0.21%
Near South Side	23,620	46	0.19%	0.21%
Edison Park	11,753	40	0.34%	0.18%
South Deering	14,614	40	0.27%	0.18%
Avalon Park	10,034	30	0.30%	0.14%
Calumet Heights	13,188	30	0.23%	0.14%
South Chicago	28,263	25	0.09%	0.11%
Ohare	21,058	24	0.11%	0.11%
Riverdale	7,394	22	0.30%	0.10%
Hegewisch	9,384	17	0.18%	0.08%
Burnside	2,254	14	0.62%	0.06%
Oakland	6,645	9	0.14%	0.04%
Fuller Park	2,354	0	0.00%	0.00%

Source: American Community Survey

**CHICAGO HOME OWNERSHIP  
AND RENTAL COMPARISON, 2012 - 2016**



Source: American Community Survey PUMS

**Access to Housing**

Native Americans are over 10 percentage points less likely to own a home than whites. Among Native American families who rent, the median amount of monthly income spent on rent is 29%, compared to an average of 25% for white families. A large percentage of Native American families in Chicago are rent burdened – meaning they spend more than 30% of the income on rent.<sup>38</sup> Native Americans are over 10 percentage points more likely than whites to be rent burdened.

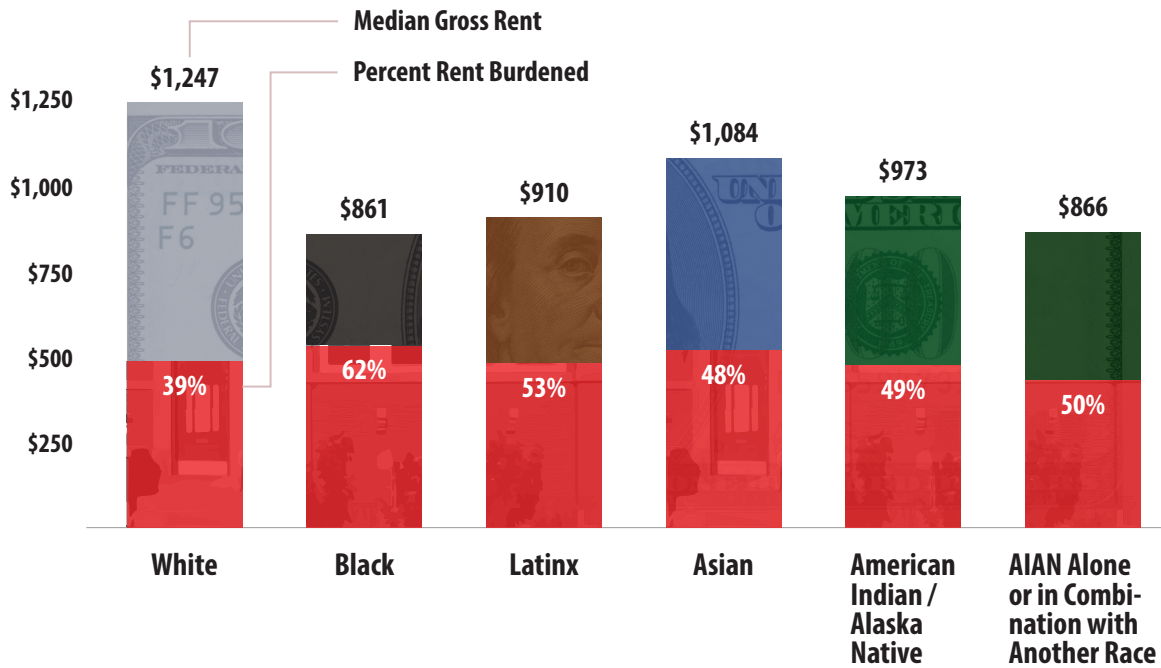
**CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT**

**Housing Indicators for Chicago, 2012 - 2016**

	% Owning a Home	% Renting	Median Gross Rent	% Rent Burdened
White	51%	49%	\$1,247	39%
Black	34%	66%	\$861	62%
Latinx	43%	57%	\$910	53%
Asian	45%	55%	\$1,084	48%
American Indian / Alaska Native	40%	60%	\$973	49%
AIAN Alone or in Combination with Another Race	38%	62%	\$866	50%
Other	28%	72%	\$1,108	51%
Total	43%	57%	\$982	51%

Source: American Community Survey PUMS

## CHICAGO HOUSING RENTAL BURDEN COMPARISON, 2012 - 2016



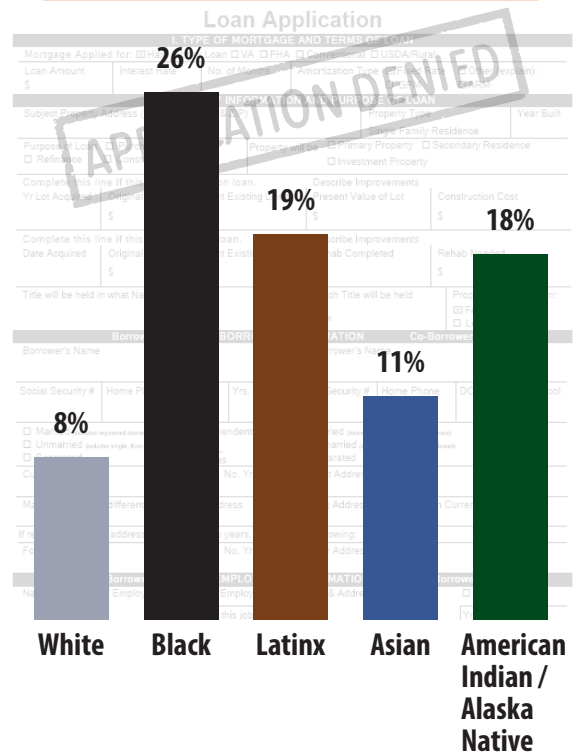
Source: American Community Survey PUMS

## Access to Housing Credit

One reason for the low rates of home ownership among Native American Chicagoans is the major barriers that this group faces in access to home loans. Nearly one-fifth of all home loan applications from Native Americans are denied. Native Americans are over twice as likely to be denied a home loan in Chicago compared to whites. These differences persist even after accounting for income. The home loan rejection rate for whites earning less than \$100,000 a year is about the same as Native Americans earning more than \$100,000.

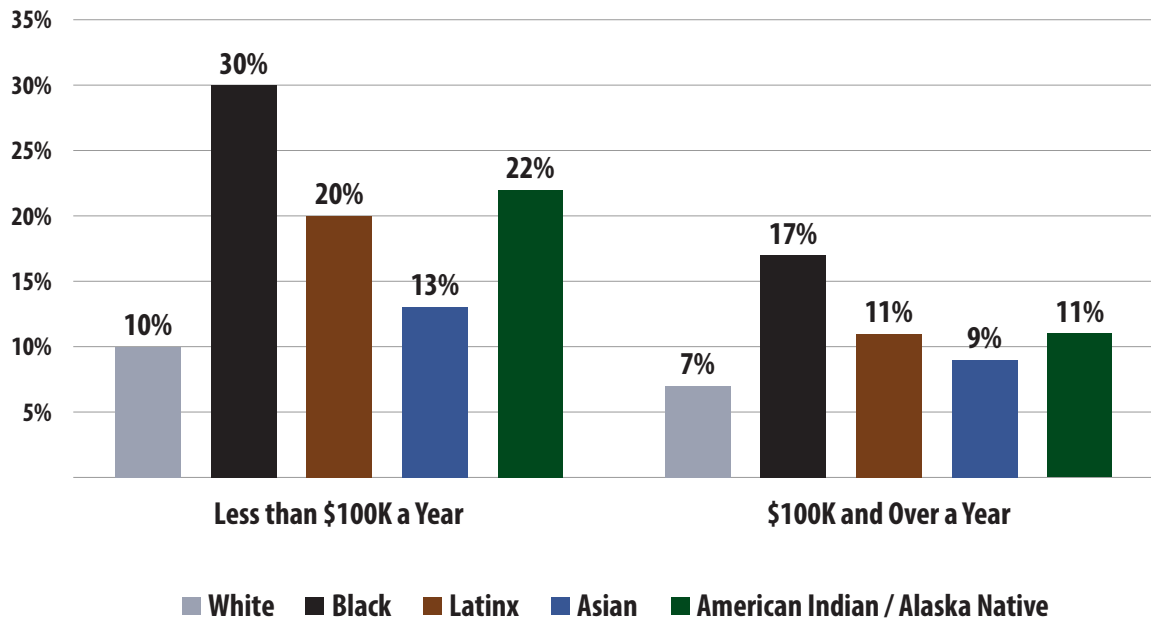
To test whether these observed racial differences in access to credit could be due

## CHICAGO CONVENTIONAL HOME LOAN APPLICATION DENIALS, 2013 - 2017



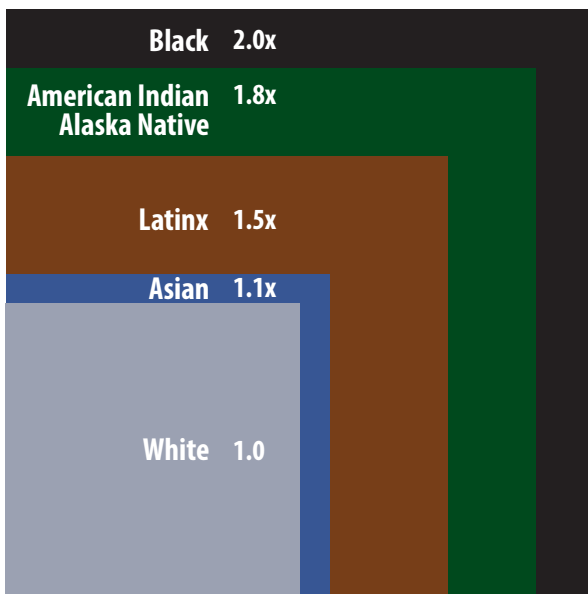
Source: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, 2013 - 2017

**COMPARING CHICAGO'S CONVENTIONAL LOAN DENIAL RATE BY ANNUAL INCOME, 2013 - 2017**



Source: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, 2013 - 2017

**ODDS OF CONVENTIONAL HOME LOAN APPLICATION DENIALS COMPARED TO WHITES, 2013 - 2017**



Estimates calculated controlling for gender, presence of co-applicant, loan amount, income, and neighborhood (census tract) characteristics.

Source: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, 2013 - 2017

to the characteristics of applicants, we calculated the probability of home loan denial after controlling for factors such as gender, presence of a co-applicant, value of the loan, applicant's income, and neighborhood (Census tract) for the intended home (see appendix for details on this analysis). After accounting for these factors, Native Americans are still nearly twice as likely as whites to be denied a home loan. While further investigation is needed to uncover the reason for these differences, our preliminary analysis suggests that Native Americans in Chicago may face discrimination in accessing credit.

## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### Number Housed in Emergency and Transitional Shelters (with Sleeping Facilities) for People Experiencing Homelessness in Illinois

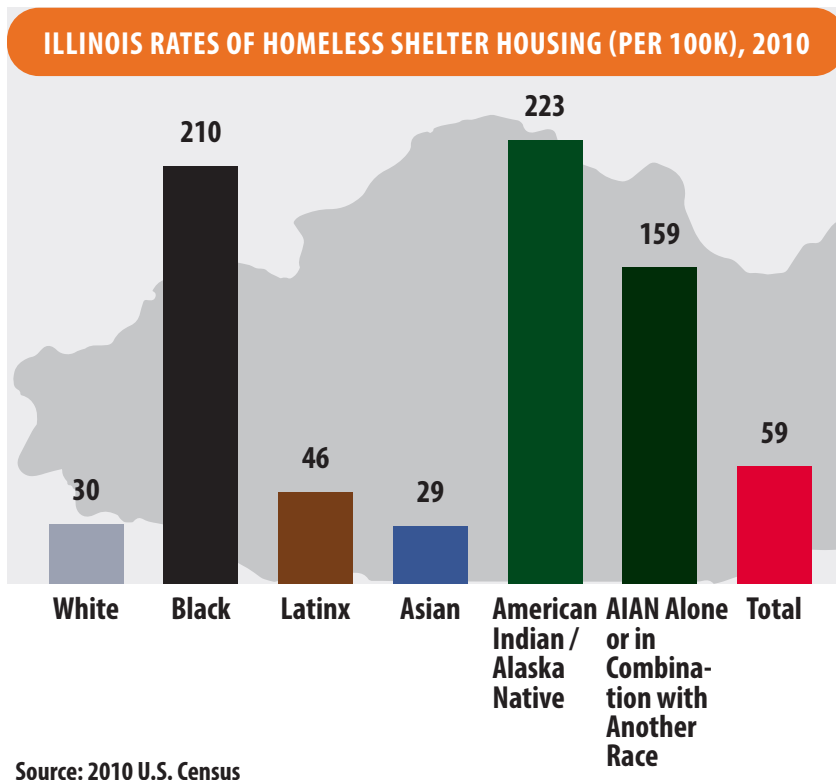
	Number	Per 100k
White	3,846	30
Black	924	210
Latinx	2,431	46
Asian	169	29
American Indian / Alaska Native	42	223
AIAN Alone or in Combination with Another Race	161	159
Total	7,623	59

Source: 2010 U.S. Census

## Emergency Housing

High rates of rent burden and barriers to home loans reflect a more general pattern of housing precarity for many Native American residents in Chicago. At its most extreme, unstable housing conditions result in homelessness for many of our city's residents. Obtaining accurate counts of the homeless population, however, is very difficult. Despite great efforts by the U.S. Census, much of the homeless population goes uncounted. One way to estimate

the extent of homelessness, however, is in the number of individuals residing in emergency or transitional shelters.<sup>39</sup> According to the most recent 2010 U.S. Census, 161 Native Americans were residing in homeless shelters in Illinois. While this is



a lower number than for other racial/ethnic groups, because the population of Native Americans is relatively small in Illinois, the rate of Native Americans residing in homeless shelters is extremely high. Native Americans are over five times more likely as whites to experience homelessness and three times more likely to experience homelessness than Latinx residents.



## Summary

Despite having a smaller population than other racial/ethnic groups, the Native American community in Chicago plays a vital role both regionally and nationally. Chicago is home to the largest population of Native Americans in the Midwest, and the second largest population east of the Mississippi River. Yet, many Native American Chicagoans face high levels of housing precarity. Rent burden among Chicago's Native American community is extremely high, as are rates of homelessness. Among potential home buyers, Native Americans face higher rates of home loan denial than whites, even after accounting for factors such as income and loan amount. From forcible expulsion from Chicago in the early 19th century to their return migration in the 20th century, Native American Chicagoans have experienced exclusionary policies that have generated present-day housing insecurity.

## ON AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN CHICAGO FOR NATIVE AMERICANS



Pamala M. Silas has a B.S. from DePaul University and is a Certified Association Executive. She is an enrolled member of the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin and a descendant of the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin. She served as Executive Director for the Metropolitan Tenants Organization (1996-2004) and CEO of the American Indian Science & Engineering Society (2004-2012). Currently she is an Associate Director at Northwestern University's Center for Native American and Indigenous Research.



Shelly J. Tucciarelli, MBA, has over 25 years of experience in management, training, and administration of affordable housing and community development. She is a Native American tribal member of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin. She provides real estate development and affordable housing consulting services, and owns Turtle Clan Development Services. She is also the President/Executive Director of Visionary Ventures NFP Corporation, a Native American nonprofit developing the first Urban Indian Housing project using Low Income Housing Tax Credits.

While Chicago at one time was considered the “City of Renters” – it once had a robust 60% rental market that included affordable housing options – over the course of the past decade the demolition of public housing and the focus on high-end housing developments has resulted in the loss of thousands of affordable rental units to all and hit the Native American Community particularly hard.<sup>40</sup> According to the latest Census data, 62% of Native Americans residing in urban areas are renters.<sup>41</sup>

The Uptown neighborhood on Chicago's north side was one of those communities which previously offered high-density, affordable rental units but in recent years

has experienced a dramatic decline in affordable housing. While many of these units were located in aging buildings, often with poor conditions and in areas with high crime rates, they were nevertheless plentiful and affordable. Uptown also served as the site of the local field office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which coordinated the relocation of hundreds of Native American people from reservation communities around the country. It was not unusual to find multiple Native American families living in close proximity throughout the neighborhood. Through referrals and rent subsidies provided by the BIA or word of mouth on the “moccasin telegraph” (an informal communication network among the Native Peoples in Indian communities), Native families would share knowledge and resources with each other.

Over time, a number of social service agencies and nonprofit organizations emerged to service this growing community, including St. Augustine’s Center for Native Americans and the American Indian Center (AIC) of Chicago. Also, the proximity of community members and the organizations that served them enabled effective organizing around issues of health, education, and intertribal culture. Other informal gatherings occurred in places like local bars such as My Place and the infamous Wooden Nickel where Natives would often cash checks. Other places like Ready-Men and Manpower, day-labor shops in Uptown, were integral to providing newly relocated families with income-generating options. Over the past several years Native American residents have moved out of Uptown and surrounding areas because they can no longer afford to live there. This has meant the loss not only of housing but of the important community base of support in the neighborhood.

The shrinkage in the availability of affordable rental units in Uptown has forced many Native American families to move away, scattering them throughout Chicago and disrupting their daily rounds. Native American families are now dispersed throughout Chicago’s neighborhoods.<sup>42</sup> This dislocation has also made it more difficult for people to access services offered by organizations working with the Native American community. Other families in Uptown have remained behind, originally staying to access the social services and community support networks but now enduring increasingly decrepit housing conditions. During the 1990s, 27 agencies served the Native American community in Uptown, but now only 15 Native-serving organizations remain in the Uptown area.

The American Indian Economic Development Association (AIEDA) is one such agency that closed its doors. From 1990 until 2006, AIEDA was an important source of affordable housing options, such as the 6-unit William Redcloud Cooperative and International Homes, for Native American families in Chicago. With AIEDA's assistance, families also obtained other services such as learning about tenants' rights and receiving homeownership counseling.

How are Native people fairing in the housing market in Chicago today? As some agencies have closed, others have opened in order to meet the demand for affordable housing. For example, in 2018 we formed Visionary Ventures Not For Profit (NFP) Corporation as a Native-centric solution to the limited affordable housing options in the city. We are currently partnering with a local experienced nonprofit developer in order to create affordable housing for Native people.

It is sometimes difficult to determine the exact need for affordable housing among Native peoples in Chicago because, as some Native leaders point out, many residents do not fill out Census forms and so the Census does not accurately reflect the number of Native Americans in the city. When it comes to homelessness, Native Americans often do not label themselves homeless because extended relatives step in with an extra room, basement, or couch to help their community weather rough economic patches.

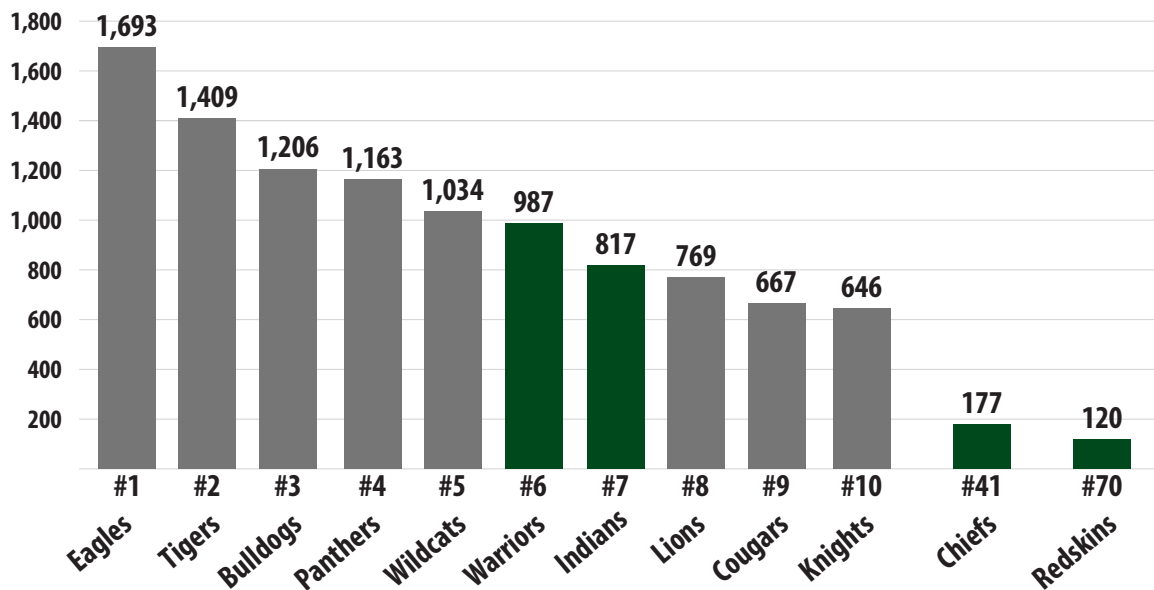
Today, many Native families in Chicago are in their third and fourth generation of urban living. Despite experiencing a long history of displacement and relocation, Native Americans try hard to maintain ties to tribal communities where they have family and tribal membership that provides certain rights and privileges. Several tribal communities (Oneida, Menominee, Ho-Chunk, Ojibwa) are located in Wisconsin and within a few hours' drive from Chicago. This proximity enables members of those tribes to sustain involvement with their community and culture. Our multitribal nature makes Chicago's Native American community a richly diverse one that crosses different cultural traditions and languages. This diversity makes Chicago a unique and important site from which to consider and address the social and housing issues affecting Native people nationwide.



## (MIS)REPRESENTATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN POPULAR CULTURE

After decades of protests, in 2019 Cleveland’s baseball team stopped using a racist caricature, “Chief Wahoo,” on its official logo and jersey. The team’s name, however, continues to be the Cleveland Indians and the team continues to profit from the sale of “Chief Wahoo” merchandise (as it is trademarked). But Cleveland is not the only team to use American Indian imagery. One can attend Atlanta Braves, Florida State Seminoles, Chicago Blackhawks, and Washington Redskins games and see fans doing “tomahawk chops,” wearing feather headdress, or donning clothing with Native American imagery. This appropriation of American Indian imagery extends across all sports in the United States and is found at all levels. According to MascotDB,<sup>43</sup> the most comprehensive database on sports mascots, “Indians” is the 7th most popular team name across high school, college, and professional sports teams. While defenders of Indian mascots have long claimed that they are somehow a tribute to those represented, research has demonstrated that non-Native Americans have implicit negative attitudes towards Native American mascots, and that they view Native American mascots and Native American people as interchangeable.<sup>44</sup> The prevalence of these caricatures shapes

### MOST POPULAR HIGH SCHOOL, COLLEGE, AND PROFESSIONAL SPORTS TEAM NAMES



Source: MascotDB



the perception and understanding of Native Americans in our society. Research in the last ten years has demonstrated their negative effects for Native American young people – e.g., students exposed to demeaning mascots or team names have lower self-esteem and learning outcomes.<sup>45</sup> In addition to their harmful effects for Native American youth, these depictions also foster negative cultural biases about Native Americans that increase discrimination against them by other groups and even contribute to poor health outcomes for them.<sup>46</sup> Although calls for sports teams to remove these racist stereotypes have received increasing national media attention, Native American activists and institutions have been calling for the elimination of these offensive stereotypes since the 1960s. In response to this activism, the 1970s and 1980s saw a sizable reduction in the number of high school and college teams that use Native American team names and mascots. However, as a 2014 article in the popular data website *FiveThirtyEight*<sup>47</sup> points out, at least 2,129 teams continue to use Native American team names or mascots.

Beyond their appropriation by sports teams, when Native Americans are depicted in U.S. culture they are most often stereotyped as either fierce savages in bloody confrontation with frontiersmen or noble savages who are wise stewards of the earth. As Native American representatives noted in a hearing before congress in 2011, these stereotypes depicting either extreme brutality or holy benevolence “present to our children undesirable traits and ends, and the unattainable perfection and goals, when most Native people exist in reality and in the great middle range.”<sup>48</sup> These stereotypes of American Indians persist, permeating a broad range of U.S. culture. For example, they appear in oil paintings hanging in fine art museums, such as “The Abduction of Daniel Boone’s Daughter by the Indians” (1862), and in popular children’s movies from a hundred years later, such as Disney’s *Pocahontas* (1995). The prevalence of these stereotypes in U.S. culture shows the reach of their pernicious effect well beyond their damage to American Indian communities’ self-image. Images of the fierce or noble savage affect how the rest of U.S. society engages Native American communities, including the passage of public policies that have implications on a range of issues such as access to affordable housing, employment programs, and healthcare.

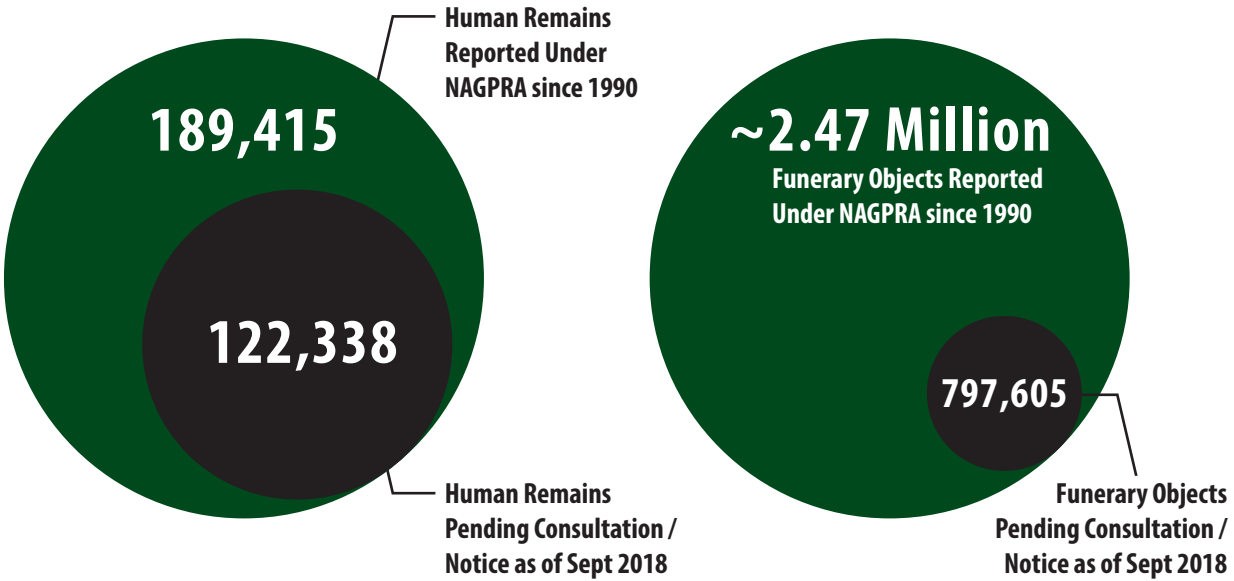
In particular, when Native Americans are depicted in U.S. culture, they are most often represented by imagery or figures that evoke this country’s colonial past and characterize Native American people and tribes as historical figures from the “long

ago past.” Children grow up playing cowboys and Indians, history books teach about the Trail of Tears, and museums display artifacts and clothing from Native American groups alongside dioramas of tribal life. Native Americans are imagined as belonging to another time or as confined to reservations. The hypervisibility of Native Americans’ historical imagery (or their decontextualized presence as mascots frozen in time and space) sits in uneasy tension with the relative invisibility of their importance as active members and contributors to contemporary society. Their invisibility not only means that we fail to notice their achievements, but also that we overlook the challenges they face. Research has shown that the prevalence of Native American stereotypes that relegate them to the past and lack contemporary references are highly damaging.<sup>49</sup> As with other racial and ethnic groups, stereotypes have negative consequences that limit group members’ perceptions of their place in society and thus shape their self-identity as well as their health, education, and employment.

The voices of Native American people have been critical in challenging these stereotypes. But change has not been easy. For example, although Native American groups and students since the 1970s called on the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) to change their Chief Illiniwek mascot, the Illinois state legislature passed a resolution in 1989 in support of maintaining the mascot, and different student, alumni, and community groups formed after the vote to support keeping Chief Illiniwek as UIUC’s symbol. Concerted pressure by Native American students and community groups on campus, in the media, and in the courts continued to push for change. In 2005, the National Collegiate Athletic Association banned UIUC from hosting postseason games because of the university’s use of Native American imagery. In 2007, the University of Illinois finally decided to “retire” Chief Illiniwek as an official university symbol. However, students continue to dress as Chief Illiniwek today, and last year a billboard supporting the use of the mascot became part of the Champaign, Illinois skyline.

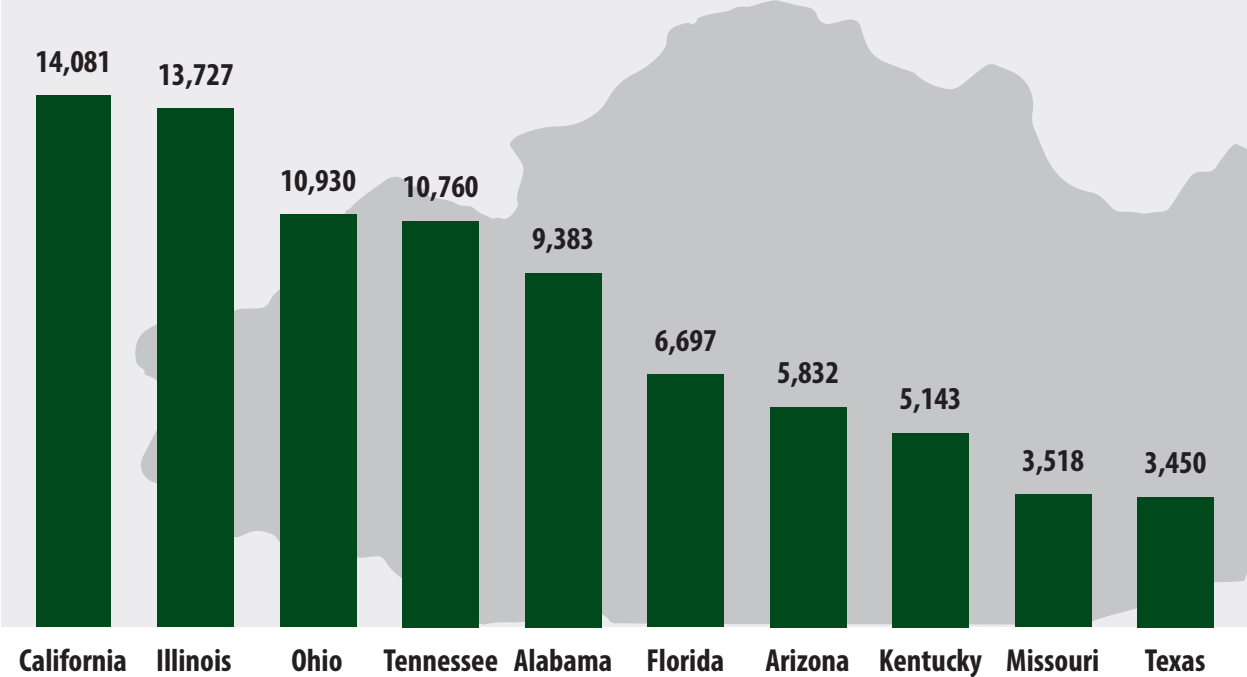
The voices of Native Americans calling for change have been an important presence in other institutional spaces. Native Americans are currently partnering with museums to change depictions of Native peoples and to repatriate artifacts that were stolen from tribal communities. In Chicago, Native American voices have been central to recent efforts of the Field Museum to renovate its Native North American Hall, which has remained the same since the 1950s. As with mascots, however, there is much work to be

**STATUS OF AMERICAN INDIAN HUMAN REMAINS AND FUNERARY OBJECTS  
IN FEDERAL AGENCY OR MUSEUM COLLECTIONS, 1990 - 2018**



Source: 2018 National Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Program

**TOP 10 STATES WITH AMERICAN INDIAN HUMAN REMAINS IN FEDERAL AGENCY  
OR MUSEUM COLLECTIONS PENDING NAGPRA CONSULTATION, 1990 - 2018**



Source: 2018 National Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Program

done. Although the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed on November 16, 1990, the number of museums and federal agencies that continue to have human remains or funerary objects in their possession remains quite high. Illinois is the state with the second highest number of Native American human remains in federal agency or museum collections for which no Native American groups have been consulted to determine their custody, treatment, and disposition.

Inside and outside of museums, Chicago-based Native American artists are also challenging representations of their communities in art and offering different visions of indigenous identity and the place of Native Americans in U.S. society. On the next page you will see “There and back Again (L series),” a 2012 artwork by Debra Yepa-Pappan, a Jemez Pueblo / Korean artist, which offers one example of a Chicagoan interrogating what it means to be an urban native and reminding us that Native Americans are still here and a vibrant part of Chicago’s contemporary communities.

## **Summary**

Representations in popular culture are important in shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards Native Americans. Portrayals of Native Americans in mass media most often reinforce negative stereotypes and caricatures. These depictions impact the health and self-perception of Native Americans; they also reinforce widespread cultural biases in U.S. society that create barriers for the social and economic advancement of Native Americans. The efforts of Native American organizing and advocacy have had an impact in challenging these stereotypes. As this report shows, however, the fact that U.S. society imagines Native Americans as relegated to the past or consigned to reservations means that Native Americans living in cities like Chicago are particularly vulnerable to being overlooked and to having their present-day experiences ignored.







## EDUCATION

Shortly after the U.S. government expropriated Native lands, forcing Native Americans from their homes and onto reservations, it created a program of boarding schools for Native American youth. These schools were designed to strip away Indian cultural identity from Native American children by training them to dress and behave as whites.<sup>50</sup> Boys' traditional long hair was cut short, Native American food was replaced with European or white cuisine, and children's names were often changed to resemble names more common among white children.<sup>51</sup> Many Native American groups actively resisted these boarding schools, and parents often faced police violence as they refused to send their children.<sup>52</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, Native American-led social movements such as Red Power and the American Indian Movement organized major protests against the boarding school system and marginalization of Native Americans more broadly.<sup>53</sup> These resistance efforts culminated in the passage of the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act, which provided legal protections for Native American parents who wished to keep their children from boarding schools. This Act effectively ended the boarding school system in the U.S. after nearly a century of existence. Having achieved major policy reform through the Indian Child Welfare Act, Native American organizations advocated for further integration of Native American history into the public school curriculum.<sup>54</sup> Many of these efforts continue today. The Chicago Public Schools American Indian Education Program (AIEP) helps educators incorporate Native American history into their lesson plans. Efforts such as this to establish Native American history as an educational standard are one example of the ongoing transformation of the U.S. public education system, which has had a historical role in the attempted erasure of Native identity by relegating the experiences of the Native community to the distant past and thereby denying their existence in the present.

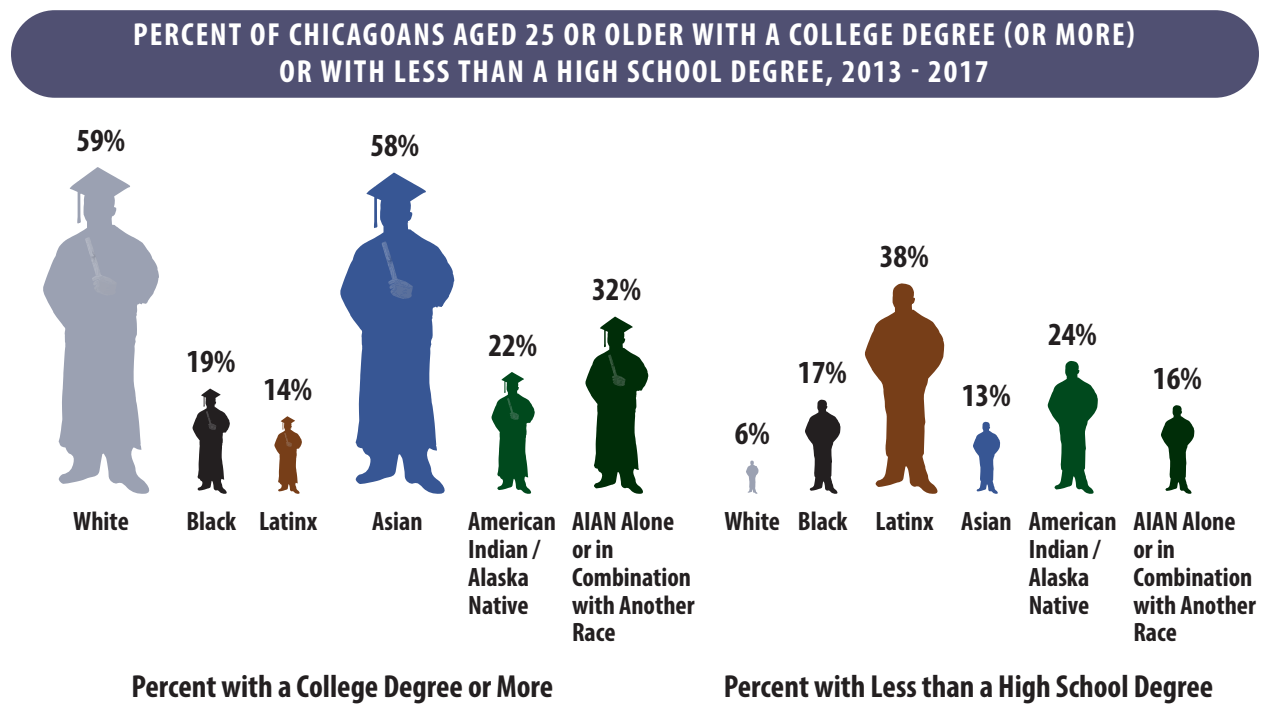
Far from being passive recipients of U.S. public education, Native Americans have challenged misrepresentations of American Indians in schools and curricula, shedding light on colonial legacies that persist in many ways within our education systems. And yet, the benefits of educational attainment remain limited for many Native Americans. In this section of the report, we document barriers to educational achievement faced by American Indian Chicagoans. First, we examine racial differences in attaining a college degree to identify the potential barriers to academic achievement among Native



American students in Chicago. Next, we explore whether Native American Chicagoans receive the same benefits from advanced education compared to other racial/ethnic groups in Chicago by exploring the wage premium associated with higher education. We conclude this section by focusing on the experience of Native American students in the Chicago Public School District by presenting information on academic achievement, graduation rates, college enrollment, and rates of school discipline.

## Educational Attainment

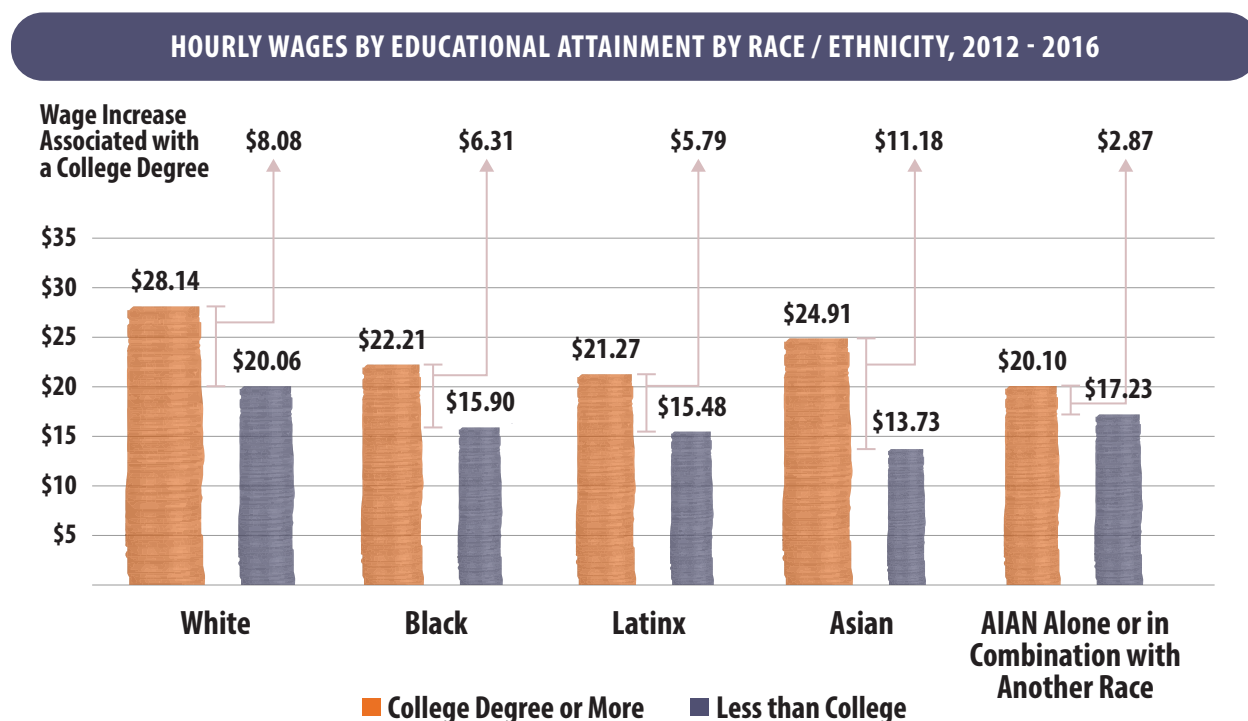
Today, many Native Americans in Chicago are excelling academically, yet barriers to post-secondary educational attainment remain. Just under one-third of Chicago's Native American population has a college degree. Among those identifying as American Indian alone (not mixed-race), less than a quarter have a college degree. Compared to whites, Native Americans are half as likely to have graduated from college. These trends in college attainment are mirrored by the percentage of the population whose highest level of education is less than high school. Sixteen percent of those identifying as Native American have not graduated from high school. This is over twice the proportion of whites with this level of education. Those identifying as American Indian alone are less likely to obtain a college degree than they are to drop out of high school.



Source: American Community Survey

## Returns on Education

One purpose of higher education is to expand opportunities for individuals to succeed in the labor force. Yet, racial discrimination often prevents certain groups from fully realizing these benefits. This is particularly true in Chicago, where the wage increase associated with a college degree is higher for white and Asian American residents than it is for black, Latinx, and Native American Chicagoans. Controlling for a number of individual characteristics that may affect earnings (see appendix), we found that the wage increase associated with a college degree is \$11 an hour for Asian Americans and \$8 an hour for whites. This wage premium falls to about \$6 an hour for black and Latinx workers. Native Americans in Chicago have the lowest wage premium across all race/ethnic groups – those with a college degree earn about \$3 an hour more than those without a college degree.



Source: 2016 American Community Survey PUMS

Racial differences in returns on a college degree could be due to many factors stemming from patterns of racial inequity in Chicago. Labor market discrimination often results in non-whites getting paid less than similarly positioned whites – a phenomenon known as the racial wage gap. Our results suggest that discrimination may be particularly harmful for Native Americans seeking employment in jobs requiring a college degree. Other

contributors to racial differences in returns on education may be related to occupational segregation. This refers to instances where non-whites are segregated in lower-paying occupations than whites. This pattern may result from hiring biases that privilege whites' access to high-paying positions, or social networks that advantage whites' connections to lucrative occupations. Regardless of their cause, these racial differences in returns for college education mean that Native Americans who transcend the challenges to obtaining a college degree are met with further barriers to equal treatment in the labor market as they receive less than others with similar levels of education.

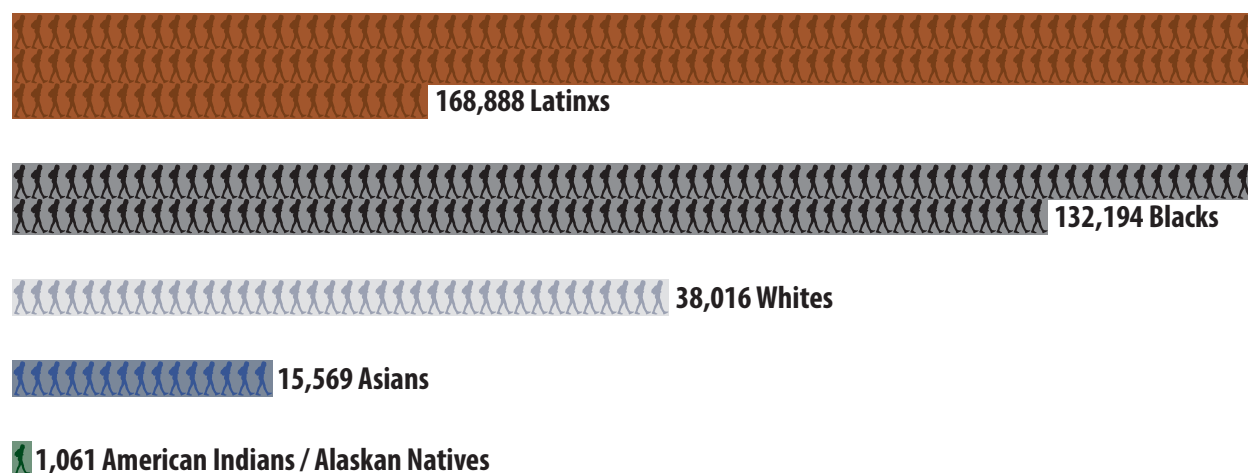
## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### CPS Enrollment by Race / Ethnicity, 2000 - 2018

	2000		2018		Difference
	Number	%	Number	%	
White	41,890	9.6	38,016	10.5	- 3,874
Black	226,600	52.0	132,194	36.6	- 94,406
Latinx	152,031	35.0	168,888	46.7	+ 16,857
Asian	14,147	3.2	15,569	4.3	+ 1,422
American Indian / Alaska Native	802	0.2	1,061	0.3	+ 259

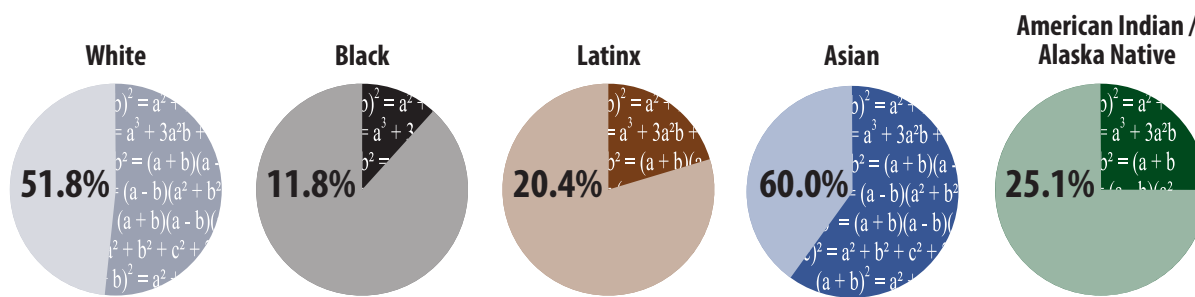
Source: CPS Data Portal

### CPS SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY RACE / ETHNICITY, 2018



Source: CPS Data Portal

**GRADE 3 - 8 MATH PROFICIENCY STANDARDS ASSESSMENT FROM THE PARTNERSHIP FOR ASSESSMENT OF READINESS FOR COLLEGE & CAREERS (PAARC), 2017 - 2018**



**Percent Meeting Math Proficiency Standards**

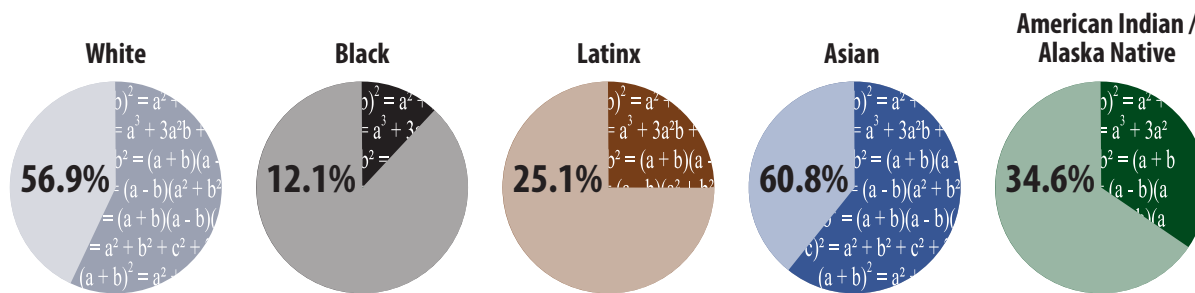
Source: CPS Data Portal

**Native American Educational Achievement in Chicago Public Schools**

In 2018, just over 1,000 Native American students were enrolled in the Chicago Public School District. While they represent only a small portion of all CPS students, the number of Native Americans students has grown 30% since 2000. Our analysis of student outcomes for the district’s Native American students suggests that more can be done to support this growing segment of the student body. Racial disparities in educational outcomes emerge as early as elementary school, where only a quarter of Native American students in grades 3-8 meet math proficiency standards – under half of the proportion of white students who do so.<sup>55</sup>

Racial disparities in educational outcomes persist through high school. Grade 11 Native American students remain nearly half as likely as their white counterparts to achieve proficiency in the math and reading/writing sections of the SAT. Consistent with this, less

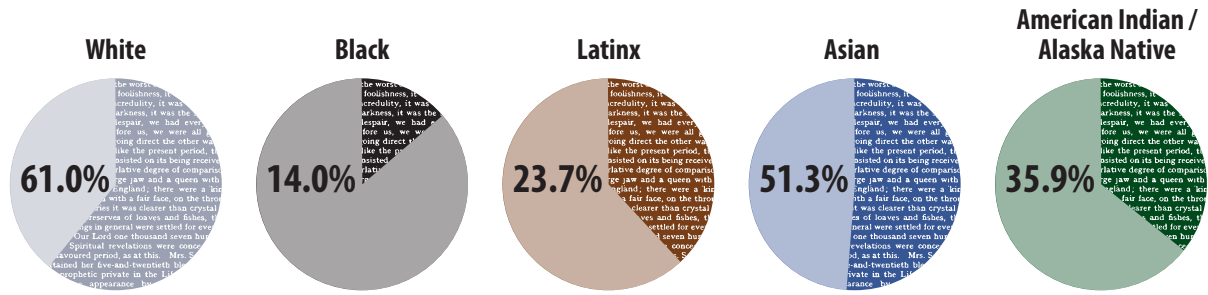
**GRADE 11 MATH SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST (SAT) SCORES, 2018**



**Percent Meeting or Exceeding Math Standards**

Source: CPS Data Portal

## GRADE 11 EVIDENCE-BASED READING AND WRITING SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST (SAT) SCORES, 2018



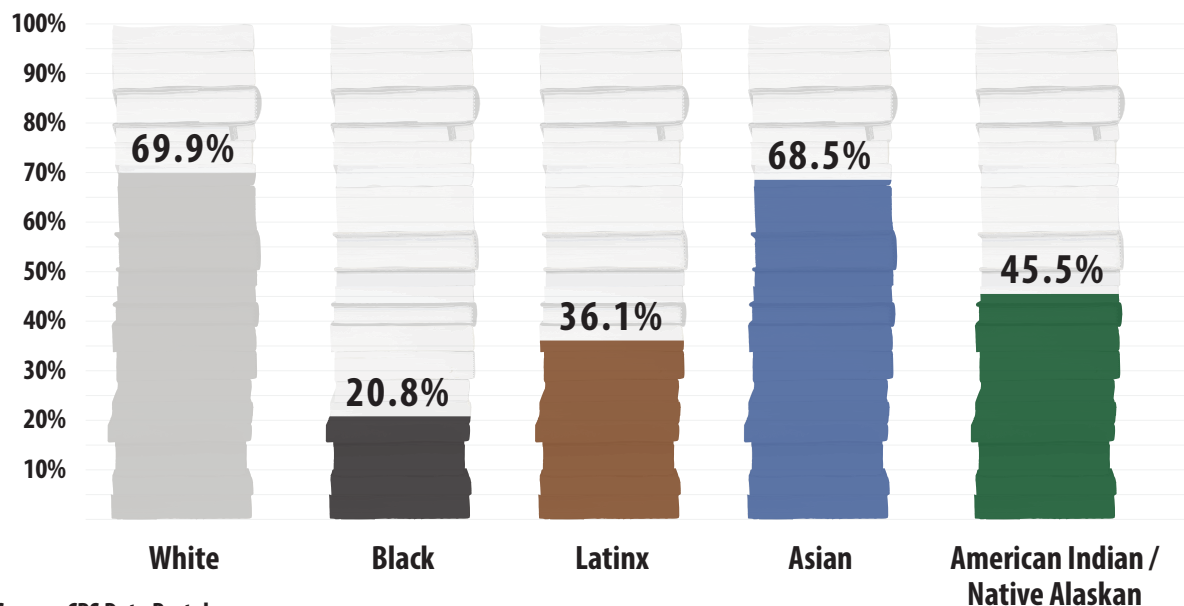
**Percent Meeting or Exceeding Evidence-Based Reading and Writing Standards**

Source: CPS Data Portal

than half of all Native American students in the district reach the benchmarks required for college readiness.<sup>56</sup> While the proportion meeting college readiness standards is higher for Native American students than for black and Latinx students, it remains far behind that of whites.

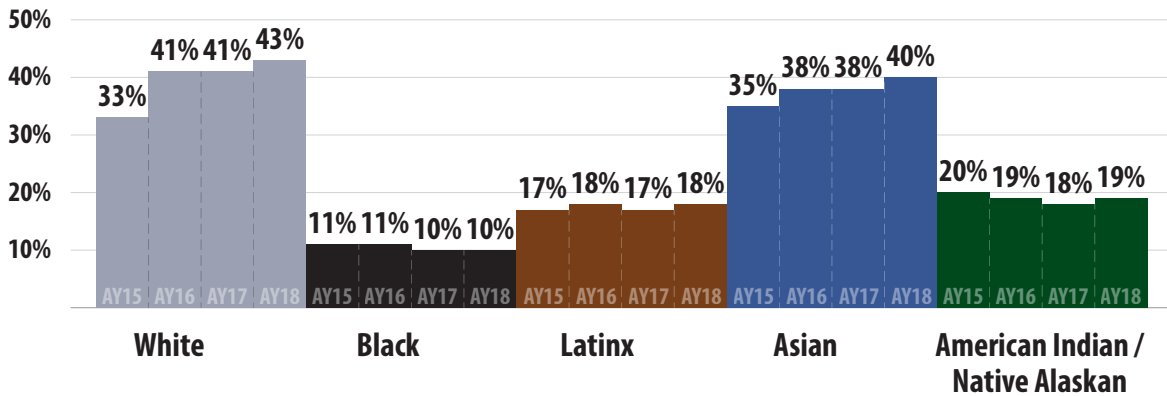
Native American students are also less likely to be enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) courses. Analysis performed by the CPS American Indian Education Program indicates that only one-fifth of Native American high school students are enrolled in an

## PERCENT MEETING COLLEGE READINESS BENCHMARK BY RACE / ETHNICITY, 2018



Source: CPS Data Portal

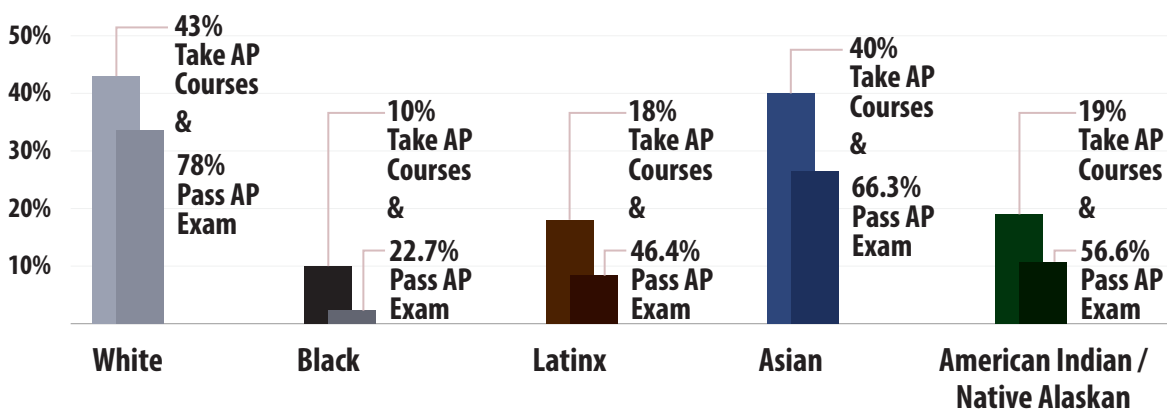
## ADVANCED PLACEMENT COURSE ENROLLMENT, ACADEMIC YEARS 2015 - 2018



Source: CPS Data Portal

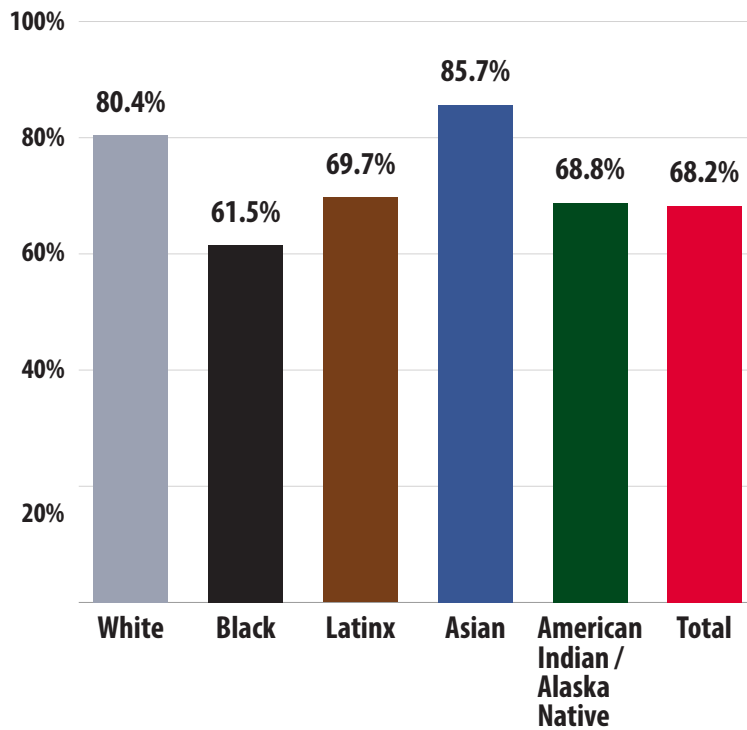
AP course. White students, meanwhile, are over twice as likely as Native Americans to be in an AP class. These findings suggest that some groups have far less access to rigorous college-preparatory curriculum in CPS. Increasing access to AP courses, however, will only be valuable if students are given the support needed to succeed. Our analysis of passing rates in AP courses during the 2017-2018 academic year (the percentage of test-takers receiving a score of 3 or above on AP exams) shows that just over half of the Native American students enrolled in these advanced placement courses are passing, compared to over 70% of white students. The numbers are even lower for black (23% passing rate) and Latinx (46%) students. While increasing the availability of AP courses is an important step in creating equal opportunities for students, these courses must also include the support needed to ensure student success.

## PERCENT PASSING ADVANCED PLACEMENT EXAM, ACADEMIC YEAR 2017 - 2018



Source: CPS Data Portal

## CPS COLLEGE ENROLLMENT BY RACE, 2017 GRADUATING CLASS

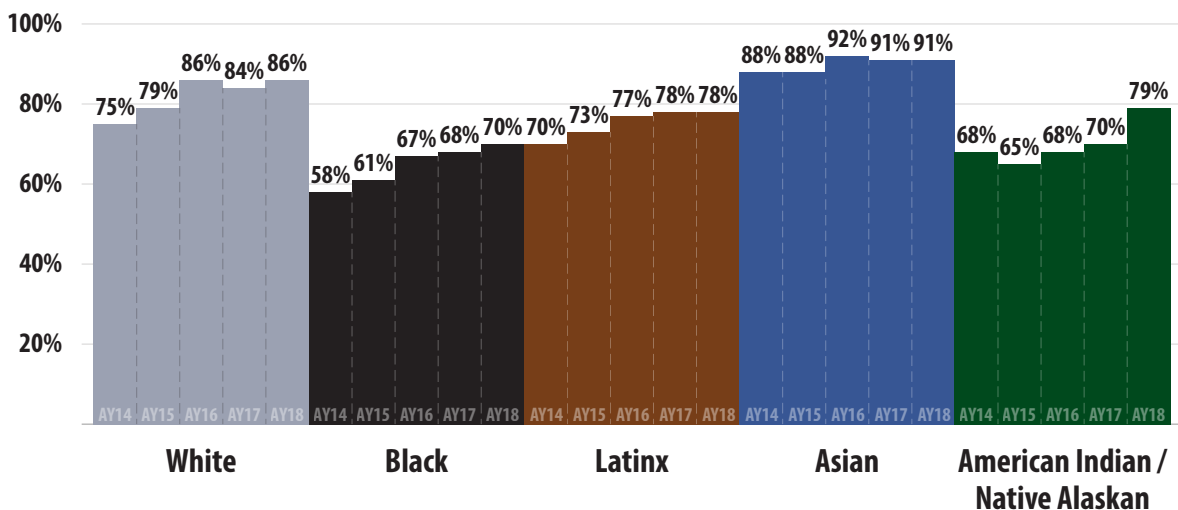


Source: Chicago Public Schools; Analysis for this figure performed by the Chicago Public Schools American Indian Education Program

## School Completion

Among the most recent cohort of CPS graduates, 79% of Native Americans graduated in four years. This graduation rate is similar to that observed for Latinx students in CPS, but lower than for white students. Over two-thirds (68%) of CPS graduates enroll in college. Yet, rates of college enrollment vary by students' race/ethnicity. Eighty percent of white CPS graduates enroll in a college post-graduation, compared to 69% of Native American graduates, 62% of black graduates, and 70% of Latinx graduates.

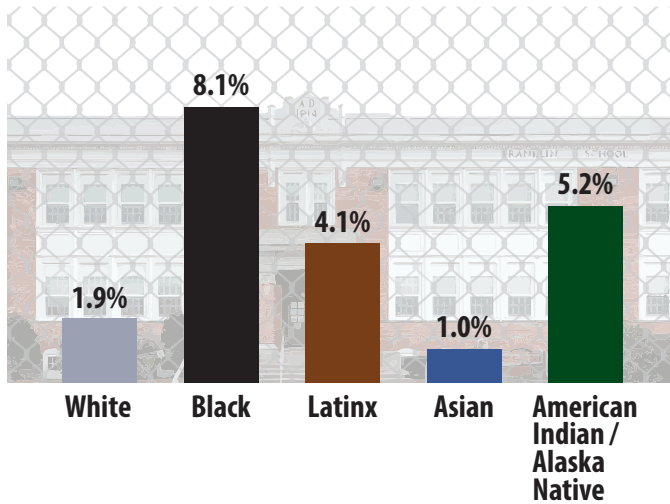
## GRADUATION RATES 4-YEAR COHORTS, ACADEMIC YEARS 2014 - 2018



Source: CPS Data Portal

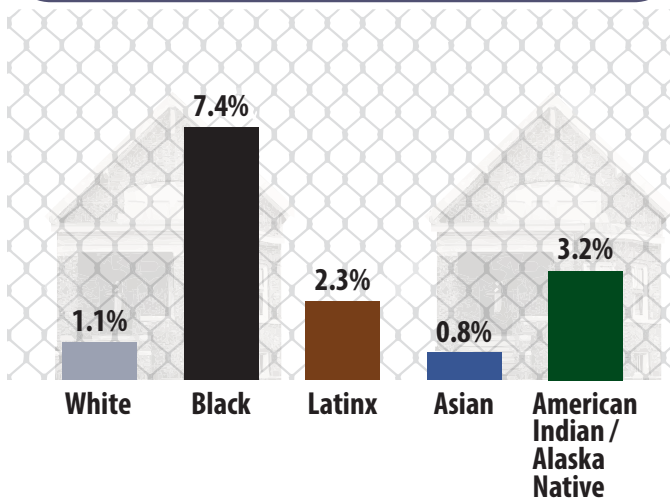


**PERCENT OF UNIQUE CPS STUDENTS RECEIVING IN-SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS, ACADEMIC YEAR 2017 - 2018**



Source: CPS Data Portal

**PERCENT OF UNIQUE CPS STUDENTS RECEIVING OUT-OF-SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS, ACADEMIC YEAR 2017 - 2018**



Source: CPS Data Portal

## School Discipline

In previous reports, we have shown that black and Latinx students face higher rates of school discipline than white students in CPS.<sup>57</sup> Our analysis of Native American learners shows that this group is also negatively affected by disproportionate school discipline. In the 2017-2018 academic year, Native American students were over twice as likely as white students to receive an in-school suspension, and three times more likely to receive an out-of-school suspension. The number of students who were expelled from schools or who received police notifications was too low for us to calculate reliable estimates for this measure of school discipline. Nonetheless, rates of suspensions suggest that Native American students, like their black and Latinx peers, are disproportionately affected by disciplinary actions that remove them from the classroom. Such disproportionate use of punishment can result in students'

early exit from school prior to graduation, decreased academic performance, and an overall detachment from education.

## Summary

A significant share of Native Americans in Chicago have achieved high levels of education. Yet, major barriers to educational achievement remain. Racial disparities in

educational outcomes between Native Americans and whites persist from elementary school through college. Native American students in Chicago Public Schools are about half as likely to be proficient in math and reading as whites. Native Americans also are under-enrolled in AP classes and face disproportionately high rates of school suspension.

Racial inequities emerge even among those who have achieved high levels of educational attainment. The returns to education associated with a college degree are lower for Native Americans than all other racial groups in Chicago. Thus, even Native Americans with high levels of education grapple with ongoing racial discrimination.

One aspect of education that we were unable to examine is the experience of Native American students in Chicago's schools and universities. Previous research suggests that Native American students may face challenges stemming from racial discrimination and cultural isolation,<sup>58</sup> yet we do not know how these processes play out in urban environments such as Chicago. Future research using qualitative methods to learn from the experiences of students is needed to further investigate this aspect of Native Americans' education.

In this section, we have identified multiple barriers to educational attainment for Native American Chicagoans. Yet, these are not insurmountable challenges. Chicago Public School District's American Indian Education Program (AIEP) provides crucial support for Native American students in CPS through direct academic mentoring and cultural programming to reaffirm students' heritage. The AIEP also provides professional development for teachers in order to integrate Native American history lessons and address misrepresentations of Native peoples in the CPS curriculum. Further support for the AIEP and similar educational initiatives will contribute to the reduction of many of the racial inequities we have reported.

## SUPPORTING NATIVE AMERICAN SUCCESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO



Cynthia Soto (Sicangu Lakota/Puerto Rican) is Director of the Native American Support Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She earned her B.A./M.A. from the University of Illinois at Chicago. As a first-generation college student and UIC graduate, she is well acquainted with the challenges facing Native American students and the opportunities available to them on campus, in their communities, and on a national level. Soto has worked over 20 years on culturally-based educational initiatives, from early childhood education programs to higher education.

As academic institutions across the nation consider what it means to be equitable, it is important to ask how they include Native American students. Is there a physical space dedicated for Native students to meet and work with each other? Do students see themselves in the fabric of the institution? Are there courses that teach all students about the history and the contemporary lives of Native peoples? Does the institution recognize the Indigenous land the university is situated on? Does the university provide the support and resources necessary to meet the unique needs of Native students? Finally, how does the institution collaborate with and connect to local Native Nations or community?

For over 48 years, the Native American Support Program (NASP) at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) has tried to advance equity for Native American Students, providing a range of programs for students who identify as American Indian/Indigenous throughout the college years (I myself am an alumna of the program). As a large institution in a major city, UIC poses significant challenges for new college students as a whole.

Chicago is overwhelmingly big and, for students new to the city, they face difficult tasks, from navigating public transportation to securing housing. While college life in general presents a multitude of situations that all students must learn to manage, for Native American students in particular it can be especially difficult, particularly when universities are not well prepared to assist them. Students want to find a sense of belonging and feel a connection to others with shared histories and identities. Yet many American Indian students experience invisibility on college campuses.

Although much has changed over the years, some challenges – from obtaining financial assistance to establishing a sense of belonging on campus – remain constant for students. In order to address the wide range of challenges students face, NASP has as its values and goals to support the *whole* student (rather than solely focusing on academic supports) and therefore has prioritized initiatives that provide and promote the visibility of Native people in programs, events, and on campus. We also believe another way for academic institutions to bring awareness about Native peoples and to better support its Native American students includes collaborating with local Native American organizations; organizing relevant events and activities that foreground Native histories, peoples, cultures, arts, and voices; inviting Native scholars to speak; and hiring Native faculty to teach Indigenous courses.

Overall, UIC has been successful in providing a physical office space as well as dedicated professional staff to work with students on campus. It is imperative for Native American students to see each other and to have staff who identify as Native American who themselves experienced what it was like to grow up Native American in a city. While a program dedicated to supporting Native American students is important for Native American students themselves, it is equally important for non-Native American students to see Native American students, faculty, and staff on their college campuses and to be exposed to programs about Native American peoples, cultures, and arts. This is part of the education of all students in college, and in this way NASP programs reach far beyond their immediate constituency and address the larger mission of universities that value educating *all* students of and about the many cultures and original peoples of this land.

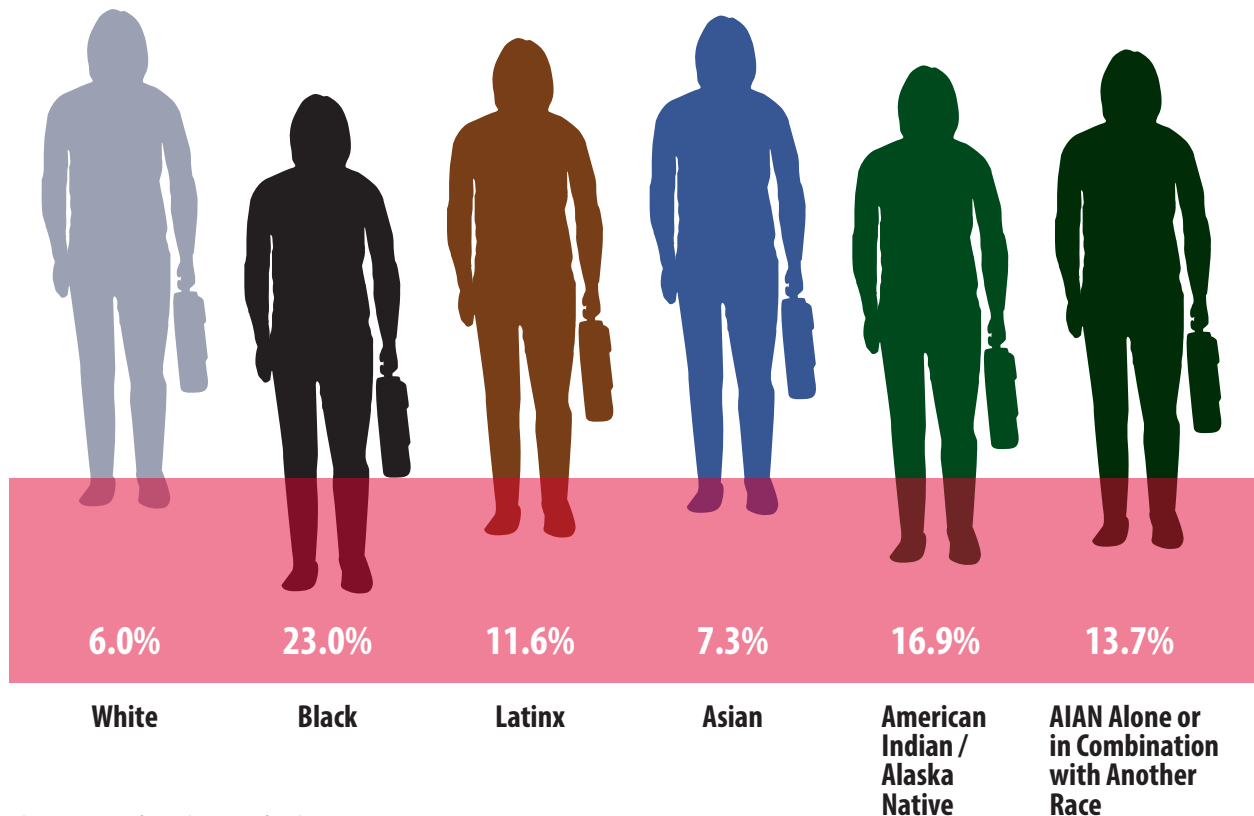
# ECONOMICS

In this section, we examine present-day economic inequities experienced by Native Americans in Chicago. Not only do Native Americans in Chicago face multiple barriers to economic wellbeing, but even those who have achieved educational and occupational mobility remain underpaid compared to other racial/ethnic groups. Our findings from this section suggest that a more inclusive economic agenda for the city – one that provides opportunities for *all* Chicagoans, is sorely needed.

## Labor Force Outcomes

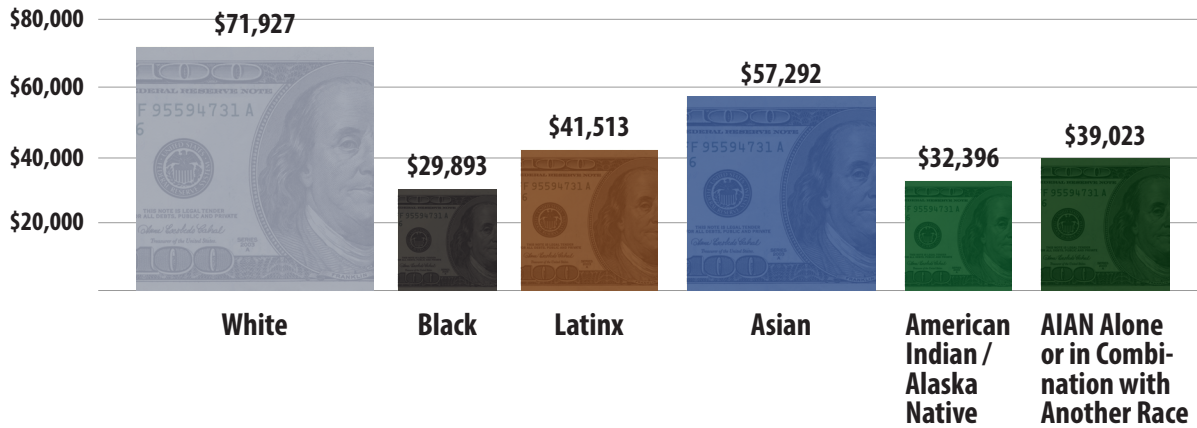
At 14%, Native Americans have the second highest unemployment rate in Chicago. This is more than double the unemployment rate of whites, and similar to that experienced by Latinx residents.

CHICAGO UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 2013 - 2017



Source: American Community Survey

## CHICAGO MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 2013 - 2017



Source: American Community Survey

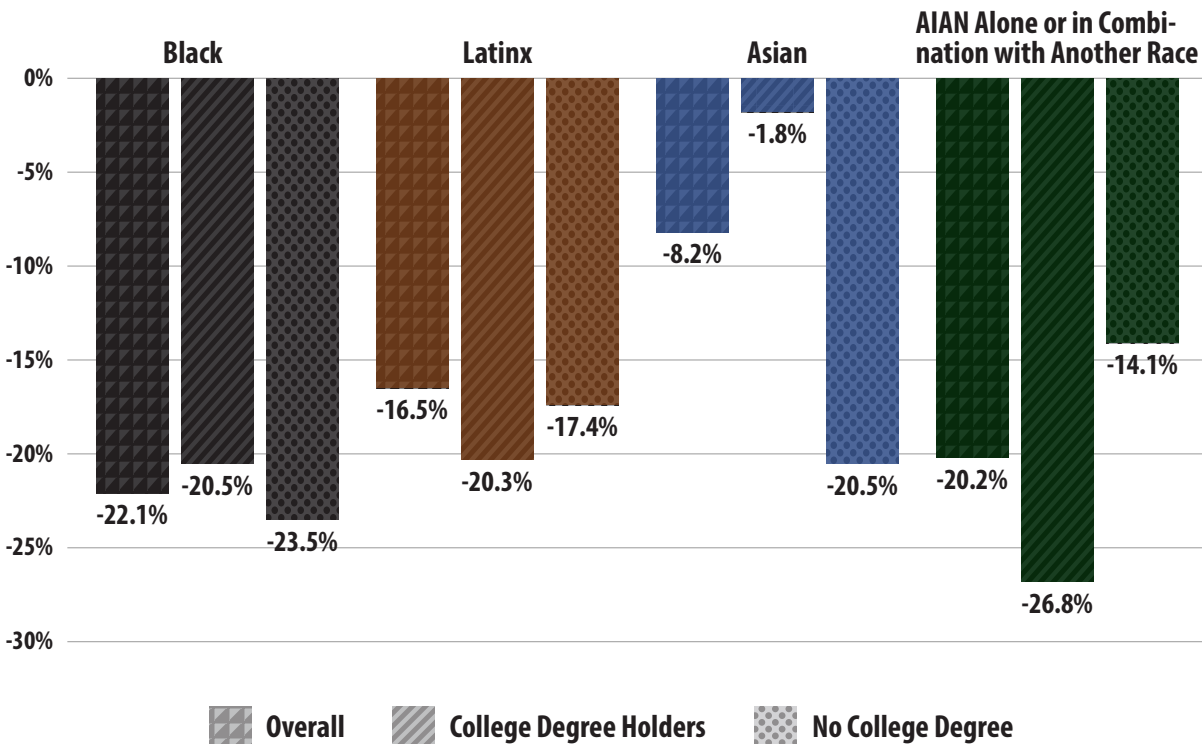
Consistent with racial differences in unemployment, Native Americans also have the second lowest annual household income in Chicago. The median household income for Native Americans is over \$30,000 less than for whites.

### Labor Market Discrimination

Scholars argue that the difference in wages remaining after accounting for personal and work-related characteristics represents the effects of discrimination, whereby certain groups are rewarded less than others.<sup>59</sup> To examine whether Native Americans experience wage discrimination, we calculated the difference in hourly earnings between them and whites, referred to as the racial wage gap, controlling for a number of factors that influence pay (such as education, parenthood status, and industry of employment, see appendix). On average, Native Americans in Chicago are paid 20% less than similarly positioned whites. This gap is slightly smaller than the racial wage gap for black residents (22%), and larger than the wage gap experienced by Latinx (16.5%) and Asian American (8.2%) residents.

The racial wage gap for Native Americans is particularly large among those with a college degree. College educated Native Americans are paid 27% less than similarly positioned college-educated whites in Chicago. The racial wage gap for college degree holders is worse for Native Americans than for black (20.5%), Latinx (20.3%), and Asian American (1.8%) Chicagoans. On average, Native Americans face barriers in obtaining lucrative employment or in being paid equally to their white counterparts.

## CHICAGO WAGE GAPS WHEN COMPARED TO WHITES, 2012 - 2016



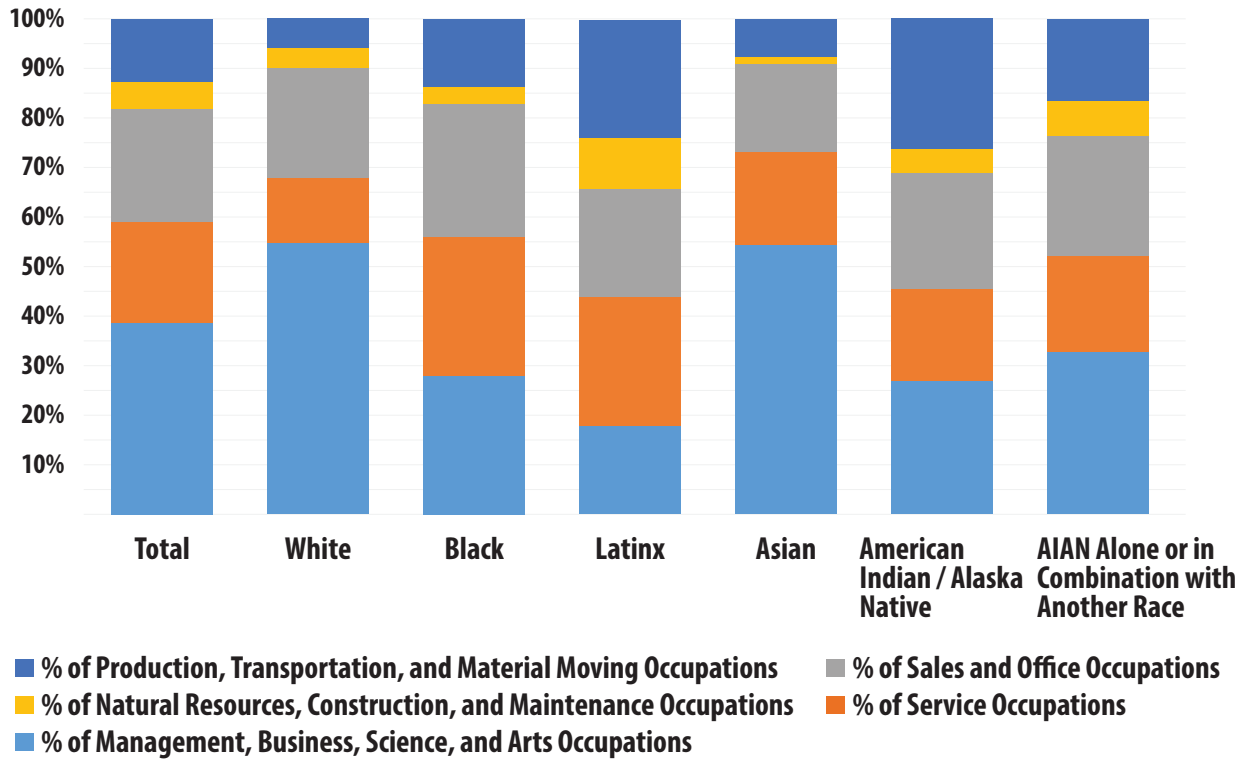
Source: American Community Survey

## Occupational Segregation

Also contributing to racial disparities in the labor force are patterns of occupational segregation. While the small population of Native Americans in Chicago makes segregation indices unreliable, exploring racial differences in employment across five basic occupational categories sheds light on how occupational segregation contributes to broad patterns of inequity. Nearly a third of all Native Americans (alone or in combination with another race) are employed in management, business, science, and arts. These are middle-class occupations that usually provide high wages and benefits. While Native Americans' representation in these jobs is higher than that for Latinx and black Chicagoans, it is far less than for whites. Over half of all whites in Chicago work in these middle-class jobs. In contrast, Native American workers are three times more likely than whites to work in low-paying production/transportation occupations and 6 percentage points more likely to work in service occupations.



## EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, 2013 - 2017



Source: American Community Survey

### Summary

In many ways, Chicago’s original Native inhabitants were the first to realize the economic potential of the area. Once the value of the land around Chicago was known, however, efforts by settlers and the U.S. government to remove Native Americans from the area effectively excluded these original inhabitants from sharing in the future economic gains that would result from the city’s growth and development. Our analysis indicates that Native Americans continue to be marginalized from economic activities in the city. They are paid 20% less than similarly situated whites. This disparity is even worse among the college educated, who are paid 27% less than equally educated whites. Contributing to these racial wage gaps, Native Americans are underrepresented in middle class occupations within the fields of management, business, science, and arts. Meanwhile, they are overrepresented in the lower-paying fields of production and transportation. These patterns of racial wage gaps and occupational segregation represent broader patterns of racial inequity and exclusion in the city. As has always been the case in Chicago, valuable economic opportunities are accrued by those who are already privileged.

## AMERICAN INDIAN HEALTH



Dr. Angela L. Walden (enrolled Citizen of the Cherokee Nation) is a Research Assistant Professor in the Department of Medicine and a Clinical Assistant Professor in the Institute for Juvenile Research at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her research focuses on community-based interventions with marginalized populations. She is the Principal Investigator of a study funded by the National Institute of Mental Health examining community readiness for a culturally relevant intimate partner violence and sexual health intervention with urban Native Americans in Chicago.

Before I became a permanent resident of Chicago, I visited the city as a tourist. Like many visitors, I wanted to see the shops and sights along Michigan Avenue. As I was out walking one day, I began to notice a pattern. It started with the DuSable Bridge, or rather, a relief carved into the bridge depicting violence between Potawatomi people and white settlers. It continued as I walked south, passing a Chicago Blackhawks store, and ended at Ida B. Wells Parkway, where I encountered two very large statues of emaciated – and quite naked – Native American men on horseback. These landmarks portray Native people in stereotypical ways as “noble savages” who are part of the past but not the present, an unfortunately prevalent lens through which non-Native people think about and understand Native people. Notably absent on my walk were any depictions that would suggest Native people currently live in Chicago (or even this century).

Approximately 7 out of 10 Native Americans live in or near urban areas.<sup>60</sup> Yet, the ways we are typically represented continue to rely heavily on stereotypes,<sup>61</sup> often portraying us as historical or as living outside

of mainstream society. I can personally link the prevalent substitution of accurate perceptions of Native Americans with stereotypes to my own experience. For example, I have lost count of the number of times I have been met with surprise from colleagues and local organizations when I have mentioned that I am conducting research within the Chicago Native American community. They are usually shocked to hear that our community exists and completely unaware of the history of Native people in the city, including that Chicago was a major site for government-driven efforts to move Native people from tribal lands to cities during the mid-20th century. Other interactions have been more personal in nature. For example, in my academic life I have been compared to a “unicorn” and have been asked by a colleague to share what my “Indian name” is. Unfortunately, my conversations with other Native Americans working in higher education have demonstrated that these experiences are not unique. Indeed, such experiences are so common that they have been labeled and studied. They are racial microaggressions, “subtle insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual), directed toward racial minorities, often automatically or unconsciously.”<sup>62</sup> Researchers have extended microaggression frameworks to account for experiences that are particular to Native Americans.<sup>63</sup> These include microaggressions that align with my experiences, as characterized by Clark et al.,<sup>64</sup> including “expectations of primitiveness,” “unconstrained voyeurism” (e.g., prodding about Native identity), “elimination or misrepresentation” (e.g., assuming that Native people are responsible for educating non-Natives), and “day-to-day cultural and social isolation” (e.g., being one of few or *the only* Native person in professional settings). These experiences are demeaning and exhausting, and they place an undue burden (it’s extra work!) on Native people to educate non-Native people. A recent national study found that 62% of Americans outside of Indian Country report that they have never met a Native person.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to misrepresentations of Native Americans in popular culture and discourse, Native people as members of modern society are frequently rendered invisible. This has negative implications for our health and general well-being. Urban Native Americans face numerous health disparities across the lifespan.<sup>66</sup> These include high rates of infant mortality and sudden infant death syndrome,<sup>67</sup> and high-risk behaviors in adolescence, such as physical fights at school, school avoidance, tobacco and substance use, risky sexual behavior, and carrying weapons.<sup>68</sup> Further, urban Native American adults experience increased risk for violent victimization and domestic violence,<sup>69</sup> engaging in risky sexual behavior,<sup>70</sup> substance use,<sup>71</sup> and mortality related to alcohol use,

unintentional injury, diabetes, and liver disease.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, these disparities may be even greater than what our current and limited data reflect. Aggregating accurate health information about Native Americans is particularly challenging due to frequent misclassifications of their racial/ethnic identity in mainstream health care settings.<sup>73</sup>

Urban Native Americans also have limited access to adequate and culturally relevant healthcare. A qualitative needs assessment within the local Chicago Native community identified several service system needs (e.g., program funding, improved infrastructure, focused and culturally relevant services, focus on general well-being), barriers to accessing services (e.g., lack of knowledge, transportation challenges, stigma) and challenges related to the acceptability of existing services (e.g., community politics, absence of quality services, need for trusting relationships).<sup>74</sup> Similar to other urban Native communities, Native Americans in Chicago are dispersed across the city and surrounding suburbs. Additionally, there are complications that stem from the lack of a single tribal government structure,<sup>75</sup> such as challenges related to the provision of comprehensive, accessible, and culturally-appropriate services. Given the numerous healthcare needs in Urban Native communities, it may be surprising to note that only 1% of the Indian Health Service budget is allocated for urban Native American health care.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps, however, this is less surprising when considering that law and policy makers demonstrate a lack of knowledge about Native Americans and the issues affecting them.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, this lack of knowledge, and the general invisibility of Native Americans in the American public sphere, feeds into flawed policies that have a tremendous impact on the lives and well-being of Native peoples.

Despite the lack of visibility of Native people in mainstream culture, however, the voices of Native Americans continue to grow louder and stronger, and we continue to take meaningful strides toward meeting the needs within our own communities. This is clear nationally with the increased mainstream coverage of Standing Rock and the history-making election of Native women to Congress. It is also evident locally through health-promotion programs and services offered through Native community organizations, such as the American Indian Health Service of Chicago and American Indian Center, and research and advocacy efforts that raise awareness about our community and issues that are important to us. As a result of local community members' efforts, for example, the city of Chicago has signed a formal resolution acknowledging Chicago as being located on Native land. In addition, several youths in the community have been

featured in mainstream media outlets, including Teen Vogue and BuzzFeed, in articles that highlight their advocacy activities and connection to community and culture.

Native Americans are part of Chicago's past, but they are also central to the city's present and future. I want you to picture a Native American. It is my hope that you imagine people who preserve traditional practices *and* who are important to the fabric of modern American society, that you see beyond the stereotypical and limited portrayals that bombard you every day and understand that we are multidimensional people. We are your colleagues, fellow students, and community members. Locally and nationally, we are doing amazing work to elevate the voices of our own people, to make our needs known and advocate for the resources and support to meet them. Adequately addressing the critical health disparities and daily challenges of Native Americans in Chicago requires the support of allies who actively acknowledge and advance our sovereignty and strength as Indigenous peoples. We need you to see us.

# JUSTICE

While federal and state governments have already historically played an oversized role in Native American experiences and outcomes, one area where the state has more recently expanded control over individuals' lives is in the carceral system. The number of prisoners in the U.S. is at an all-time high.<sup>78</sup> Native Americans are especially affected by increased policing and punitive measures. National data analyzed by the Lakota People's Law Project<sup>79</sup> indicate that Native Americans are incarcerated in local jails at four times the national average. Native American youth are particularly affected, being three times more likely than white youth to be incarcerated in juvenile detention centers.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, Native American girls have the highest rate of incarceration of all racial/ethnic groups – being five times more likely than white girls to be confined to juvenile facilities.<sup>81</sup>

In this section, we examine the ways that Native Americans in Illinois are affected by racial disparities in the criminal justice system. Due to data limitations, we focus on the state of Illinois as opposed to Chicago. Limitations in available data also prevent us from examining many aspects of the criminal justice system, including rates of hate crime victimization and youth confinement. Research from organizations based in other parts of the country have devoted more attention to these topics.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, existing evidence suggests that issues around Native youth incarceration may be concentrated in certain areas of the U.S. An estimated 85% of tribal youth confined to juvenile facilities are from just five judicial districts located in the West and Southwest regions (Arizona, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, and South Dakota).<sup>83</sup> Native youth in these areas may be particularly vulnerable to incarceration and over-policing. Nonetheless, our analysis suggests that racial disparities also exist closer to home in the state of Illinois.

## **The Prison Population in Illinois**

According to the most recent U.S. Census, the number of incarcerated individuals in Illinois is 72,353. Of these, over half are black. Only 258 prisoners in Illinois identify as American Indian/Alaska Native alone, and 453 identify as American Indian or Alaska Native alone or in combination with another racial group. While the absolute population



of Native Americans in Illinois prisons and jails is small, it is large relative to the state's overall population of Native Americans. The rate of incarceration for those identifying as Native American alone is five times larger than the incarceration rate for whites. The rate of incarceration is lower among those identifying as American Indian / Alaska Native alone or in combination with another race but remains much higher than the incarceration rate for whites.

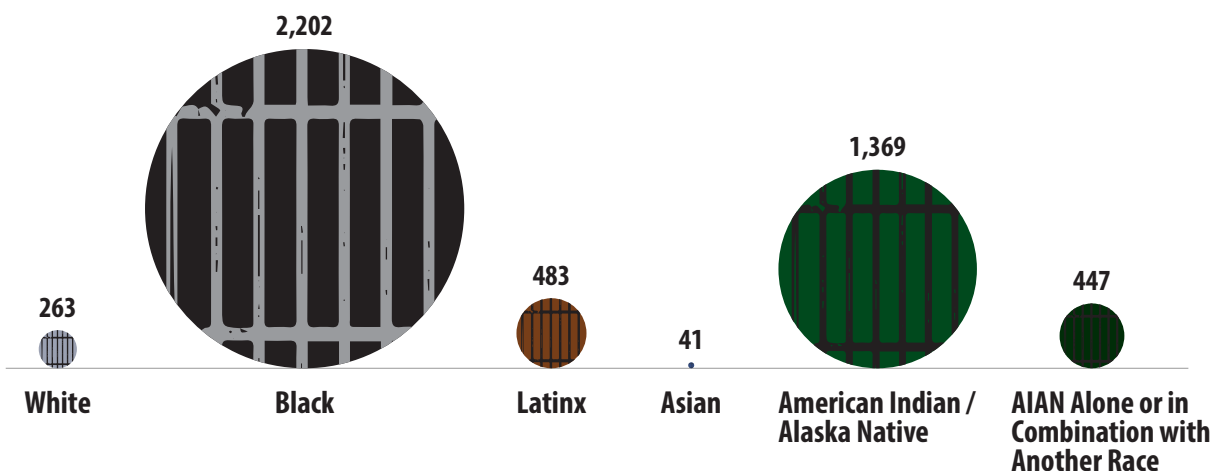
## CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

### Illinois Adult Incarceration Rates, 2010

	Men		Women		Total	
	Per 100k	Number Incarcerated	Per 100k	Number Incarcerated	Per 100k	Number Incarcerated
White	471	18,857	63	2,608	263	21,465
Black	4,387	37,607	282	2,753	2,202	40,360
Latinx	889	9,305	49	483	483	9,788
Asian	70	196	14	43	41	239
American Indian / Alaska Native	2,264	211	493	47	1,369	258
AIAN Alone or in Combination with Another Race	776	391	121	62	447	453

Source: 2010 U.S. Census

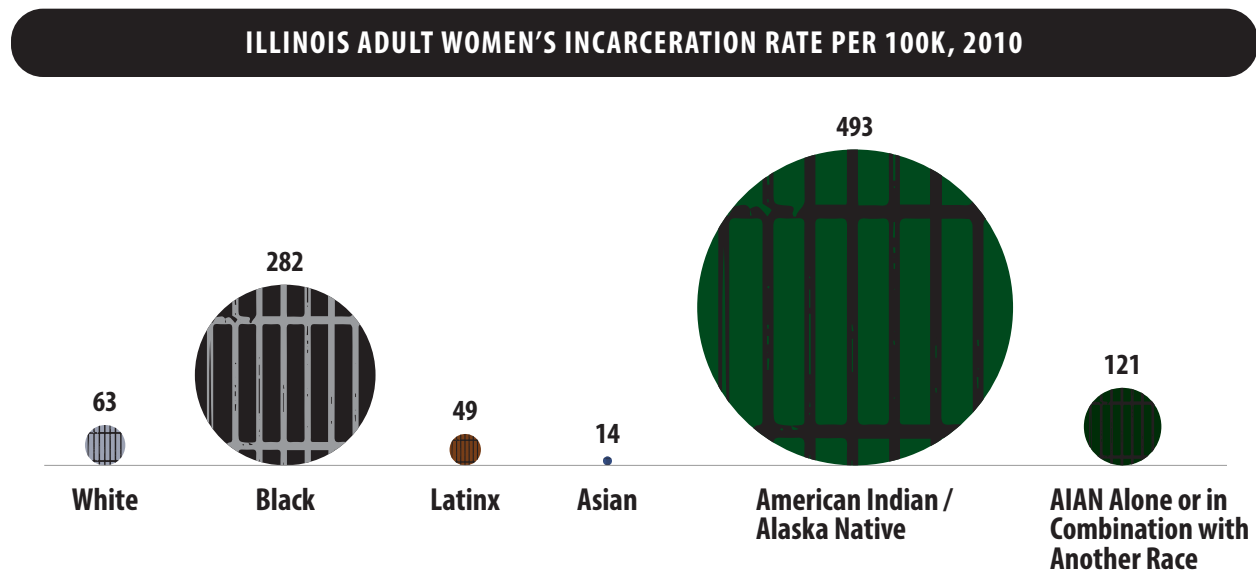
### ILLINOIS ADULT INCARCERATION RATE PER 100K, 2010



Source: 2010 U.S. Census

## Women's Incarceration

Across the total population, the rate of incarceration for women is much less than that for men. In general, men are 10 times more likely to be incarcerated than women in Illinois. Yet, after accounting for population size, Native American women in Illinois have higher rates of incarceration than women from all other racial groups. We are unable to determine the source of these high rates of incarceration, but previous research has indicated that there are limited social services available to Native American women that may account for their unique experiences.<sup>84</sup> Consistent with these findings, the trends documented here suggest that Native American women are more vulnerable to arrest and punitive action from the criminal justice system than women from other racial groups.



Source: 2010 U.S. Census

## Summary

Despite making up a small proportion of confined individuals in Illinois, Native Americans experience high rates of incarceration relative to their total population. This is particularly true for Native American women, who have higher rates of incarceration than women from all other racial/ethnic groups. During our analysis for this section, we also explored rates of incarceration among youth housed in juvenile detention centers. The population for these youth was too low to present estimates for the state of Illinois. Yet, we recognize that Native American youth nationally have been disproportionately

affected by state interventions that have removed them from their homes.<sup>85</sup> Rather than present data that may be unreliable, we recommend further research be done to examine the incarceration of Native American youth in Illinois. Given the evidence presented here – that Native Americans are incarcerated at disproportionate rates – it is quite possible that youth may also be affected in unique ways. Combined with our finding from an earlier section that Native Americans experience school discipline at higher rates than other racial/ethnic groups, there is suggestive evidence that a school-to-prison pipeline may be taking place among Native American youth. Further research is needed to explore this possibility.

## CONCLUSION

In this report, we have documented many inequities facing Chicago's Native American residents. Native Americans face barriers in access to affordable housing, economic opportunity, and educational attainment, and they are disproportionately incarcerated. We have positioned these contemporary challenges within the broader historical trajectory of American Indian tribes in the Chicago area. Prior to the city's incorporation, multiple Native American tribes lived in the land in and around Chicago. With European settlement and U.S. government intervention, however, these tribes were forced from their land and excluded from much of the early development of the city of Chicago. The present-day inequities experienced by Chicago's Native American population are part of a continuous history of exclusion from the incorporation of the city in 1837 to today.

Native Americans have not been passive in the face of racial inequity. From the earliest forms of colonial expansion to contemporary issues around racial discrimination, Native American leaders and organizations have challenged social inequity in multiple forms. Nineteenth Century conflicts such as the Black Hawk War and the Winnebago Uprising challenged the dispossession of Native American land by settlers.<sup>86</sup> Simon Pokagon's protest at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago brought significant attention to the injustices faced by the Potawatomi whose land had been taken in the early development of the city.<sup>87</sup> During the period of urban migration following World War II, the establishment of the American Indian Center in 1953 helped ensure that American Indian heritage would be maintained for the large number of Native Americans moving to cities such as Chicago. In the 1960s and 1970s, social movements such as the Red Power and American Indian Movement protested injustices facing Native Americans across the U.S. and were successful in achieving policy reform, such as the Indian Child Welfare Act.<sup>88</sup> Today, Native American organizations continue to lead efforts towards a more equitable society. The American Indian Education Program within the Chicago Public School District has made extensive efforts to improve the educational outcomes of Native American students. Native American education is a central focus of the annual Urban Native Education Conference organized by the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative (CAICC). Recently, joint efforts between the Chi-Nations

Youth Council, the American Indian Center, and 35th Ward Alderman Carlos Rosa helped establish a First Nations Garden in the Northwest side of the city as a space honoring the long history of Native Americans in Chicago and bringing attention to the ongoing presence of Native peoples. Additionally, Chicago's city council recently passed a resolution authored by the Chi-Nations Youth Council recognizing that Chicago sits upon the ancestral homeland of Native Americans who were the original inhabitants of the area. From the earliest inhabitants of Chicago to its current residents, Chicago's Native American community has been resilient in the pursuit of social equity, wellbeing, and cultural preservation.

While Chicago's Native American community has long been active in improving social and economic conditions of group members in the city and elsewhere, other influential groups in our city have devoted less attention to the injustices experienced by Native Americans. One major lesson from this report is that efforts to improve racial justice more broadly in Chicago must be attentive to the ways that the city's Native American population faces persistent barriers. Chicago's advocacy groups, community-based organizations, and local city officials are well-positioned to use information in this report to address the challenges experienced by Native American residents. There is no reason why Native peoples currently residing in Chicago should not benefit from the city's incredible growth, particularly when the foundation for such growth is premised on the long presence and contributions of Native Americans in the area. Indeed, a central aim of this report is to bring to the fore such contributions and, in so doing, counter the manner in which Native contributions to the development of Chicago have been erased from the record.

Despite our greatest efforts, the information in this report presents only a partial perspective on the lives of Native Americans in Chicago. There are several areas of social life we were unable to investigate and modes of data analysis we did not explore. Researchers interested in building from the findings presented here may refer to the appendix where we have listed a number of ideas for future research on Native Americans in Chicago. Notable omissions from this report are topics related to health, youth incarceration, crime victimization, and the foster care system – topics that have been covered in nationwide reports but not examined at a more local level in the city of Chicago.<sup>89</sup> Additionally, we rely almost exclusively on quantitative data in this report because these sources of information are publicly available and provide a starting point

in describing the conditions for Native Americans in Chicago. Future research will be able to gain a deeper understanding of Native Americans' experience through using qualitative approaches more conducive to gaining information on daily challenges and the processes through which racial inequity affects everyday life.

This report contributes to existing efforts to improve the state of racial justice in Chicago. Much discussion on racial equity focuses on Black and Latinx disparities, yet our report shows that Native Americans are disadvantaged in similar ways to these groups. Joining data available from sources such as the U.S. Census and American Community Survey with contributions from local leadership has been an important way to highlight the racial inequity experienced by Native Americans in Chicago. Our contributors to the expert commentaries in the report narrate the resilience of Native peoples, their struggles for self-representation and perseverance in the face of discriminatory policies that have defined, counted, dispossessed, displaced and relocated them multiple times over. While the factors contributing to racial injustice may be different across racial/ethnic groups, our plans for equitable transformation must be inclusive and multifaceted so that racial justice efforts include all those negatively affected by the historical legacy and ongoing processes related to racial stratification.





## APPENDIX A: NOTES ON DATA SOURCES

### **American Community Survey 2017 5-Year Sample**

Ongoing since 2000, the American Community Survey (ACS) replaced the U.S. Census's long form in the collection of detailed social indicators across the U.S. While the decennial Census still collects basic population estimates (otherwise known as the "short form"), the ACS collects more detailed information on economic activity, employment status, and other personal/household characteristics. The ACS collects a 1 percent sample of the U.S. population on a yearly basis. These samples can then be pooled across years to generate larger, more representative samples. Here, we use the 2017 5-Year sample which combines ACS surveys from 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017. These recent estimates are highly reliable because the pooled sample provides a sample size of over 100,000 respondents in Chicago alone. Data from the ACS used in maps came from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Fact Finder<sup>90</sup> and the National Historical Geographical Information System.<sup>91</sup> When mapping population distributions across Chicago, Census tracts were matched to community areas.

### **U.S. Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010**

While the ACS has replaced many functions of the Census in recent years, the U.S. Census still provides the most comprehensive population coverage, making it more suitable for estimating characteristics of small groups and detailed geographical areas. In this report, we use Census data to record population change from 1970 through 2010 across detailed race groups.

### **American Community Survey 2016 5-Year Public Use Microdata Series (PUMS)**

We use microdata to obtain measures that are not available in the summary ACS or Census files, and when calculating returns on education or wage gaps that require controlling for individual-level characteristics. Microdata was obtained through the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS).<sup>92</sup> In the microdata, each ACS

respondent is represented by a single row, with variables aligned across associated columns. One limitation of the microdata is that there is some degree of error around the identification of city residents because geographic identifiers (Public Use Microdata Areas) sometimes straddle city boundaries. Here, the error is less than 5%, meaning that the total number of Chicago-based respondents omitted from the sample and the total number of non-Chicago respondents included is less than 5% of the total sample.

## **Home Mortgage Disclosure Act**

The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act requires that banks and financial institutions report information about mortgages to the Federal Government. Data from these disclosures is compiled and made publicly available through the Consumer Finance Protection Bureau. In this report, we use data on loans/loan applications from 2013 through 2017 for homes located within the city of Chicago. More information on the CFPB and the HMDA can be found at <https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/learn-more>.

## **Chicago Public Schools Data Portal**

Information on attendance, student outcomes, and discipline were obtained by the Chicago Public Schools open data website (<https://cps.edu/SchoolData/Pages/SchoolData.aspx>). To increase reliability of estimates, we included multiple years of data when possible.

## APPENDIX B: NATIVE AMERICAN IDENTIFICATION IN THE U.S. CENSUS AND AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY

Data from the U.S. Census and American Community Survey (ACS) are used throughout this report. These population surveys provide the most comprehensive information on demographics, educational outcomes, and economic wellbeing. The surveys are administered at the household level where one individual (usually the household head) from each home responds on behalf of all household members. Racial identity is recorded by the household survey-taker using the question illustrated on this page.

This type of racial identification is far different from the process of official tribal enrollment for Native Americans, where criteria is set by tribal authority and varies across tribal nations. Our focus on identifying racial inequities, however, required that we use data from the U.S. Census and ACS because these sources also include information on economic wellbeing, educational attainment, and housing.

When using data from the U.S. Census and ACS in this report, we use two designations for Native Americans. "AIAN" refers to individuals who selected only the box indicating that they identify as "American Indian or Alaska Native". These individuals are also referred to as those identifying as American Indian or Alaska Native alone.

### EXAMPLE OF AIAN, AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKA NATIVE ALONE

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

White

Black, African Am., or Negro

American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↴

Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian

Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro

Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan

Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.* ↴

Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.* ↴

Some other race — *Print race.* ↴

To include both single-race and multi-racial Native Americans, we use the designation American Indian / Alaska Native Alone or in combination with another race. This includes individuals selecting only American Indian or Alaska Native, as well as those who selected American Indian or Alaska Native in addition to another racial category. At times when the sample size was restricted (i.e., when exploring wage gaps for employed individuals), we use only those identifying as American Indian / Alaska Native Alone or in combination because these provide more reliable estimates.

**EXAMPLES OF AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKA NATIVE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION WITH ONE OR MORE RACES**

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

White  
 Black, African Am., or Negro  
 American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↴

Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian  
 Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro  
 Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan  
 Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↴     Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↴

Some other race — Print race. ↴



9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

White  
 Black, African Am., or Negro  
 American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↴

Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian  
 Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro  
 Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan  
 Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↴     Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↴

Some other race — Print race. ↴

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

White  
 Black, African Am., or Negro  
 American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↴

Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian  
 Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro  
 Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan  
 Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↴     Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↴

Some other race — Print race. ↴

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

White  
 Black, African Am., or Negro  
 American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↴

Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian  
 Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro  
 Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan  
 Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↴     Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↴

Some other race — Print race. ↴

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

White  
 Black, African Am., or Negro  
 American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↴

Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian  
 Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro  
 Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan  
 Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↴     Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↴

Some other race — Print race. ↴

# APPENDIX C: MODELS USED FOR ADJUSTED ESTIMATES IN EACH SECTION

## Part I: Population and Housing

### *Odds of Home Loan Denial Compared to Whites*

Data from this section comes from the 2013-2017 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act obtained from the Consumer Finance Protection Bureau. For this analysis, we included information that was filed for the purchase of a home located within the city of Chicago. For consistency, we focused only on conventional loans. Too few Native Americans applied for nonconventional loans to produce reliable estimates.

We coded loans as denied if they were reported by banks as “Application denied by financial institution.”

To calculate the probability of home loan denial, controlling for neighborhood and applicant characteristics, we used the following fixed effects logistic regression equation:

$$\ln\left(\frac{pDenial_{ij}}{1 - pDenial_{ij}}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_{1j}ApplicantSex_{ij} + \beta_1ApplicantRace_{ij} + \beta_2CoApplicant_{ij} + \beta_3(\ln(LoanValue_{ij})) + \beta_4(\ln(ApplicantIncome_{ij})) + \alpha_j + e_{ij}$$

**Equation 1**

In Equation 1,  $\alpha_j$  represents fixed effects for Census tract of the home intended for purchase, allowing us to control for unobserved neighborhood characteristics that may influence the likelihood of home loan denial. From Equation 1, we exponentiated the predicted log odds of home loan denial across race (  $\beta_1ApplicantRace_{ij}$  ) to generate the odds of home loan denial for Native American, black, Latinx, and Asian American applicants compared to whites.

## Part III: Education

### *Returns on Education*

To calculate returns on education, we used microdata from the 2016 American Community Survey 5-Year sample obtained through the Integrated Public Use Microdata

Series.<sup>93</sup> Following previous research on economic and educational outcomes, we restricted our sample to those between the ages of 25 and 65, since these are the ages by which most people have finished their education. We focus only on employed workers who are not self-employed. The sample includes 41,102 Chicago residents, 315 Native American (alone or in combination with another race), 18,453 white, 9,058 black, 9,972 Latinx, 2,869 Asian American, and 435 other race respondents.

To calculate wage returns on a college degree, we predicted hourly earnings with the following equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \ln(\text{HourlyWages}_i) &= \beta_0 \\ &+ \beta_1 \text{CollegeDegree}_i + \beta_2 \text{AIAN}_i + \beta_3 \text{AsianAmerican}_i + \beta_4 \text{Black}_i + \beta_5 \text{Latinx}_i \\ &+ \beta_6 \text{OtherRace}_i + \beta_7 \text{Sex}_i + \beta_8 \text{Married}_i + \beta_9 \text{Age}_i + \beta_{10} \text{AgeSquared}_i \\ &+ \beta_{11} \text{NumberOfChildren}_i + \beta_{12} \text{WorkExperience}_i + \beta_{13} (\text{CollegeDegree}_i \times \text{AIAN}_i) \\ &+ \beta_{14} (\text{CollegeDegree}_i \times \text{AsianAmerican}_i) + \beta_{15} (\text{CollegeDegree}_i \times \text{Black}_i) \\ &+ \beta_{16} (\text{CollegeDegree}_i \times \text{Latinx}_i) + \beta_{17} (\text{CollegeDegree}_i \times \text{OtherRace}_i) + e_i \end{aligned}$$

**Equation 2**

From equation 2, marginal effects of a college degree on wage were calculated through the interaction terms of college education and race ( $\beta_{13}$ ,  $\beta_{14}$ ,  $\beta_{15}$ ,  $\beta_{16}$ , and  $\beta_{17}$ ). Predicted wages for college and non-college educated were calculated with covariates held at their mean.

## Part IV: Economics

### Wage Gaps

In our calculation of race wage gaps, we used microdata from the 2016 American Community Survey 5-Year sample obtained through the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. As with calculating returns on education, we restricted our sample to employed individuals between the ages of 25 and 65. We do not include respondents who are self-employed. The sample includes 41,102 Chicago residents, 315 Native American (alone or in combination with another race), 18,453 white, 9,058 black, 9,972 Latinx, 2,869 Asian American, and 435 other race respondents.

We used the following equation to examine racial wage gaps, controlling for individual, family, and work-related factors:



$$\begin{aligned}
& \ln(\text{HourlyWages}_i) \\
&= \beta_0 \\
&+ \beta_1 \text{AIAN}_i + \beta_2 \text{AsianAmerican}_i + \beta_3 \text{Black}_i + \beta_4 \text{Latinx}_i + \beta_5 \text{OtherRace}_i \\
&+ \beta_6 \text{LessThanHighSchoolEducaton}_i + \beta_7 \text{HighSchoolDegree}_i + \beta_8 \text{SomeCollege}_i \\
&+ \beta_9 \text{Sex}_i + \beta_{10} \text{Married}_i + \beta_{11} \text{Age}_i + \beta_{12} \text{AgeSquared}_i + \beta_{13} \text{NumberofChildren}_i \\
&+ \beta_{14} \text{WorkExperience} + \beta_{15} \text{ForeignBorn}_i + \beta_{16} \text{FullTimeWork}_i \\
&+ \beta_{17} \text{IndustrySector}_i + e_i
\end{aligned}$$

### Equation 3

Where  $\beta_1$ ,  $\beta_2$ ,  $\beta_3$ ,  $\beta_4$  and  $\beta_5$  represent the wage gap, in percent difference, between AIAN+/Asian American/black/Latinx/other race Chicagoans and whites, respectively. To estimate wage gaps by education, we applied Equation 3 to independent samples of college educated and those whose highest education is less than a college degree.



## APPENDIX D: LIST OF NATIVE AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

Here, we provide a list of local and national organizations who support Native American communities. This list is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to illustrate the broad reach of Native Americans in Chicago.

### **American Indian Association of Illinois**

1650 W. Foster Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60640  
Dr. Dorene Wiese, Executive Director  
Email: dpwiese@aol.com  
Melanie Cloud, Director of Educational Development  
Email: melaniecloud@yahoo.com  
Website: [www.chicago-american-indian-edu.org](http://www.chicago-american-indian-edu.org)

### **American Indian Center of Chicago**

3401 W. Ainslie Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60625  
Phone: 773 275-5871 / Fax: 773 275-5874  
Heather Miller, Executive Director  
Email: [hmilleraicchicago.org](mailto:hmilleraicchicago.org)  
Website: [www.aicchicago.org](http://www.aicchicago.org)

### **American Indian Child Welfare IDCFS Advocacy Program**

8140 N. McCormick Blvd  
Skokie, Illinois 60076  
Elaine Goodrick, LCSW Program Manager  
Email: [Elaine.Goodrick@illinois.gov](mailto:Elaine.Goodrick@illinois.gov)

### **American Indian Health Service of Chicago, Inc.**

4326 W. Montrose Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60641  
Phone: 773 883-9100 / Fax: 773 883-0005  
Kenneth Scott, Executive Director  
Bobbie Bellinger, Administrative Director  
Email: [aishschicago.org](mailto:aishschicago.org)  
Website: <http://aishschgo.org>

### **American Indian & Alaska Native Association Evangelical Lutheran Church in America**

8765 W. Higgins Rd.  
Chicago, Illinois 60631  
Joan Convoy Pastor  
Phone: 773 380-2700 / Fax: 773 380-1465  
Toll-Free: 800 638-3522  
Website: <https://www.elca.org/Our-Work/Congregations-and-Synods/Ethnic-Specific-and-Multicultural-Ministries/American-Indian-and-Alaska-Native>

### **American Indian Studies, University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana**

1204 W. Nevada St.  
Urbana, Illinois 61801  
Phone: 217 265-9870  
Adrian Burgos Jr., Interim Director  
Email: [ais@illinois.edu](mailto:ais@illinois.edu)  
Website: [www.ais.illinois.edu](http://www.ais.illinois.edu)

### **Chi Nations Youth Council**

4014 West Parker Ave (located Within The Aloha Center) Chicago, IL 60639  
(773) 236-2171  
<https://www.facebook.com/NativeYouth/>

### **Dayspring Native American United Methodist Church**

201 N. Norwood Place  
East Peoria, Illinois 61611  
Mobile #: 309 202-4197 / Church #: 309 698-2527  
Danira Parra, Pastor  
Email: [pastorparra@aol.com](mailto:pastorparra@aol.com)

**Eastern Woodlands Office of Native American Programs**

Ralph H. Metcalfe Federal Building  
77 W. Jackson Blvd., Room 2404  
Chicago, Illinois 60604  
Phone: 800 735-3239 / Fax: 312 353-8935  
Mark Butterfield, Administrator  
Email: Mark.Butterfield@hud.gov  
Website: [https://www.hud.gov/program\\_offices/public\\_indian\\_housing/ih/codetalk/onap/ewonap](https://www.hud.gov/program_offices/public_indian_housing/ih/codetalk/onap/ewonap)

**Ho-Chunk Nation, Chicago Branch Office**

4738 N. Milwaukee  
Chicago, Illinois 60630  
Phone: 773 202-8433 / Fax: 773 202-0245  
Toll Free: 800 256-8518  
Alma Enriquez, General Manager  
Email: alma.enriquez@ho-chunk.com  
Nathan Dall Community Outreach Specialist  
Email: nathan.dall@ho-chunk.com  
Website: [www.ho-chunknation.com](http://www.ho-chunknation.com)

**Metropolitan Tenants Organization**

1727 S. Indiana Avenue-G03  
Chicago, Illinois 60616  
John Bartlett, Executive Director  
773-292-4980 x 226  
Email: johnb@tenants-rights.org

**Midwest Soaring Foundation**

Cultural Center  
133 W. 13th Street  
Lockport, Illinois 60441  
Mailing Address P.O. BOX 275  
Lyons, Illinois 60534  
Phone: 708 257-4300  
Joseph Standing Bear Schranz, Founder/  
President  
Email: soaring@aol.com  
Website: [www.midwestsoaring.org](http://www.midwestsoaring.org)

**Mitchell Museum of the American Indian**

3001 Central St.  
Evanston, Illinois 60201  
Phone: 847 475-1030 / Fax: 847 475-0911  
Kathleen McDonald, Executive Director  
Email: kmcdonald@mitchellmuseum.org  
Website: [www.mitchellmuseum.org](http://www.mitchellmuseum.org)

**Newberry Library, D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian & Indigenous Studies**

60 W. Walton St.  
Chicago, Illinois 60610  
Susan Sleeper-Smith, Interim Director  
Phone: 312 255-3569 / Fax: 312 255-3696  
Email: sleepers@newberry.org  
Patrick Rochford, Program Coordinator  
Phone: 312 255-3552 / Fax: 312 255-3696  
Email: rochfordp@newberry.org  
Website: [www.newberry.org](http://www.newberry.org)

**Schingoethe Center for Native American Culture**

Aurora University - Dunham Hall  
1315 Prairie Street  
Aurora, Illinois 60506-4892  
Phone: 630 844-7844 / Fax: 630 844-8884  
Meg Bero, Executive Director  
Email: mbero@aurora.edu  
Website: [www.aurora.edu/museum](http://www.aurora.edu/museum)

**St. Kateri Center of Chicago**

3938 N. Leavitt Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60618  
Phone: 773 509-2344  
Jody Roy, Coordinator  
Website: <https://www.facebook.com/stkatericenterofchicago/>

**Trickster Art Gallery**

190 S. Roselle Rd.  
Schaumburg, Illinois 60193  
Phone: 847 301-2090 / Fax: 847 301-2181  
Joseph Podlasek, Chief Executive Officer  
Email: joep@trickstergallery.com

**Black Hawk Performance Company**

1650 W. Foster Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60640  
Phone / Fax: 773 338-8320  
Dr. Dorene Wiese, Executive Director  
Email: aiaillinois@aol.com  
Website: www.chicago-american-indian-edu.org

**California Indian Manpower Consortium, Inc., Chicago Based Operations**

1945 W. Wilson Ave., Suite 6106  
Chicago, Illinois 60640  
Phone: 773 271-2413 / Fax: 773 271-3729  
Toll Free: 800 463-5747  
Susan Stanley  
Workforce Development Coordinator III  
Email: susans@cimcinc.com  
Mark LaRoque  
Workforce Development Coordinator II  
markl@cimcinc.com  
Website: www.cimcinc.org

**CPS American Indian Education Program**

2651 W. Washington Blvd.  
Chicago, Illinois 60612  
Phone: 773 553-6598 / Fax: 773 553-6565  
Lisa Bernal Program Manager  
773 553-6598 / lkbernal@cps.edu  
Chantay Moore Project Coordinator  
773 557-3986 / cwmoore@cps.edu  
David Morales, Youth Development Specialist  
Dmorales94@cps.edu  
Website: https://t7kids.wordpress.com

**Northside American Indian Family Resource Center**

7019 N. Ashland Avenue Room 209  
Chicago, Illinois 60626  
Phone: 773 574-2735  
Al Eastman, Cultural Resource Specialist  
ajeastman@cps.edu

**Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative**

c/o Mitchell Museum of the American Indian  
3001 Central Street  
Evanston, IL 60201  
Email: info@chicagoaicc.com  
Website: https://chicagoaicc.com

**Native American Chamber of Commerce of Illinois**

100 N. Riverside Plaza, Suite 1670  
Chicago, Illinois 60606  
Tim Blanks-Chairperson  
Phone: 630-926-1700  
Website: www.nacc-il.org

**Native American House**

1206 W. Nevada Street  
Urbana, Illinois 61801  
Nicole Boyd, Director  
Phone: 217-265-0632  
Email: nboyd4@illinois.edu

**Native American Special Emphasis Committee**

Jesse Brown VA Medical Center  
820 S. Damen Avenue, Chicago, IL 60612  
Floretta Strong Pulley, RT  
Minority Veterans Program Coordinator  
Phone: 312-569-6531  
Email: Floretta.Strong@va.gov  
Tima Adams-Cardenas, Executive Assistant to the Director  
Phone: 312-569-6202  
Email: Tima.Adams-Cardenas@va.gov  
Lynette Taylor Assistant Director  
Phone: 312-569-6212  
Email: Lynette.Taylor@va.gov

**Native American Studies Program, Southern Illinois University**

Faner Hall Building  
History Department - Mail Code 4519  
1000 Faner Dr., Room 3374  
Carbondale, Illinois 62901  
Phone: 618 650-2157  
Dr. Julie Zimmerman  
Email: julzimm@siue.edu

**Native American Support Program, University of Illinois at Chicago**

1200 W. Harrison St., Suite 2700  
Chicago, Illinois 60607  
Phone: 312 996-4515 / Fax: 312 413-8099  
Cynthia Soto, Director  
Website: <https://nasp.uic.edu>

**Native American Tribal Equality Foundation**

5924 East Marilyn Road  
Scottsdale, Arizona 85254  
Phone: 630 377-5516

## APPENDIX E: AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

Just as our analysis has been informed by prior studies, we hope that future researchers will build from this report to examine topics we did not cover, provide a deeper analysis into the trends we have described, or examine how the patterns we observed change in the future. As a starting point, we provide a list of research topics we were unable to explore, but which warrant further investigation.

- The experiences of Native American youth in Chicago's public schools
- The relationship between Native American families and the foster care system
- Native American youth incarceration
- Public opinion towards the depiction of Native Americans in public media, such as in sports mascots
- The outcomes of Native American college students, such as rates of college persistence
- The experience of Native Americans in college and its relationship to race, ethnicity, and belonging
- Health outcomes for Native Americans in Chicago, including basic indicators of wellbeing and exposure to hazardous health conditions
- Crime victimization of Native Americans, both generally and by gender
- Representations of Native Americans in art





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See also: Straus, Terry and Debra Valentino. 1998. "Retribalization in Urban Indian Communities." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22(4): 103-115.

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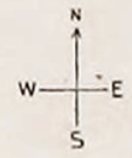


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MOUND BUILDERS TRAIL

SCALE OF MAP  
5/16 IN. TO MILE.



# ADVERSITY AND RESILIENCY FOR CHICAGO'S FIRST

## THE STATE OF RACIAL JUSTICE FOR AMERICAN INDIAN CHICAGOANS



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