Expert Witness Report

Garth Massey, PhD

RE: *Navajo Nation et al. v. San Juan County et al.* 2:12-cv-00039 CW, United States District Court for the District of Utah

I, Garth Massey, declare the following:

Personal Background and Research Qualifications Relevant to this Report

I am an Emeritus Professor of International Studies (now Global and Area Studies) at the University of Wyoming. I was the director of the International Studies Program 1998-2008 when I retired from my position. My BA degree was awarded by the University of Missouri-Columbia in 1970. I earned the doctoral degree from Indiana University in 1975. The previous year, 1974, I joined the faculty of the University of Wyoming and remained a faculty member in the Department of Sociology at that university for three decades. My current curriculum vita is attached containing more details about my career, publications and other scholarly writing, research grants funded, and contact information.

I have devoted most of my scholarly work in comparative sociological and interdisciplinary research to the topics of rural social change, social inequality, labor and work-related issues, and after 1988, interethnic relations and ethnic conflict. I have received fellowships, research grants and sabbatical leaves in order to carry out research in several parts of the world: Eastern Europe (Hungary and the former Yugoslavia), Africa (Tanzania and Somalia), and the Middle East (Israel and Palestine).

My original interest in social change led to research projects in Wyoming communities that focused on energy-related community impact and changes in Wyoming's labor force. I provided assistance in the area of community social impact mitigation. In 1997, I did research at the request of the Northern Arapaho and Eastern Shoshone tribes on the Wind River Indian Reservation and continued the association until I retired from my faculty position in 2008.

I previously provided expert witness reports for *Large v. Freemont County, Wyoming*, and *Wandering Medicine v. McCullough (State of Montana)*.

Purpose of the Description and Analysis Provided in this Report

The lawsuit filed by the Navajo Nation (*Navajo Nation et al., v. San Juan County*) contends San Juan County, Utah, is violating Indian voting rights by failing to redistrict the county in a way that provides all voters in the county with equal opportunity to elect the persons of their choice. This lawsuit follows the county's rejection of a 2011 redistricting proposal put forth by the Navajo Nation. The electoral choices in question are those for county commissioner and district school board member.

Persons identifying themselves as American Indian outnumber non-Indians as the largest ethnic group of eligible voters in the county (U.S. Census 2010). They are the supermajority in the southernmost County Commission District 3 and the Montezuma Creek and Mexican Hat school board districts. Indians are a numerical minority of the population in the other districts. This appears to be a case of "packing" Indians, who often vote as a block, into one or more nearly homogenous districts in order to dilute their potential vote in one or more of the other districts where they are likely to support Indian candidates or candidates openly responsive to the public concerns of Indians.

This report documents the intentionality of the non-Indian population, and especially non-Indian elected officials and community leaders, in creating voting districts that dilute the Indian vote and in maintaining voting districts that continue to deny Indians an equal opportunity for political participation through voting and standing for public office.

Intentionality as a form of motivation is predicated on a sense of differences between Indians and non-Indians, beginning with the most factual, objective, and indisputable differences (e.g. historical experience) and extending to the more subjective, impressionistic, and attitudinal accounts of Indian/non-Indian differences. Because this lawsuit alleges violations of the Voting Rights Act on the part of non-Indian officials – whose actions are supported by much of the non-Indian population – this report concentrates on non-Indian beliefs, attitudes and opinions, as well as group-position prejudice and the reasons non-Indians believe it is appropriate to limit the political opportunities of Indians in San Juan County.

In common language, this is a question of prejudice. Literally, are Indians prejudged by non-Indians with regard to their rights to exercise equal political opportunities? When someone tells me that Indians have their own government and asks why they should be able to "control" the county government as well, assumptions are being made that prejudge Indians as citizens of San Juan County. That is, as Indians they are assumed to be conflicted in their legal status, less likely to be supportive of non-Indians' interests, and potentially threatening to the well-being of the county and its non-Indian population. Their equal participation in county public affairs could accord them power that would potentially upset the current status quo. Rather than improving the county, such an eventuality would be socially disruptive, endanger fiscal responsibility, and make the county worse off. In this sense, prejudice is a foundation for discriminatory behavior.

The more typical language of prejudice describes Indians as inferior, lacking certain positive capabilities possessed by non-Indians, and questions their ability to make sound, reasonable judgments, in this case judgments about the quality of candidates or the complex issues facing public officials. In its crudest form, such prejudice reaches into biological differences such as intelligence and foresight. In its slightly more sophisticates and accepted form, stereotypic descriptions and cultural difference (e.g. lifestyle, traditional attitudes, educational aspirations, use of personal resources) are invoked, and these are by-in-large negative. Finally, some more thoughtful persons holding prejudicial attitudes and opinions will explain the structural or historical basis for the Indians' position in society, explaining that they are victims of history and/or their unwillingness or inability to move beyond the past. Those holding this view reject the suggestion that they hold a negative view of Indians, but it is a justification for intentional discrimination.

The description and analysis provided here documents widespread prejudice toward Indians on the part of non-Indians in San Juan County. More importantly, it shows how – in parallel with hundreds of research findings around the world – this situation could hardly be otherwise. As will be explained below, Indians and non-Indians live in almost entirely separate worlds, with minimal interaction across ethnic boundaries. The social distance between Indians and non-Indians that drove and continues to drive interethnic distrust and animus is apparent in institutional arrangements, published documents, personal remembrances and current accounts shared in interviews I conducted in 2013, 2014 and 2015. The limited personal interaction and familiarity that does take place is often neutral and may even be positive, but more general prejudicial attitudes are impervious to these case-by-case exceptions. The structures of discrimination resist alteration in the absence of deliberate efforts to diminish or dismantle them.

Looking historically at interethnic relations in San Juan County, a picture of prejudice and both personal and structural discrimination in the past is impossible to miss. The question of how much of the situation in the past remains current today is addressed in this report. San Juan County laws and ordinances that were enacted decades ago remain in place. It is unequivocal that these were crafted at a time of significant prejudice on the part of non-Indians toward Indians and by in large remain in place today.

This is not to say that all non-Indian people are prejudiced toward Indians. I spoke with many people who think highly of Native American cultural traits and make an effort to treat Indians in an equitable manner. This is also not to say that all people who "prejudge" Indians in negative ways support practices on the individual and social level that discriminate against Indians. I spoke with non-Indian people in San Juan County who are very well-intentioned and who have dedicated their time and energy to creating greater understanding and equanimity between Indians and non-Indians, improving the well-being of Indians' lives, and who support equal educational and political opportunity for all citizens of San Juan County.

San Juan County and the Navajo Nation in Southern Utah

San Juan County is large – Utah's largest county – and much of it is uninhabited. It is classified as one of Utah's "frontier" counties, with a population density of 1.9 people per square mile (compared to 32.6 for Utah).

Less than 8 percent of San Juan County's more than 5 million acres is privately owned. The state owns about 6 percent and the federal government owns the lion's share, more than 61 percent of the county. San Juan County is the location of the Utah portion (2.1 million acres) of the greater Navajo Nation (*Naabeehó Bináhásdzo*), the largest Native American reservation in the United States of more than 27 million acres. The Navajo Nation in Southern Utah is a quarter of San Juan County. [1]

Within the county's boundaries is some of the most spectacular land in the nation: the southeast portion of Canyon Lands National Park, Manti La Sal National Forest, Natural Bridges National

[1] These and other figures on land area come from the "San Juan County Division Study" prepared in 1997 by the Center for Policy & Administration, University of Utah, unless otherwise specified.

Monument, Monument Valley, and Hovenweep National Monument. As described in the 2008 BLM Resource Management Plan for the Monticello Planning Area, San Juan County "contains a wide variety of cultural and paleontological resources with numbers and concentrations of sites exceeding those found elsewhere in the region. The topography is defined largely by high mountains, steep escarpments and ridges, and incised canyons" (BLM 2008).

San Juan County is a major attraction for outdoor recreation enthusiasts, while most of the BLM acreage is multiuse and leased for grazing. Agriculture, though, makes up a small part of the county's economy, directly employing only 105 of the 5201 employed people in the county. In San Juan County, these occupations averaged only $4083 in 2012 earnings, compared to $20,500 for agricultural workers throughout Utah (United States Census Bureau 2014).

In conversations I had, Natural resources, refer to ores, minerals and petroleum. These played an important part in the economies of San Juan County in past decades, and their promise fuels some of the fervor of local control of the county's land today, but in truth they play a very minor role in the county's economy. The discovery of gold, copper, and oil in the late 1800s, the revival of the oil industry in the southeast portion of the county in the 1960s and1970s, and the uranium boom of the 1950s that saw Monticello's population double in three years (McPherson 1995: 257) were mentioned by older residents. Copper mining remains a steady source of jobs for a handful of workers today, but extraction of natural resources employs a small percentage of the county's workforce. Less than five hundred people (9.2 percent of the county's workforce) are employed in the combined industries of agriculture, forestry and mining.

Far more economically significant is the upkeep and protection of public lands and the tourist industry it has spawned, as well as the provision of public services, including health and education. There is a great deal of public employment at the local, county, state, and federal levels. As I was told, "everybody has somebody working for the government," referring to the perceived high incidence of at least one household member being a public employee. In fact, according to US Census data, about a third of the county's employees are government workers.[2]

Of the 14,746 people living in San Juan County, according to the 2010 U.S. Census, slightly more than half are American Indian. Less than 46 percent are non-Hispanic White, and 4.4 percent are Hispanic or Latino. In the U.S. Census Bureau's 2008-2012 American Community Survey, of the 7168 American Indians in San Juan County, 6798 identify themselves as Navajo, [3] while 211 are self-identified as belonging to the Ute Tribe, 25 are Pueblo, and 22 are Paiute. (An additional 101 persons were unspecified American Indian or Alaska Native.)

Most Indians live on reservation land in San Juan County. Approximately 85 percent of the county's Navajo live on the Utah portion of the greater Navajo Nation. Most of the remaining Navajo live in the southeastern part of the county, including in and on the outskirts of the town

[2] This is more than twice the national average. In the US, 14 percent of all workers are government employees; 80 percent are private wage and salary workers, and 6 percent are self-employed. Reading candidates' statements published prior to elections, I found no mention of government employment, but maintaining and increasing jobs in agriculture and mineral extraction was prominently discussed.

[3] Navajo is the term used throughout this report, though the term diné or dineh for Native Americans identifying themselves as Navajos preferred by many Indians and non-Indian writers.

of Blanding. Most of the members of the Ute Tribe living in San Juan County have homes on the small White Mesa portion of the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Reservation (population 242) twelve miles south of Blanding.

Even a casual drive through San Juan County reveals a clear ethnic divide. What is popularly called "the North" begins with the rural area south of Moab and the La Sal Mountains. This is almost entirely populated by non-Indians. La Sal elementary school, ten miles south of the San Juan County/Grand County line, has one Indian among its 20 elementary students. [4]

The county seat of Monticello, the county's second largest and northernmost town forty-two miles (as the crow flies) south of the county line. Monticello's schools are overwhelmingly non-Indian children, with only 16 American Indians among its 317 elementary students and 15 Indians among its 283 high school pupils. As is usual, five of Monticello High School's 45 graduates in 2010 were Indians.

Twenty-two miles south of Monticello is the county's largest town of Blanding, population 3382 (4913 people live in the Blanding census district). To Whites living north of Blanding, the town is considered "the South", but to Indians Blanding remains part of "the North". With a highly segregated residential pattern (discussed later) non-Indians are the majority, but nearly 600 Indians live within Blanding's city limits and more than a thousand live in the Blanding census district. Blanding's elementary school is more than a third Indian students, Blanding's Albert R. Lyman Middle School is 42 percent Indian, and its high school is 40 percent Indian.

Most young Ute Indian pupils do not live in Blanding but commute by bus from the small community of White Mesa 12 south of Blanding. White Mesa is an Indian trust allotment that is home to 242 people. Most are members of the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe whose headquarters is in Towaoc, Colorado, about an hour and a half drive to the southeast. Only 9 people in White Mesa self-identified as non-Indians. In Blanding's schools Navajo outnumber Ute students 10 to 1.

Further south of Blanding – referred to by everyone as "the South" – is Bluff, population 150 or so according to locals (down from 320 in 2010). Located on the San Juan River that is the northern demarcation of the Navajo Nation, the town of Bluff is less than a third Indian residents; only a few non-Indian families have school-age children. As a consequence, less than 20 percent of Bluff's 106 elementary school pupils (from the town and surrounding area) are non-Indians.

East of Bluff, twelve and nineteen miles respectively, are the towns of Montezuma Creek and Aneth, both within the Utah portion of the Navajo Nation. Only five of the 104 pupils at Montezuma Creek's elementary school (which also serves Aneth) are non-Indian, and only two of the 297 students at Whitehouse High School are non-Indians. After fifth grade, pupils from Bluff take the school bus either to the middle school in Blanding or the elementary school in Montezuma Creek. I was told that non-Indians from Bluff go to high school in Blanding rather than the closer Whitehorse High School in Montezuma Creek.

[4] These and other school enrollment figures come from the San Juan School District's compilation of October 1, 2012.

San Juan County is Utah's poorest county. For this reason many of its young people, especially those with more education – both Indian and non-Indian – leave the county in search of more opportunities, a pattern found throughout the nation. Some return, however, for both family and economic reasons. I spoke with individuals, including well-educated Whites, who plan to live and raise their families in the county.

The median household income of non-Hispanic White households (including families and unattached individuals) was $48,578, and it was $58,925 for non-Hispanic White families in 2012. For Indian households and families, median incomes were much lower: $24,338 for households and $32,000 for families. Median household income in 2012 nationally was $51,371 and for Utah was $57,049.[5] According to the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey 2012, median earnings in San Juan County of persons 16 years and older was $27,886, compared to $30,047 for Utah.[6]

The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that in the twelve months prior to publication in 2013, 4022 of its 14,150 citizens of San Juan County (28 percent) were living in poverty. An additional 2255 people (16 percent) were living at no more than 150 percent of the poverty threshold. Among the 7093 Indians in San Juan County, nearly 44 percent were poor. Though four times more likely to be poor than non-Indians, poverty is not confined to Native Americans. The poverty rate among non-Hispanic Whites was more than 11 percent and the incidence of poverty among those of Hispanic or Latino origin was greater than one in four.

More than a third (35 percent) of children and youth in San Juan County are living in poverty. One often-used measure of poverty for an area is the proportion of all school-age children who qualify for free or reduced school lunches. The high incidence of children qualifying for this program illustrates the high level of poverty and low income in San Juan County.

Table 1. Number and Portion of Students Qualifying for Free or Reduced School Lunches, San Juan County, Utah, 2012.

Town/School Name	Number of Students Qualifying	Percent of Students Qualifying
Blanding:		
Elementary School	399	67
Albert Lynn Middle School	215	59
San Juan High School	228	56
Bluff:		
Elementary School	90	93
La Sal:		
Elementary School	10	53

[5] All figures, unless otherwise specified, come from U. S. Census Bureau reports, including the 2010 biennium census summary files and the American Community Survey's 5–year estimates, cited in the References.

[6] Earnings of employed females in Juan County were slightly higher than for females in Utah as a whole, including women in nearly all white-collar occupational categories (United States Census Bureau 2012).

Montezuma Creek:		
Elementary School	176	87
Whitehorse High School	267	92
Monticello:		
Elementary School	141	45
High School	106	40
Monument Valley:		
Tse-Bii'nidzisgai Elementary	266	97
High School	223	96
Navajo Mountain:		
High School	25	83
San Juan County School District	2131	71

Source: San Juan County School District, Student Services Office.[7]

It is obvious that schools with a high proportion of Indians students have a very high percentage of students receiving free or reduced lunches, but the rate for all the schools reflects a county that is far from affluent.

Research Design for this Study

Social Distance and the Theory of Interethnic Contact

The question posed by this lawsuit, from page 2 of this report, bears repeating. It asks: Is there:

> …intentionality of the non-Indian population, and especially non-Indian elected officials and community leaders, in creating voting districts that dilute the Indian vote and in maintaining voting districts that continue to deny Indians an equal opportunity for political participation through voting and standing for public office.

In its simplest form, this is a question of prejudicial behavior, motivated by prejudicial attitudes and realized in structural arrangements (group position) created and backed by the power of one group with regard to another. Because the groups are defined in ethnic terms, the prejudice is ethnic prejudice.

The most powerful and often-replicated research on interethnic prejudice is informed by the interethnic contact theory, first articulated by Harvard psychologist Gordon Allport in his 1954 book, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Studies in the early days of desegregation of Merchant Marines and police forces found a positive effect between interracial contact and less prejudicial attitudes among White seaman and White police officers. Robin Williams' 1947 review of research – including housewives living in public housing – similarly found that intergroup contact tended to reduce prejudice. Allport examined this research and research by dozens of other social scientists and psychologists in putting forward a compelling explanation that has been replicated more than

[7] These figures differ somewhat from those on the San Juan County School District website.

five hundred times (Pettirgrew and Tropp 2008). As recently as last year, a major study of London neighborhoods (Sturgis et al, 2014) again found strong support for Allport's contact theory.

Allport and contemporary researchers have not been naïve in believing that just any kind of contact reduces prejudice. Four conditions are optimal in reducing prejudice: when (1) those from different groups are of roughly equal status; (2) they share a common goal; (3) they cooperate in pursuing an objective, and (4) there is positive support from authorities, including public figures. Absent any of these and prejudice is likely to be less diminished by interethnic contact. As well, the contact hypothesis has been most salient in explaining the reduction in prejudice among younger persons and those with majority, rather than minority group status (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005).[8]

The independent variable in explaining interethnic prejudice is social contact or the degree to which social distance separates differently identified groups. A couple of things are important to recognize. First, a single minority group member among a large number of majority group members will have far more contact with "the Other" than will a majority group member. Twelve African American students in a predominately White high school of 300 students will, on average, have far more contacts with non-African Americans than the average White student will have with African American students.

Second, social distance is measured by types of interactions, not just physical proximity. The classic social distance measure, developed by Emory Bogardas, scaled interactions by familiarity or variation in intimacy of contact: e.g. living in the same town, shopping in the same store, working side-by-side, living on the same street, friendship, sharing dinner, dating, marrying. [9] The first two involve minimal social contact and thus confer scant reduction in prejudice.

Why do higher levels of social contact reduce intergroup prejudice? Three reasons have been offered, and considerable research finds support for these. First, increased contact or reduced social distance contributes to greater knowledge of "the Other". Second, emotional barriers such as fear and anxiety about intergroup contact decline as social distance dissipate. Third, contact enhances empathy with and the ability to take the perspective of "the Other", i.e. one is more likely to see the world as the other person sees it (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008).

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[8] My own research in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East relied heavily on the contact hypothesis and provided support for its predictive value (Hodson, Duško Sekulić and Massey 1994; Massey, Hodson and Sekulić 1999). An apparently competing theory, often called the conflict theory, has guided many researches that have found a strong association between ethnic diversity and prejudice (and distrust), but none have controlled for interpersonal contact and the conditions under which contact occurs, and thus fail to weaken the predictive power of the contact theory (Hewstone 2009).

[9] Bogardus proposed a scale of social distance in the 1920s and continued to do research into the mid-1960s. The scales he developed – increasingly refined and validated by others – became a staple of sociological research in studies of race and ethnic relations. The social distance scale is unideminsional and cumulative, offering a statistical term from answers to a set of questions. It shows the degree to which people accept or feel comfortable in proximity to and interacting with those of another ethnicity, nationality or race. For example, a White person might object to having Black workmates while another might be okay having Black workmates but would be uncomfortable living next door to a Black family. A third person might be comfortable in both of these situations but object to her daughter dating a Black youth. (Rarely does social distance go in the opposite direction).Their social distance scores would be higher to lower, respectively (see Wark and Galliher 2007, esp. pages 391 ff.).

Other things being equal, less contact translates into greater prejudice. Levels of prejudice are highly predictive based on intergroup contact. It is the proven strength of this predictive power that guided the research methodology of this report. We know that when social distance is great and contact is minimal, even though ethnic groups may live in proximity, there is likely to be a high level of prejudice between the groups, and especially so for majority group members.[10] Put another way, where intergroup relations have been poor and high levels of prejudice have been documented, it can be predicted that these will only be lessened with increase social contact and a reduction in social distance.

The Null Hypothesis

It is not controversial to point out that San Juan County, Utah, was for decades a site of significant interethnic conflict. The history of Indian-White relations is well documented. This is a history of distrust, ill-feeling, sometimes violence. In more recent decades interethnic violence has diminished, but a high level of prejudice on the part of the majority group (Whites) toward Indians is indisputable. [11] It was during such a period of interethnic prejudice that many of the practices of the San Juan County government were introduced and codified.

A history of prejudice is not sufficient to infer the continuation of prejudice and prejudicial behavior up to the present. That observation guided my ethnographic fieldwork that, following the intergroup contact theory, sought empirical support – not for ethnic prejudice – but for an absence or lessening of prejudice on the part of non-Indians toward Indians in San Juan County.

I pursued my fieldwork with two 'nets': (1) to capture information that would gauge intergroup contact and social distance; (2) to find evidence of mutuality or non-prejudice toward Indians among Whites. Based on the theory of intergroup contact, I sought to trace the variation in prejudice that I encountered across the White population to the degree and type of social contacts that occur between Indians and non-Indians.

In effect, I posed what, in the scientific procedure, is called a null hypothesis, an educated guess that what one expects to find is *not* actually the case. It is, to put it simply, an effort to prove myself wrong, to show that hundreds of research findings are not applicable to San Juan County. The failure to find support for a null hypothesis (in effect, an alternative explanation) bolsters the confidence that what is thought to be the case has withstood further scrutiny and remains the best available explanation.

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[10] In this terminology, majority and minority are not numerical terms but terms of relative power. More than fifty years ago Helen Mayer Hacker (1951) drew attention to women's status and treatment in American society that casts them as a minority group, based on their ascribed status (female), the physical and cultural visibility of this status, their unequal treatment, and their group awareness. This use of the term has become a staple of sociology, political science, ethnic studies and gender studies.

[11] "White" is used here in reference to non-Indians and commonly used by Indians. Non-Indians in San Juan County are more likely to refer to themselves as Anglos.

As a researcher I could not assume a high degree of social distance on the part of Whites toward Indians in San Juan County, Utah. Much of my fieldwork was spent gathering information about Indian/non-Indian interpersonal contact in order to gauge social distance. In conversation after conversation I asked about this, in a qualitative sense following the format of the Bogardus' scale of social distance: Who are peoples' neighbors, workmates, friends, intimates. How often do they interact? Has this changed in their lifetime? What might have caused the change, if any?

Even if I found a high level of social distance, I could not assume a high level of interethnic prejudice. Despite minimal social contact and a high degree of social distance, it would be conceivable for non-Indians to express in both their attitudes and behaviors little or no prejudice toward Indians. That is what I sought to document. Rather than looking for prejudice, I looked for its opposite. In talking with people, systematically interviewing several dozen individuals, watching interaction in public places, and listening to what people said to one another, I sought out expressions, not of prejudice toward Indians, but the opposite: respect, impartiality, good will, high regard, trust and approval. [12]

To test the null hypothesis, I challenged the enormous record of research in support of the theory of interethnic contact. The point of the research endeavor was to prove the null hypothesis correct. I put myself in a position, not to find prejudice and justifications for discrimination, but rather to find that prejudice of non-Indians toward Indians is neither widespread nor associated with social contact. If prejudice was expressed or recounted, I sought to find that it was not strong enough for people to act (or seek to justify acting) on it.

Concepts Relevant to the Study

Subtyping. I would have been very surprised if I had not heard a few cases of Whites showing esteem or admiration toward individual Native Americans. When this happened, I pursued the topic in order to understand its basis and scope. What I often heard was some variation on the following: She is one of them, but she is really smart/hard working/decent/honest/law-abiding, a good person/mother/employee/friend.

The key word here is *but*. This is what sociologists call 'subtyping' of individuals of another ethnic group. It expresses the person's exceptionalism, an illustration that reinforces a stereotype by drawing attention to an exception. The person under discussion is considered atypical. Their exceptionality is, in fact, an explanation of why interethnic group position is an important consideration in the dominant majority community, i.e. why the majority group is dominant and must remain in a position of responsibility for the public good.

[12] The seemingly most obvious means of measuring prejudice (as an attitude) is to survey a large representative sample of people, hold focus group meetings, or spend months or years accumulating case-study data of incidents and conversations. This assumes that nothing is known about prejudice in a setting until information is found to show prejudice. In fact, much is known in the San Juan County setting. It is highly unreasonable that, given the past history of interethnic relations and the degree of social distance that even a cursory exanimation of life in the county provides, there would not be a fairly high degree of interethnic prejudice. In the same way, a medical examination begins with questions about a person's habits and proceeds to associate these to symptoms of illness, based on known associations between the two. A medical diagnosis usually begins by following a well-established path and an effort to rule out other possibilities. The same is true in the study of interethnic relations.

Related to this is the idea that certain members of "the Other" can be, in effect, assimilated into the dominant group, at least in part. Proving your worth by living upright, industrious and responsible lives of rectitude is one way. Jettisoning the most visible and sometimes objectionable (to the dominant majority) cultural traits of "the Other" is another way, through such cultural cues as dress, language, leisure pursuits, gestures, personal adornment, church attendance, housekeeping, culinary practices, and how money is saved and spent.

Adopting significant cultural markers of the dominant majority is closely related to what the sociologist Lawrence Bobo refers to as "ideology-based homophily" (Bobo and Tuan 2006). This is the practice of befriending or at least accepting at a lesser social distance those persons who have accepted a set of beliefs and behavioral norms similar to one's own, regardless of the person's ethnic or racial status. Beliefs may be a political ideology, such as the adoption of conservatism by an African American, or the conversion to or adoption of one's own religion. In the situation of San Juan County, Utah, ideology-based hemophilia is most likely found when White members of the LDS Church accept as partially assimilated Indians who convert to their own faith.

Old Fashion Prejudice. When the idea of prejudice is discussed, most people think of people holding derogatory, socially unpopular ("politically incorrect"), chauvinistic and even bigoted opinions about others. Those holding these views shun "the Other" and endorse unequal treatment because they feel some people do not deserve or warrant equal treatment. This can be found when long-time community residents distrust newcomers, men reject feminist views, and elites object to equal treatment of non-elites.

When the issue is interethnic relations, such prejudice extends to an entire category of people who are similarly identified by their ethnicity.[13] Fifty years after the successful culmination of the modern civil rights era, such expressions of crude stereotypes and prejudice – what Gordon Allport called "faulty and inflexible generalization" (Allport 1954: 9) are referred to as *old-fashioned* prejudice. Even by those who hold such views, they are rarely expressed within earshot of non-intimates. While evidence of such prejudice can be found in the public record and recollections of people in San Juan County, it is not as reliable a guide to understanding interethnic relations as it might seem.

'Group-Position Prejudice. More important is what Herbert Blumer, one of the most influential thinkers in the study of prejudice, recognized as the view that one's own ethnic group rightfully holds a superior position. Lawrence Bobo (1999: 447) puts it this way: "Prejudice involves more than negative stereotypes and negative feelings…it involves most centrally a commitment to a relative status positioning of groups."

In some cases during my fieldwork in San Juan County, this view was expressed in patronizing language. "The Other" is not described in crude and derogatory terms, but is seen as having shortcomings that require the dominant majority to act as would parents or guardians, pursuing the best interests of a child or challenged adult who is not capable of pursuing their own best

[13] Ethnicity means having a common ancestry, being bound together as kin, self identify as such, and expressing outward symbols of difference – in cultural practices, language, religion, dress, food preferences, attitudes, values, and so forth.

interests. More commonly, the "relative status positioning of groups" is expressed as being in the best interest of the community. This is felt to be the best or most reasonable way for public affairs to be arranged.

Standing in the way of shared political responsibility is the sense of entitlement. Whether earned (achieved) or endowed (ascribed), the majority group feels it is their historic right and obligation to determine the distribution of things with material and status value, as well as the exercise of power. Group-position prejudice reflects a collective assessment of who should be in charge. It can reasonably involve a very pragmatic calculation of what is at stake in a more egalitarian situation where a minority group might challenge the prerogatives that undergird an arrangement assumed to be best, not only for the majority group, but for all.

Finally, there is the consideration that "the Other" would exercise responsibility less well or with less effort than does the majority group. In San Juan County many Whites may perceive Indians, not so much as second-class citizens than as individuals with a divided loyalty or, more often, with a greater interest in "their own politics than ours," as one person put it.

The Navajo Nation is a separate, even autonomous political entity with its own resources and institutions. Is it fair, several non-Indians asked me rhetorically, that Indians can vote in our elections and their elections, but we can't vote in theirs? This sense of unfairness borders on a feeling of victimization and, as expressed in one interview, was followed by comments about the federal government's helping Indians but not helping them or their children. At this juncture the perception of one's own group entitlement can take a sharp detour.

Whites are felt to be a besieged minority locked in a battle with not only the local Indians but are forced to fight a federal government that looks out for Indians but cares little about the non-Indian population. This is an especially potent sensibility in San Juan County, Utah, where the fourth sagebrush rebellion (Graf 1990) over public lands and the exploitation of oil and minerals (in a battle with environmentalists promoting conservation, preservation, and tourism) is as virulent as anywhere in the nation.

Fieldwork and Data Gathering

This report is based on fieldwork in San Juan County, with additional interviews in Salt Lake City, quantitative data gathered on site and through the Internet, and published material. I made six trips to Utah for this project, spending several days on four occasions in San Juan County. I conducted arranged interviewed with forty-one individuals and had substantive conversations with dozens of others. About seventy percent of my interviews were with non-Indians. I talked with a few individuals (what anthropologists call 'key informants') on several occasions.

I took notes during interviews and in all occasions made a detailed record of the interview immediately after its conclusion. I did not use a survey instrument but took to each interview a set of topics I hoped to cover. All interviews and conversations, with the exception of two conversations with key informants, took place face-to-face in the individuals' home, place of work, or a public venue. Qualitative and quantitative data were gathered between November 2013 and April 2015.

In all cases, I encouraged the person I was talking with to outline at least some portion of their biography and life in San Juan County, allowing them to offer opinions and accounts of their interaction and relationships with others. Because my interest was Indian/non-Indian interpersonal relations and attitudes toward one another, I directed questions to this topic. I was interested in a more general picture of life in San Juan County as well and encouraged those I interviewed to discuss this at length.

Much of what I heard was highly informative, especially with regard to personal experiences and perspectives as well as past events and appraisals of the community. Much of what people told me was, in checking later with various reliable sources of information, found to be factually inaccurate. That in no way disqualifies what people told me. The ideas people hold and the reasons they give for their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors – even when empirically erroneous – are important information in understanding attitudes, motives and beliefs. What they chose to tell me as well as the ways they express themselves are also important. For that reason, some of what is described in this report is, on its face, not correct. I have tried to indicate that wherever it is germane to the discussion or the conclusions I have drawn. [14]

William Faulkner wrote that "the past is never dead. It's not even past."[15] This seems as true today in San Juan County, Utah, as in Faulkner's Mississippi of the 1920s and 1930s. Figuring out the time and chronology of what people (especially non-Indians) were telling me was particularly challenging. That is, it was often not clear in our conversations just when things had happened. In some cases, events that seemed to have occurred very recently or within the year had, in fact, taken place many years before, in some cases decades ago.

This, too, is important information in the study of interethnic relations. It is very common for people to explain themselves – especially when they may be expressing what they suspect to be misunderstood or know to be unpopular – with rhetorical illustrations. Because a person's current opinions and attitudes may have been formed early in life, such references are often to things that happened at that time. To the naïve listener, it might seem to have been much more recent. The telescoping or foreshortening of time sometimes connotes meaning as much as what is actually said.

Interethnic Relations in San Juan County

The Historical Context: Conflict, Conversion, and Assimilation

[14] I did not ask non-Indians if they were prejudiced towards Indians or if Indians showed prejudice toward them. Nor did I ask if they had discriminated against Indians or felt discrimination at the hands of Indians. That would, for obvious reasons, be a very unreliable and fruitless line of inquiry. Rather, I asked people to talk about themselves and their lives. Because the people I spoke with knew I was writing a report about interethnic relations in San Juan County, and most knew I was doing this on behalf of the Navajo Nation, their relationship and thoughts about Native Americans in San Juan County became part of the conversation. Sometimes this was extremely brief when the individual I was interviewing was disinclined to talk about it. In most cases, however, people were forthcoming and in some cases very candid. I have full faith that what people told me was, if somewhat measured or guarded, an accurate reflection of their thoughts and perceptions.

[15] *Requiem for a Nun*, Act 1, Scene 3.

The social, cultural and political history of this area begins with the family and kin groups of indigenous people who settled and moved through the region as hunters and as gatherers. The thousands of years of Indian history are documented elsewhere, as are their earliest encounters with Europeans. Suffice to say, if there is any question of who was here centuries before the arrival of White people, the answer is not seriously disputed (see McPherson 1995, Chapter 3).

More recent history expressed by Whites, and especially early ranchers in the nineteenth century, was that the area was largely empty, with nomadic groups passing through in search of game, but for the most part no one – and especially the Navajo and kin groups later associated as Piutes and Utes, were elsewhere and came into this area only when ranching offered an opportunity to cull animals from the herds. This historical narrative is inaccurate in the extreme, but is a starting point to contemporary history. "The troubles" relevant to the current discussion began with the conflict between Indians and ranchers and other cattlemen bent on exclusive use of the land, free of indigenous human competitors (e.g. Walker 1964).

This matrix of conflict was altered with the migration of white families – and particularly the San Juan mission of the Mormons – intent on ranching and farming the area that became southeast Utah. As farming began to prove inappropriate for much of San Juan County, ranching came to dominate the efforts of the San Juan mission (McPherson 1995: 173). From that point on, the term rancher and Mormon became synonymous for the Navajo, and land became the chief object in dispute. It is not difficult to draw a straight line from the history of Indian/Mormon conflict over land to the modern Sagebrush Rebellion's association of federal oversight of public land with federal involvement in Indian affairs. This attachment pits – in the minds of many Whites – both Indians and the federal government against non-Indians who believe San Juan County is theirs and best left to their stewardship.

The story of Mormon settlement of the county has been told many times in great detail. Suffice to say that Brigham Young's vision of settling his congregats throughout Utah territory was not intended to push the indigenous people out but to find a way to accommodate the settled life of agriculture and small towns with the existence of a very modest number of Indians who, in time, would find attractive the way of life of the White world, including conversion to the Mormon faith, and gradually be socially and economically integrated through a process of cultural assimilation.

The Book of Mormon recognizes Native Americans as a lost tribe of Israel, the Lamanites, who – like the followers of John Smith's creed – are themselves children of Israel. The Lamanites, once brought back into the fold of believers, these "people of divine destiny" (Mauss 2001: 111) would in fact lead the faithful in their millenarian quest. This story's relevance is only with regard to the intentionality of conversion of Indians to the LDS faith in the past.

I wasn't able to get a tally of Indian conversion, and others' subjective accounts are not reliable. There is no doubt, however, that for a hundred years one of the main intentions of the LDS Church in San Juan County was to convert as many Indians as possible to the faith. At one point there were sufficient conversions to enlist the Indians in the construction of their own building, the Blanding Indian Branch Church, temporarily forming a ward of the LDS Church. There was also a Bluff Indian Branch LDS Church at one time, but no longer.

In talking with Navajos in San Juan County it appears that these conversions were often short-lived, but there are prominent cases of Indians remaining in the Church and raising their children as Mormons. In a few cases, marriage – almost always between a Native American woman and an Anglo man rather than vice versa – solidified the conversion. In my conversations, only conversion – or conversion accompanying marriage to a Mormon – was considered the portal to acceptance of Indians by Whites as putative equals.

Conversion often was accompanied by the physical separation of the convert from his or her extended family. Converted Indians came to live in the White world, including the use of English and taking a job similar to that of non-Indians (Jacobs 2009). Lifestyle changes, changes in identity, social intercourse, and the adoption of not only new theological beliefs but values and attitudes were part of the assimilation process that accompanied conversion to the LDS faith. Nothing short of this would be considered a successful religious conversion.

Important to the effort to convert Indians to the faith was the Indian Placement Program (Topper 1979; Hangen 1997). The practice goes back to the longstanding force-assimilation policy, and later the federal government's efforts, of using education as a vehicle for extricating Indians from their own culture. As the federal program was winding down, in 1947 the LDS Church began its own program of offering children and youth a home placement away from their families, often to the Salt Lake City area but also to as far away as Southern California. The young person grew up in a Mormon household, with all the attention to LDS family practices and an immersion into the faith. They received the same education as the children in their foster family, and many went on to college.

I spoke with several people who had been part of the LDS Placement through their high school years. Some of them had left the faith, and all I spoke with had married an Indian who similarly had been in the placement program or someone other than a Native American. Two had married a Hispanic person, one of Catholic faith and the other LDS. I also interviewed a man whose family, while he was a boy, had taken in an Indian child; he no longer had contact with his foster brother. In all of the interviews with Indians who had been in the program, there was a sense of marginality or personal 'liminality', i.e. they felt themselves to be neither part of the culture they had been born into nor a full-fledged part of White society. A former law enforcement official described them as "torn between two cultures."

A middle-age Navajo I spoke with described how her father, a traditional healer, had been approached by Church missionaries and offered the opportunity for his children to receive a higher quality education than was then available to children on the reservation. (Until the mid 1960s only Indians in the LDS Placement Program or those referred by social services agencies were able to enroll in Blanding High School.) The condition for their placement was that the entire family would have to convert to the LDS faith. He (and they) did this, and his children were placed in Salt Lake City and other towns in western Utah.

She now lives among Indians in a rural part of San Juan County but feels herself apart from them, and offered many criticisms of how they live. I asked if her children consider themselves Navajo. "No, they just say they're Americans, or they're Hispanic [They all speak some Spanish,

like their father.]. But, if someone says something bad about Indians, they tell them, 'Hey, watch what you're sayin'. I'm an Indian'."

The Home Placement Program reached its zenith in the 1970 "when nearly 5000 students left reservations to study in white schools and live in LDS homes (Bushman 2006: 101). It wound down in the early 1980s. In only one case did the non-Indian person I spoke with have a sense that the program was misdirected or that it was a regrettable infringement on Indian families or Indian culture. He used the term culture clash. Some converted Indians, he said, had stopped practicing the Mormon faith, and one had let his hair grow long before and gone "back to the old religion."

Rather, the idea remains strongly held that education – accompanied by separating young Indians from their surroundings of family and friends – was a positive step in improving the lives of these less fortunate people, both in material and spiritual terms. The Home Placement Program provided opportunities to escape the poverty, poor housing, poor schools, and myriad problems common to many Indians in San Juan County. The cost of this to the individuals who were placed in foster homes seems inconsequential to most Whites.

In several interviews with non-Indians there was mention of one or another Navajo or Ute youth who had gone to school in Blanding or Monticello and excelled in sports, academics, or both, winning the admiration of their white classmates and parents. I did not always ask if the individual had converted to the LDS faith, but when I did the answer was yes. In one case this individual had married a non-Indian from a prominent LDS family, held many prominent positions in the county, and continues to be much admired.

When I asked Navajo who hadn't participated about the Home Placement Program what they thought of it, some older people said it was good because it gave young people a chance to be educated, given the difficulties they faced otherwise, especially the long distance and the stigma of being an Indian in a White school. Others were less sanguine. "They're peculiar," one Navajo observed. And another talked about how they are "difficult to deal with" because they seem unsure about other Indians and their place in the Indian community.[16] "We call them 'tame Indians'," one Navajo man told me.

Most Indians in San Juan County have not converted to the Mormon faith, and the idea of reclaiming the Lamanites through mass conversion, part of the fundamentalist eschatology of the LDS theology, is no longer an active agenda (Bushman 2006; Mauss 2001). To be a Navajo or a Ute in San Juan County is a point of pride and identity. There is much talk of traditions and practices, the old stories and beliefs, and upholding the values of the "old ways". Many have left the county and the reservation, but many have stayed. On the reservation, everyone seems to

[16] Having traveled in South Africa during the apartheid era, I have been struck by the parallel between home-placement Native Americans and "Coloreds" in the earlier caste system of South Africa. In apartheid South Africa four races were legally recognized, each with group-specific legal rights: Blacks, Indians (people with predominantly South Asian ancestry) Whites and Coloreds or 'mixed-race' people. Not in appearance – as in South Africa – but in demeanor, speech, life course, and perspectives, home-placement Indians are in many ways a caste that is, as one non-Indian pointed out to me, "not quite an Indian anymore, and isn't White either."

recognize, one can be an Indian first and foremost, practicing the "old ways" in a more supportive environment.

The reservation is also a safe haven for many people. A former teacher at Monument Valley explained how difficult it was for Anglos to recognize the importance of place for Indians and the significance of being among family one's entire life. Students often seemed disinterested, disengaged, and even listless in her class, and showed no willingness to do the kind of schoolwork that would lead to success. Typically, teachers will ask why their children don't work harder, do their homework, and show more interest in school. It was only when the teacher engaged their parents in conversation and asked them what they expected for their children did she understand the parents' concerns.

'"Year-round, legal and here," they told her. "And after talking with other parents of my students, I realized – for them – a good job might be pumping gas or cleaning motel rooms." This is not for lack of ambition or ability. It's a different kind of ambition, one that makes little sense to an outsider. And, in a place where a steady job is hard to come by, it's not all that easy. "I realized how important it is for people to stay here and the priority of family and place." Many Indians have gotten better jobs than these, and many have distinguished themselves as leaders and significant contributors to the community, she observed. But the focus on "here" is telling. "If the idea is to get a good enough education that you have to leave for a job that requires it, that's not a good thing."

Apart from this former teacher, I met no non-Indians in San Juan County who expressed this much insight into the Indian's lives and culture. Some were quite knowledgeable and admiring of Indian culture, especially the art and crafts. But a deeper understanding of Native Americans and the Indians in their midst was not apparent. And that, in itself, is telling of the social and cultural distance that still exists between the two peoples.

The History of Legal Wrangling

Over the twentieth century Indian-White relations have been contoured by legislation and decisions in lawsuits brought before the court. These won't be chronicled here; they are readily available in other sources (e.g. McCool et al., 2007; McDonald 2010). There are, however, several points where laws and decisions bear on the question of prejudice and discrimination, and these will be briefly outlined. Many of the landmarks for Indian political equality parallel, though happened later than, the modern civil rights movement led by African Americans. In effect, Indians have been playing catch-up. This history shows a pattern of personal and group-position prejudice and structural discrimination.

American Indians were denied US citizenship until 1924, and for decades after that Indians living on reservations were not given full rights as citizens. In 1957, Utah gained "the distinction of being the last state to enfranchise American Indians," (McCool et al. 2007: 90) following a lawsuit challenging Utah's 1897statute. As McCool and his colleagues explain, the Utah Supreme Court upheld the state statute arguing, in part, that "the federal government remains largely responsible for the welfare of reservation Indians" and "reservation Indians are 'much less concerned with paying taxes and otherwise being involved with state government and local

units, and are much less interested in it than are citizens generally'…Indians who reside on the reservation are "extremely limited in their contact with state government and its local units'," quoting from the *Allen v. Merrell* 1956 decision (McCool et al. 2007: 96).

The *Yanito v. Barber* 1972 decision of unfair treatment of two Navajo Indians who sought to run for county commissioner concluded, in part, that "plaintiffs were 'unfairly treated' [and] that 'there has been a history of intentional discrimination'," against Indians (McCool et al. 2007: 97). Two U.S. Justice Department complaints in 1983 led to the replacement of San Juan County's system of at-large elections of county commissioners and the provision of bilingual assistance and other voter assistance to Navajos in the county.

> A description of the political and cultural climate at the time of the two voting rights cases may also support the extent of discrimination faced by American Indians in San Juan County. …In the 1970s, a restaurant window featured the sigh, "No dogs or Indians Allowed." The Blanding Cemetery was segregated as late as the 1970s…Indians were buried in the weeds and sagebrush. (McCool et al. 2007)

That efforts to achieve political equity required federal intervention highlight the resistance of the county officials and much of its White citizenry to changes in the political status quo (Berman and Salant1998).

Native Americans in San Juan County have for decades used the courts as the last recourse to secure reasonable support for their children's education. I spoke with several older Navajo who recounted the hours they spent riding a bus to attend school, in addition to long walks – or their parents occasionally taking them – to and from the bus stop. For many, this prevented their participation in sports and other activities. It reduced their social intercourse with White classmates and marked them as 'bus students', to say nothing of the vast amount of time that could have been spent doing homework.

From 1974 *Sinajini v. Board of Education of San Juan County* case to the 1995 *Meyers v. Board of Education of the San Juan School District* case, White leaders have argued that Indians are either not part of the county for purposes of the provision of education or are the responsibility of the federal government. Many of the sentiments and much of the reasoning put forward by the county – especially the idea that the county has no responsibility for the cost of educating children living in the Navajo Nation - can still be heard today (see Baca 2005).

"There's Still a Tremendous Amount of Inequality"

When San Juan County Commissioner Phil Lyman made this observation, he was concluding a discussion of the political arrangements in the county and the pros and cons of the current designation of voting districts. He prefaced this remark by saying, "Do I think there is equity? No."[17]

[17] Commissioner Lyman, identified as "recently famous for leading an ATV protest into Recapture Canyon" was being interviewed by Jon Kovash, Utah Public Radio's Southeast Utah correspondent. (Kovash 2014). The commissioner was indicted, tried, and convicted of two misdemeanor charges for trespassing on public lands (see Livick 2014). In June 2014 the San Juan County commissioners passed a resolution (2-1) claiming right-of-way on

The current county commissioner spoke of the "historical context" in which he "can see the injustices that have happened over the years." He recognized that many non-Indians resent that [reservation] Indians are not taxed the same as non-Indians, and they believe in "no taxes, no services." Finally, he was forthcoming on the reluctance of some Whites to work with Indians, but believes there have been successful joint efforts in the town of Blanding, implying this was not the case in "North" San Juan County.

In several conversations, inequality not just of material circumstances but in how Indians have been treated in San Juan County's recent past were readily admitted. One retired law enforcement official told me about a former police chief who "picked on the Indians." It was common practice to "take advantage" of Indians, fining them more heavily than non-Indians. "If you was from Bluff you might be fined $50 for driving without a license. Same if you was a Benally" [an common Navajo surname]…If you was a Redd [a common Mormon surname] or from Monticello, your fine was $15."

A frank discussion with a lawyer who grew up in San Juan County and held prominent public offices told me similarly, "The legal system has all the prejudices found in the society," referring to San Juan County. He discussed the incidence of crimes committed by Indians and spoke of the "cumulative effect of seeing Indians" in the criminal justice system. Judges, prosecutors, sheriffs and deputies, jailers, probation officers – "everyone sees the world through their biases and prejudices." He concluded by saying that Indians are judged more harshly, given longer sentences, and are probably placed further away from the county than non-Indians. [18]

"When I came here, things were tough" between Anglos and Indians, I was told by someone with any years of experience in the county's social services. Things are better now, but there are still problems. This person explained how Indians are often turned down for social services and benefits for which they qualify – a practice he described as "dishonest." In my interviews it was not unusual to hear Indians described by non-Indians as "welfare cheats" or people who feel they are deserving of welfare because they are Indians.

Welfare's expansion in the 1960s and 1970s proved ruinous to Indians, according to one well-educated individual I talked with. More often heard were the ideas that Indians will always "try to get something for nothing", will "bully" you into giving them something they didn't earn or don't deserve, and feel entitled to services and benefits only because they are Indians. In this context it was unfair - but not uncommon, according to the person I interviewed – that case workers would not fully comply with regulations in helping Indians get the services and benefits to which they were entitled.

Finally, in an interview with a county official, Norman Johnson, he recounted how, prior to his time in office, "there was discrimination against Indians in the matter of voting." He went on to say, "That started changing…That needed to change." He recognized that, as a matter of equity, some people need additional resources that go toward facilitating their being able to vote. We

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the Recapture Trail. At its May 2015 meeting it passed (3-0) a resolution in support of Commissioner Lyman's actions and seeking support for payment of his legal fees (Maffly 2015).

[18]Complaints about the place of incarceration were frequent among Indians I spoke with. I return to this later.

discussed, without resolution, whether sufficient resources are currently forthcoming today, but it was instructive to hear him discuss the recent past as a time of discrimination and unequal access to the political process.

Social Isolation and Social Distance

San Juan County is the geographically largest county in Utah and one of the largest in the continental US. Within the Southern Utah portion of the Navajo Nation are Montezuma Creek and Aneth to the east, and to the west are Mexican Hat, Oljinto, and Navajo Mountain. Aneth is nearly an hour and a half from the county seat of Monticello, Because of the circuitous route they must take, people in Navajo Mountain travel four and a half hours to reach Monticello and another hour to reach the county's northern boundary.

Like many reservations in the US, there are well-recognized kin groups and attendant divisions among the Navajos of southern Utah. Navajos in the northern portion of the reservation and those living north of it belong to one of five chapters of the Navajo Nation, only one of which (the Aneth Chapter) is entirely residents of Utah. Calling the Navajo police from Kayenta to come to the Utah portion of the Navajo Nation can present a challenge to their authority, for they probably know no one in the Aneth and Montezuma Creek area and may even speak a distinctly different dialect of the Navajo language. That no tribal police live in Aneth or Montezuma Creek is partly attributable to the absence of family of tribal police officers in those areas, making their relocation difficult.

Bluff, on the edge of the reservation that is demarcated by the San Juan River, is a small community that was the original destination of the San Juan Mission. It largely serves the seasonal tourist population now that employment in the oil fields has declined. Indians appear to be much more integrated into everyday life and the workforce in Bluff than elsewhere in the non-reservation portion of the county. The town is less than a third Indian, but people from the Navajo Nation come to Bluff to work in its eating establishments, motels, and other businesses.

Many of those living in Bluff eschew the dominant image of San Juan County as being LDS. A traveler to southeastern Utah who would like wine or beer with dinner is recommended to eat (and stay) in Bluff. With some hyperbole, Marilyn Boynton described Bluff in the *San Juan County Record* this way: "I doubt there is a single Mormon living in Bluff today. The townspeople are largely artistic and scientific liberal-democrats." In fact, there are enough Latter Day Saints in and around Bluff, including from the Navajo Nation, to warrant a weekly service at the Bluff church.

I was told on more than one occasion, "Bluff is not like the rest of San Juan County." Many residents have moved there from other states. A continuous stream of hikers, amateur archeologists and photographers, and paleontologists pass through, weather permitting. The LDS Church has a lesser presence, despite its being the first destination of the Hole-in-the-Rockers and the Church's restoration of the Fort as a tourist attraction. The topography defies a Mormon style street arrangement. My impression is that businesses are more likely to employ Navajo than non-Indians to serve a majority non-Indian clientele. There is more day-to-day interaction between Indians and non-Indians in Bluff than elsewhere in the county.

Twenty-two miles north of Bluff is the Ute Indian community of White Mesa. Most Utah members of the Ute tribe live there or within nearby Allen Canyon, an enclave of the larger Ute Mountain Ute Indian Reservation of the Four Corners area. Young people living in White Mesa attend school and families do their shopping in Blanding, twelve miles to the north. White Mesa was previously known as a very rough and troubled community. Much of that has changed with the greater involvement of the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe and the construction of new homes. A new preschool (within the new community center) that can accommodate 20 children was recently opened at White Mesa, in part funded by the San Juan County School District.

Blanding is the largest town in the county (population 3382; CCD population of 4913). It – including the contiguous unincorporated residential areas south of Blanding and Westwater – is more than 20 percent Indian, with a small (4 percent) Hispanic population. The offices of the school district are in Blanding, as are the county's largest health facilities, Edge-of-the-Cedars museum, and the Blanding campus of Eastern Utah State University. While it is possible to see Indians and non-Indians working alongside one another in shops in Blanding, its geography is highly segregated along ethnic lines, as the map on the next page indicates. The most obvious feature of Blanding is, in fact, a portion of the town that is unincorporated: Westwater. Westwater does not appear on the Blanding City Map and Visitor Guide.

It is, and has been for decades, the area where only Indians live. It remains isolated from city services today, despite its proximity to and visibility from the west side of Blanding. A single paved road (Brushy Basin Road) connects Westwater to the town of Blanding. Settled by Native Americans as much as a century ago, it remains an exclusively Indian residential area of mobile homes, modest wooden houses and 'doublewides'. It became Navajo Nation trust land in 1984 but has received only modest help from the tribe. A petition to create a chapter house in Westwater was rejected, and the residents wait expectantly for a well to be drilled by the tribe that will supply water to as many as 27 homes.

To date, Westwater residents must provide for their own water (by hauling it), electricity (from generators and solar collectors), and sewage disposal (septic tanks). I was told that residents hike across an arroyo to town where their mail is stored in road-side postal boxes because,"the post office will not deliver mail to the community."

Residents sought incorporation into Blanding a few years ago so as to procure city services, to no avail. The city wanted to recoup the cost of installing services through ratepayer billing, making the cost of services unaffordable to the residents. Some residents see Westwater as in decline, with only older people remaining in their homes. My conversations in Westwater indicated that many residents are actively employed, some commuting to work in or near Blanding but others driving to jobs as far as Moab and Cortez, Colorado.[19]

[19] A few miles south – and within sight – of Blanding, Highway 191 intersects with Highway 95, making it something of a crossroads for travelers. Blanding is at the northeast point of the Trail of the Ancients that makes a loop west from Blanding over the amazing geology of Combs Ridge and up several hundred feet to Kane Gulch. There the Trail goes south, nearly to Mexican Hat and the San Juan River. It turns back east as Highway 163 and roughly follows the San Juan River east to Bluff, then north to complete the circle to Blanding. North of this loop is the Manti La Sal National Forest that includes and Canyonlands National Park. To the west is a huge expanse of some of the most spectacular landscape and scenery in the nation.

Twenty-two miles north of Blanding is the town of Monticello (population 1972), a little more than half the size of Blanding. It is the county seat and is the headquarters for the San Juan County Sheriff's Department, the Bureau of Land Management office, and the U.S. Forest Service. Compared to the county as a whole, Monticello is very much a non-Indian town, with a population that is less than 7 percent Indian and 85 percent White. Monticello has a single LDS congregation and has the county's only Mormon temple. A new Catholic church has been built in Monticello, and there are at least two evangelical congregations.

Over the 53 mile stretch north between Monticello and Moab – most of which is in San Juan County, there are no incorporated towns, though La Sal Junction offers a stop for gas. To the east is Manti La Sal National Forest and to the west is Canyonlands National Park.

Monticello and Blanding are laid out in "Mormon style" according to the plan recommended by Brigham Young. They make a checkerboard pattern with streets wide enough "to circle a team of oxen". Streets are numbered, not named, with ascending numbers going east and west, north and south from the center of the town. Most streets are curbed but few have sidewalks. It would be difficult to find a house in either town large enough to be called a McMansion, the expectation being that everyone is "good with their money," Neither town has experienced economic growth in decades, though Blanding's population is increasing slightly. The small homes and occasional 'doublewide' on the center of large lots attest to modest household economies, but no one shows their financial worth with an ostentatious home.

The downtowns of Blanding and Monticello are tidy with few empty stores. These are not the soon-to-be ghost towns of much of rural America, but they have changed little of late. Larger box stores haven't opened to pull shoppers away and there are no malls. Shoppers and clerks seem familiar with one another. Other than the gas stations and motels, there are a few national chain stores. Most businesses are locally owned and staffed by the owners and their employees. Both Monticello and Blanding have golf courses.

The county's two largest towns have their own police department, along with the San Juan County Sheriff's Office and additional staff at the jail in Blanding. The 2012 "Crime in Utah" report records 2.94 law enforcement employees per 1000 people in San Juan County, versus 2.47 for Utah, not an exceptional number given the size of the county. In lieu of cross-deputation, a memorandum of agreement with the Navajo Nation in southern Utah allows officers onto the reservation in pursuit of suspects or when asked by the tribal police. Three FBI agents are stationed in Blanding with responsibilities for the reservation. The FBI takes charge of federal crimes (felonies) while tribal courts adjudicate misdemeanors in the Navajo Nation and the White Mesa portion of the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation.

The county's 27 deputies are divided between those who work in the jail and those who work "on the outside" patrolling and responding to calls. The jail currently houses 27 county prisoners and – as a special treatment for sex offenders – 70 male state inmates. Among the county prisoners are men and women, non-Indians and Indians. Indians who have committed serious crimes on reservation land are transferred to a federal facility after sentencing, possibly the reason some Indians hold the opinion that discrimination is at play. "Anglos get to stay close to their families," I was told, while it's difficult for Indian families to visit those who are locked up.

In times past one deputy was expected to live in Bluff. He or she was responsible for patrolling that area and responding to calls from the reservation that needed an immediate response. Higher housing prices and the size and composition of the community make it difficult to get a deputy to live there now. "No one wants to live there," one deputy told me. Among the Indians this is taken as a sign of indifference to their needs. I was told, "We need someone here."

There is considerably less serious crime in San Juan County per person than in more urban counties. According to the same report, the serious crime rate per 1000 persons in 2012 was 11.63, compared to 44.98 for Salt Lake County (population 1,063,842) and 35.6 for Grand County just north of San Juan County. The overall rate for Utah is 19.9. [20] Not surprisingly, the per person serious crime rate is more than twice as high for the two towns (as reported by the police departments) than for the rural areas policed by the sheriff's department. Much of the rural crime is break-ins of autos parked while their owners are hiking or backpacking. Crimes of aggression such as assault and battery between friends or among family members. Most – as well as driving violations – involve substance abuse.

In conformity with Mormon sobriety, there is no beer, wine, or spirits sold in Blanding and only one place (small and inconspicuous) a block off the main street in Monticello where anything stronger than beer or wine is sold. The abuse of alcohol by Native Americans was a very frequent point made in my discussions with Whites in San Juan County. Alcohol consumption at the Navajo Fair and Rodeo in Bluff was described as dangerous, as there was much "drinking bootleg liquor." Mormons' condemnation of drinking alcohol compounds many people's low opinion of Native Americans, emphasizing "drunken Indians" in the criminal justice system and as an obstacle to their acceptance as equals by Whites, while sobriety is a mark of distinction for those Indians who are seen as exceptional.[21]

As is discussed in more detail below, physical geography translates in San Juan County into social geography. Social distance between Indians and non-Indians mirrors physical distance.

A Community of Latter-Day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is a fact of everyday life in San Juan County. Its establishment in the county is certainly the most important piece of history for the non-Indians in the county. Implicitly, it is central to the historical record of Indians as well, though the Posey War (what Forbes Parkhill calls the "Last of the Indian Wars") and the give and take between

[20] San Juan County data are for 100 percent of the people in the county, including the Navajo Nation. The county is not required to, and does not, report to the State of Utah less serious crimes such as drug possession and trespassing, what is known as Incident Based Reporting. Much public safety activity, as reported in the *San Juan County Register*, involves stops of cars passing through the county or non-county residents and involves possession of small amounts of drugs and other minor offenses.

[21] Rather than being a thing of the past, the "drunken Indian" image was often part of the discussions I had with non-Indians. A 1963 photo with accompanying opinion piece in the *San Juan Record* of a man sleeping on the sidewalk was described as "a ward of the United States government. He is dead – dead drunk…" It would be fair to consider this a historical anachronism, but a letter was printed recently in the *San Juan Record* recalling "two drunk [sic.] squaws fighting with broken beer bottles." There was no suggestion by the newspaper that the image and language of the letter might be offensive and considered racist by some citizens of the county. (see *San Jaun Record* 1963, 2015).

white ranchers and Indians over land. The fight over land and the way their lives were altered with the coming and ascendency of the White settlers is in the forefront of the Indians' historical memory.

Throughout my interviews with non-Indians in San Juan County, involvement in the church, the role the church plays in the Blanding and Monticello communities, and the way people identity themselves are all infused with a blending of the secular and sacred. One person I interviewed identified a large number of individuals – mostly males – and described their place in the community: where they work or the business they own; who their parents and/or children are; their position in the status and power structures of the community; and their role in incidents of significance in the community's recent history. In almost every case, without my prompting or asking questions, he appended to the description of each individual their position – past or present – in the LDS Church.

While younger people I talked with seemed demurred at the suggestion that one's association with the LDS faith and with its history in San Juan County is the basis for social hierarchy, older interviewees tended to agree on a few points. The first involves those "prominent families" as they are often called, who trace their lineage to the Hole in the Rock journey of the San Juan Mission. The first Mormons in the area were following the directive of Brigham Young to colonize the area, to "make peace with the Indians and make the land bloom." Their trek is a truly amazing story of pioneer fortitude and ingenuity, told many times by local writers as well as well-known writers like Wallace Stegner in his *Mormon Country*. The names of these families – or at least those that gained prominence in later years – seem to be known to everyone.

At the time of the Mexican Revolution, Mormon families that had settled in Mexico to avoid giving up the practice of polygamy migrated north. Some came to San Juan County and others to the Uinta Basin. These are locally known as the Sonora or Mexican Mormons. When I asked if people are cognizant of which families are the Sonora Mormons, older people would list some family names. When I asked people about their own families, they told me if some of their ancestors were Sonora Mormons, but most of them abjured when I suggested that this was a social distinction. Still, one older, lifelong resident insisted that this hierarchy was real and remains important to his generation. For earlier generations it was strong enough to determine marriage eligibility, but no longer.

People recently converted to the LDS faith are a third group. In this group are both newcomers to San Juan County as well as Indians who converted to the faith. Because there is a high rate of converts leaving the faith [Campbell and his colleagues (2014) estimate this to be at least 30 percent.], it is understandable that those born LDS would see the newcomers in a specific light. I talked with only one person who had converted and remained in the Church. Another person had converted but was no longer involved; none had been excommunicated.

Only one Navajo I spoke with had an unfavorable opinion of tribal members who converted to the LDS faith. I have read that possibly as many as 20 percent of people living in the Navajo Nation have converted to LDS at some point in their life. University of Colorado law professor Charles Wilkinson believes this is an exaggeration, but ,"In the early 1970s, there were nearly fifty LDS congregations on the Navajo Reservation, with more than 120 Mormon missionaries"

(Wilkinson 1995: 60). Most have lapsed, including those who were part of the Home Placement Program (Topper 1979). When I asked Navajo about this, they either agreed or didn't know. It was universally agreed among Navajo who were not LDS, however, that Indians who live and worship among Mormons take the side of the White community in disputes between Native Americans and non-Indians. "They always support the status quo," I was told.

Persons not in the Church, whether having fallen out or never having been LDS, are a fourth group in San Juan County. Among non-Indians, they are an outside group, and they were not hesitant to describe what this means in terms of job connections, involvement in social activities, and how one is perceived by others in the community. You just never really belong, is how people – both practicing Mormons and non-Mormons – described this situation to me.

Among non-Indians, social prominence – including holding a position of authority in the school system and in county government – requires that one be actively involved in the LDS church. Better yet, for men there is the expectation that he will serve as a bishop or elder in the local ward. It would be safe to say that this is a necessary, but not sufficient qualification for holding a position of authority. I was told, for example, that the superintendent of schools was always a bishop in the church. The only one who wasn't hadn't been successful and left the position after a short time. For others in public service, being active in the Church is expected, though I talked with one person who was a prominent exception to this.

In their highly regarded book, *Seeking the Promised Land*, Donald Campbell and his colleagues report on surveys conducted among members of the LDS church across the nation. Their findings, and those of the Pew U.S. Religious Landscape Survey 2007, reflect what I heard in my interviews and conversations. "The Mormon subculture…has a high level of group solidarity" (25). "The strong bonds formed among Mormons…can also close Mormons off from extensive interaction with non-Mormons" (19). The authors created an Insularity Index, modeled after the well-known index developed by Robert Putnam and Donald Campbell (2010). Using it and comparing Mormons to persons of other religious faiths, they found that, "Mormons' insularity is strongly affected by whether they live in a heavily LDS area" (such as San Juan County) and that "Latter-day Saints are more insular when surrounded by fellow LDS members (67, 68).

Political Conservatism and the Sagebrush Rebellion

"San Juan County is conservative. I'd say, ultraconservative," is the way one longtime resident and a prominent attorney answered my question of politics in the county. Similar to rural areas throughout the United States, issues like gun control, abortion, same-sex marriage, and the separation of church and state find a core of voters much more likely to side with the opposition to all these issues than would be found in urban areas. This is especially true in San Juan County, according to the person quoted above, for non-Indians whom he described as "Mormon voters."

As David Campbell and his colleagues have researched in their recently published *Seeing the Promised Land,* there is much more uniformity – almost a unified voting block – among active members of the LDS church who live in LDS-majority areas than among people of other religious faiths. Their voting tends to reflect not only the main tenets of the Church but the opinions of Church leaders. This includes strong opposition to abortion and measures that allow

the state to "intrude" into family life, including relations between parents and children Campbell et al., Chapter 5). The LDS Church has very robust and generous support programs for less fortunate members. This is much favored over a government safety net.

When political issues were raised in my interviews – with more than thirty non-Indians in San Juan County – I didn't ever get the sense that this person holds views that translate into support for liberal programs. Being a conservative is an assumed identity in this very traditional, relatively isolated community where most non-Indian people are bound by a common faith and a lifestyle much like that of their neighbors. To an outsider it feels a lot like the libertarian politics of Barry Goldwater and has the ring of something distinctive to the American West. It is distrustful of government, even at the state level. It is especially critical of and occasionally hostile to the federal government. This is expressed most potently in San Juan County's role in the modern Sagebrush Rebellion.[22]

For several decades San Juan County leaders and respected citizens have embraced the challenge to federal and state ownership and stewardship of public lands. At times heated and active, at times just simmering under the surface, San Juan County is one of the most actively engaged parts of the country in pushing for less federal oversight or even having federal land transferred to state ownership and control. In several conversations with non-Indians, a near loathing of the federal role in land management was voiced, often without prompting.

"This is our backyard. Don't you think we can take care of it?" is a fairly common reframe in my interviews, along with "We've always gone there. It makes me so mad when I see they've blocked it off." A 2014 letter in the *San Juan Record* from Eric George of Monticello warned, "These guys, these economy boosters, have taken the Canyonlands; they are after our mountains and our farmlands…Let them remove the un-American socialist tethers that bind us mute and fruitless and watch us flourish through will and wit" (San Juan Record 2014).

A sympathy demonstration was held in San Juan County's Recapture Canyon between Blanding and Monticello in August 2014, immediately following the BLM's well-publicized effort in Nevada to get Cliven Bundy to pay his grazing fees and the armed protests that followed (Nagourney, 2014), Led by County Commissioner Phil Lyman, discussed earlier, it yielded widespread sympathy among the people I talked to. At the least, people expressed support for the narrower issue – the BLM was taking too long to make a decision favorable to the sagebrush activists – if not the violation of the law itself. No non-Indian I spoke with (other than those actually managing the area) expressed unequivocal support for federal management of the public land.[23] As Barack Obama's second term winds down, a common fear is that he will designate much of the county a national monument, a step away from making it a wilderness area. "That'll be the end," one man told me, implying the onset of Armageddon.

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[22] William Gaff chronicles four rebellions, sequential but overlapping and consistent in their ideologies throughout the last hundred and fifty years: over water (1870s through the 1880s), forest lands (1880s through the 1920s), grazing lands (1920s through the 1940) and wilderness (1950s to the present).

[23] On the other hand, county committees in southeastern Utah have been created to formulate a plan to manage public lands that reflect local interests and concerns and issues. Participation by a diversity of stakeholders has continued through this process and public hearings are scheduled for fall 2015. Various proposals and maps from San Juan County's public lands initiative committee are at http://sanjuancounty.org/lands_bill.htm.

In light of other issues raised in conversations and interviews bearing on federal policies and laws affecting their lives, the Sagebrush Rebellion is only the most visible manifestation of widespread distrust and opposition. This is directly relevant to non-Indians' perceptions of and challenges to policies regarding the Native American population of the county. It would not be an exaggeration to say that many non-Indians feel both victimized ("ganged up on" as one person put it) and at a disadvantage ("outgunned" another told me) in their dealings with the federal government on matters of competition and conflict between themselves and the federal government, including what some see as "wards" of the government, American Indians.

For many non-Indians, the federal government seems to be in partnership with the Indians and against the non-Indians. Many people told me they felt the government sides with the Indians, makes it easy for the Indians, gives the Indians favorable treatment, and hands out largess to the Indians that is not available to non-Indians. One man objected to the provision of the Johnson-O'Malley Education Fund (which he didn't refer to by name) that distributes used clothing to Indians living in poverty. "They call the Indian kids out of class and let them go down to the gym where they get new Nike shoes and jackets. Do they let my kid to that? Not on your life! Is that fair?"

Similarly, I was told about the federal government's treating Indian voters in a favorable way by allowing them to register and vote on the day of elections. This "myth" as one non-Indian official described it, has nothing to do with privileging Indians, but appears to be a well-worn staple of non-Indian conversation, as I heard this rumor on two occasions without my asking.

Has There Been a Pattern of Discrimination Against Indians in SJC?

The View from "The South"

In the course of a year and a half of trips to San Juan County, I interviewed a dozen Native Americans, about a third of all my interviews. I had conversations with several others, again about a third of the informal conversations that yielded information germane to this report. Young and old alike spoke to me of prejudice and discrimination in various guises and to different degrees that correlates to the age of the person and very discernibly to contact – both the amount and nature of the contact – with non-Indians.

Older Indians speak both in general terms and with specific examples of what they perceive to be unfair and prejudicial treatment, expressions, and attitudes among non-Indians. Younger people are equally adamant that the Indians aren't treated fairly, but are more likely to offer personal examples of the opposite. And Indians who have regular contact with non-Indians usually distinguished between cases of positive interpersonal interaction (with friends) and incidents with strangers and officials with whom they have dealt. In one interview a middle-age Navajo male was even more nuanced. In speaking about a White man about his age, he observed that "We get along pretty good. But when something comes up about Indians, we just don't agree. He knows how I think and I know what he thinks, so we don't go there."

Universal in my interviews and conversations is the view that the system of governance and the enforcement of the law treat Indians and non-Indians differently. Fresh in the minds of older

people is the memory of being denied the vote, of measures taken at the local level to ignore or circumvent the needs of Indians with regard to county expenditures, the denial that the county had any responsibility for Indians' education, and of the use of law enforcement against Indians in ways not applied to Whites. "Up north they don't do that," is one way I was told that things are different for Indians (in the south of the county). A Navajo Indian who interacts with Whites on a daily basis described how his non-Indian colleagues use the euphemism "brown people" and speak mockingly about how Indians accuse them of "picking on the brown people."

Indians feel they are not hired in sufficient numbers by city and county government, including city agencies and the schools. One often cited example is the absence of an Indian deputy in the San Juan County Sheriff's Department or living in Bluff, on the edge of the reservation. This is an exception to earlier practice of the county sheriff's office and, to Indians, reflects the image of law enforcement as an instrument of White control and unequal treatment. One Navajo explained to me: a local deputy would be better versed in the Indian communities and probably be more likely to know the people he or she was dealing with.

The View from "the North"

More germane to this report is the existence, level, and forms of prejudice among non-Indians and the translation of this into official policies of San Juan County, specifically with regard to Indians' political participation and access to county resources.

As discussed earlier, many people who spoke of times past recognized that Indians have been treated differently, in many cases unfairly, by non-Indians. The explanations for this were sometimes couched in legal term and sometimes given very pragmatic reasoning. In other cases people spoke of "older Anglos" whose views are no longer the norm, correct, or socially acceptable. And in a few cases non-Indians – people who have regular positive interaction with Indians – spoke of ongoing prejudice that explains unequal treatment.

Though not the norm for San Juan County, crude descriptions, negative stereotypes and occasional hostile characterizations are what Gordon Allport terms old fashion prejudice. The *San Juan Record* and the *Gallup Independent* printed letters submitted by Linda Black of San Juan County less than twenty years ago. A letter in the *San Juan Record* asked accusingly, "…should the 'sovereign nation' and its non-tax-paying residents have the right to dictate what is in our school curriculum? Do they have the right to demand we build their schools? Do they pay their fair share to have their kids educated?" (*San Juan Record* 1997: 10). In my experience, this kind of language is fairly common in 'border towns' but today many, if not most, people have moved on. Such sentiments may be held by a sizable minority of non-Indians, but are not expressed outside the circle of family and close friends.

When Mark Maryboy was elected to the county commission in 1986, he was the first Indian to hold this office. He served four terms, until 2002. In his early years he was regularly subjected to comments and treatment not accorded non-Indians. His bête noirs were fellow commissioners Calvin Black.[24] and Ty Lewis. By tradition, the County Commissioners rotate the chairmanship.

[24] Many stories continue to be told in San Juan County about former county commissioner Calvin Black, and his notoriety was indelibly cemented as a character in Edward Abbey's *Monkey Wrench Gang*, highly fictionalized but

When Maryboy's turn to be chair came around, however, he was denied the position. In Maryboy's view, both men were racist and prejudiced.

Today's San Juan County Commission meetings are civil and business-like. The meeting I attended evidenced no trace of negativity toward Native Americans or the one commissioner from the Navajo Nation, Kenneth Maryboy – absent for that meeting – though a couple of jokes thrown his way made reference to his being Indian.

Indians as "the Other"

In many conversations with non-Indians, Indians are described as people who live nearby but are not really a part of one's life. This ranges from those who admire traditional Indian culture and collect objects and artifacts of traditional Indian life to those who are curious about, negative to, or even condemning of what they see as characteristics of Indians' personality and family life. Others, when the topic of Indians is broached, focus immediately and solely on the array of social problems they associate with the reservation (e.g. poverty, unemployment, adultery, incest, drug and alcohol abuse). "Welfare" is an especially sore point, seen both as undeserved succor and as the source of their dependency and modern debilitation. In no case was welfare mentioned as a social service received by Whites.

One person I interviewed had not only dolls and jewelry from the Navajo Nation but posters and drawings done by Indian children announcing special events. Another person described the wry sense of humor and sarcasm she sometimes finds endearing. She also sometimes finds the things Indians say perplexing and occasionally embarrassing: self-deprecating jokes about drinking, adultery, and violent retribution that seem foreign to her and make her uncomfortable.

A former teacher described the difficulties of Navajo children she had taught, especially their being ill prepared when they begin school. A woman working in the school system talked extensively about the challenges Indian children face, often preventing them from attending school regularly, being able to focus on school, and finding the support they need to graduate – mostly having to do with family problems, poverty, difficulties getting to and from school, and what she called "community dysfunction."

Sympathetic to the difficult circumstances of their lives, another person remarked how Navajo parents believe "children raise themselves" White parents think they are responsible for raising their children by keeping them safe, instilling them with desirable habits and values as well as giving them role models and positive experiences and offering opportunities for growth and development. All of this was explained by way of contrasting it to Indian parents.

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recognizable nonetheless. His reputation is most indelible as a leader of the Sagebrush Rebellion and an advocate for mineral development on public lands (Graf 1990: 239). "We've had enough of you guys telling us what to do. I'm not a violent man, but I'm getting to the point where I'll blow up bridges, ruins, and vehicles. We're going to start a revolution. We're going to get back our lands. We're going to sabotage your vehicles. You had better start going out in twos and threes because we're going to take care of you BLMers," was Cal Black's threat to BLM officials in an April 12, 1979 meeting (Thomson 2014).

The simple matter of jokes told by Whites about Indians – however well-meaning or even positive – is illustrative of the status of Indians as "the Other" for most non-Indians in San Juan County. For example, this is joke I was told. What's a Navajo with a big house? The answer: A Navajo without a family."

One can read this as an aphorism with several possible meanings. Indians are generous and share with family members who may be less fortunate. Or, rather than working hard themselves, Indians take advantage of family members who have ambition and drive to better themselves. A third reading could be that nothing will ever really improve for Indians because none of them are able to get ahead.

The simple terminology of 'north' and 'South' evidences a divide that is almost second nature in the county. The strength and pride of the typical Mormon family – in their commitments and sacrifices – is implicitly compared to not only non-Mormons but explicitly contrasted to what some in the North see as the typical Indian family. In some respects for non-Indians, Native Americans are as exotic and removed from their own way of being as are persons in a poor foreign country.

Worlds Apart

While most Americans recognize social class differences, differences between old timers and newcomers to a community, differences of religious commitment and practice, and differences in educational attainment, in San Juan County the difference between Indians and non-Indians is the most salient divide, overlapping or crystallizing with many other divides. Especially for non-Indians of the Mormon faith, it provides a key identity that colors how people see themselves, who their friends are, and their appraisal of others' lifestyle, work, values, and worth. It has a great impact on where one lives, who one marries, who one trusts, and who one accepts as having legitimate authority to make public decisions.

For much of its storied history, San Juan County has been a place of two societies. The physical distance between Indians and non-Indians persists today and has not readily diminished by easier transportation. Physical distance translates into social distance, apparent to anyone passing through who stops to have lunch in Blanding or watches young people stream out of school at the end of the day. Interethnic distance can also be gauged by personal identities and ways of presenting oneself to or avoiding others.

"We were the 'bus students'" one Navajo – now nearly seventy years old – told me. Some things have changed very little. "The Indian kids mostly take the bus to school and take the bus back home," a thirty-something mother told me by way of explaining why her child has few Native American friends. "It's people you know, that's who you vote for," was how a middle-aged man explained why it would be unlikely for most Whites to cast their ballot for a Navajo or Ute. Whites and Indians live, in many ways, worlds apart.

For many non-Indians, Native Americans are largely invisible in their day-to-day affairs. Living in Monticello, a non-Indian may never have a conversation with an Indian unless they meet in an office or one is selling something to the other. In stores where Indians and non-Indians are

working, the presence of both makes the situation noteworthy. It is the exception that proves the rule of separate domains.[25] In Blanding, non-Indians have their own groups, I was told, with lifelong friendship networks formed by neighborhood, school and church. Family ties are the most central link among people – both Indian and non-Indian – in San Juan County, and these rarely if ever cross ethnic boundaries.

I did hear people talk about their cross-ethnic friendships when they were in school, but when I asked if they had remained friends, the answer was almost always no. People move, things happen. But mostly, friendships lag when people don't have occasion to see one another on a regular basis.

All of this may seem obvious. In small towns across America it is often the case that people interact almost exclusively with those they have known for a long time and tend to keep newcomers and strangers at arm's length. In San Juan County, there is the added dimension of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, binding together a strong and proud community of believers that is difficult for non-Mormons to penetrate. [26] And for Indians there is the historical memory of violence, confiscation, oppression, and a host of indignities and broken promises that steel Indians against too readily accepting the entreaties of non-Indians.

I have not created a quantitative "index of dissimilarity" that calculates interethnic contact for this study. I did, however, ask in almost every interview about contact with those of another ethnic group: whether they, as an Indian, had much contact with non-Indians and whether they, as non-Indians, had much contact with Indians. No one ever asked for a clarification, as they might have done had I asked about social class or political leanings.

What I found was very minimal interethnic association. In a restaurant or café, Indians sit with Indians and Whites sit with Whites. Work crews I saw appeared to be of a single ethnicity. San Juan county public offices, including schools, are staffed by non-Indians in the great majority of cases, and in the Navajo Nation Indians staff the offices. By way of an earlier-noted fact, the officers – sheriff and deputies - in the San Juan County Sheriff's Department – are all non-Indians.

Indians were more likely to have interethnic contact, inasmuch as many of the Indians I spoke with live in or near Bluff, work and shop in Blanding, or have practical reasons to occasionally interact with non-Indians. And Indians were very willing to talk about the negative side of their interactions with Whites. Often told with some humor, there is no shortage of hurt feelings, a sense of not being valued or respected, and stories of slights and small acts of thoughtlessness or discrimination. One older man told me about a younger non-Indian he knows. "He's a nice guy," but when anything comes up about Indians, "he becomes a different person."

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[25] One well-established store in Monticello is an outlier, with about a third of its employees being Indians. I was told by the proprietor, "I hire people who can do the job. Some people work out, and some don't. That's all I care about."

[26] It is tempting to suggest that what Bobo calls 'ideology-based homophily' is in evidence in non-Indians' positive comments about Indians who have converted to and live a life prescribed by the LDS Church. While my fieldwork found this anecdotally, it was insufficiently extensive to determine this with reliably.

Interethnic contact in San Juan County is minimal, in part, because the county is very segregated. To my knowledge there is nothing – other than the failure to incorporate Westwater into the city of Blanding – legally or even formally separating Indians from non-Indians in the classic sense of race relations: officially segregated schools, redlining practices by banks that reinforce housing segregation, employment discrimination that bars Indians from jobs, and so forth. Socially, people do not often venture out of their orbit of familiarity. Geographically they live on culturally familiar ground.

There is an economic dimension to this, inasmuch as poverty is much more prevalent among Indians. A middle-class lifestyle is predominant among non-Indians. And the centrality of the LDS Church, with the myriad activities that go along with being an active member and family of the Church, reinforce this lack of interethnic contact.

Social Distance and Prejudice in San Juan County

"My Husband Has Always Been So Prejudiced Toward the Indians"

In early September, the people of Bluff and southern San Juan County put on the annual Utah Navajo Fair and Rodeo. It is a large event that attracts crowds of local people, tourists, and some people from further afield in the Navajo Nation and the Four Corners area. Some non-Indians I interviewed admitted they do not go to Bluff for the fair and rodeo, both out of disinterest and discomfort of not feeling safe. One most poignant story I was told, however, seemed to quintessentially express what the social distance literature has shown time and again.

A middle-aged Anglo woman told me how her children had Indian friends when they were younger, but by the time they graduated, went off to college and began careers these friendships were in abeyance or had ended. "They just didn't see each other anymore once they weren't in school," she told me. Later in the interview I asked about her husband who she described as being "so prejudiced toward the Indians." The couple, however, had recently gone to the fair in Bluff for the first time,[27] and they had had a wonderful time. "Everybody was so friendly. They treated us like friends…We asked them a bunch of questions…They laughed and made jokes…We laughed together."

I asked how her husband handled all of this. She sighed a bit wistfully and told me she wished they had done it years ago. They had never taken their children to the fair and rodeo. Now, after the children are grown, she feels like her husband – because of this experience – isn't so prejudiced.

Testing the Null Hypothesis

The fieldwork on which this report is based follows a research strategy informed by the work of Gordon Allport and six decades of research on interethnic relations. To briefly reiterate, hundreds of research projects have shown the strong influence of social contact on prejudice. Given the conditions first outlined by Allport, one could expect – and researchers have found –

[27] In order to maintain the anonymity of those I interviewed, the reason for their going won't be explained. Suffice to say, they did not go with the intention of enjoying themselves or expanding their social contacts with Indians.

greater prejudice toward minority groups among persons with limited contact, limited familiarity, and limited involvement in efforts requiring intergroup cooperation.

My research strategy was to gather evidence that the contact hypothesis was erroneous or that San Juan County was an exception. To do this I sought evidence supporting the null hypothesis. That is, I tried to find that neither prejudice nor tolerance is related to contact. Conversely, if I was not able to establish the null hypothesis, the importance of social contact as a significant source of prejudice in San Juan County would be compelling. That is why I have described in such detail a picture of interethnic contact. Rather than trying to find out how widespread prejudice extends among non-Indians, I sought to know how widespread limited or minimal interethnic contact extends.

The third aspect of my research strategy was to appraise the consequences of limited contact and the intentional discrimination this has helped to maintain. I focused on the consequences in the political realm of the county: representation in the use of and access to county-funded resources.

What I did not find was empirical data that would contradict the contact theory of Allport and decades of research on social contact and prejudice. None of the people I spoke with who had very limited or no contact with Indians spoke favorably about Indians. In fact, more than a few were hesitant to say anything about Native Americas, either generally or in their immediate experience. This may have been – and probably was – a consequence of my reason for speaking with them at all, which I did not hide. But when given the chance to speak favorably or express a serious understanding or appreciation of Indians, I heard nothing.

Conversely, non-Indians I talked with who had regular contact with Indians, and whose contact was more or less freely initiated (e.g. not required by their job as a clerk), the conversation invariably turned to more accounts of positive interaction, friendships, joint efforts, and so forth. There was no shortage of descriptions about the problems many Indians face – e.g. low income, insufficient education for gainful employment, health problems, marital discord, alcohol abuse, interpersonal violence, unstable families. There was a great deal of concern for children especially. For these non-Indians, however, the Indians had faces and names, circumstances and histories.

I was not surprised to find what was earlier described as ‘subtyping’. Select Indians are singled out as exceptional and admired for the way they do not fit the negative stereotype of the Indian held by non-Indians. More than one person spoke admiringly of the same individual – now well into middle age – who lived in town as a youth, was a good athlete, went on to college, married a non-Indian, and had “beautiful children” as one woman told me. Less renowned persons were also described as hard working, committed to their families, and “fun to be around.” These were Indians who the person being interviewed felt they knew well and sometimes had an ongoing relationship with. They were not singled out as exceptions, but their exceptionalism was implicit in the comments offered on their behalf.

I spoke with several non-Indians whose work puts them in contact with Indians on a regular basis. In most cases they spoke well of Indians and were critical of the ways Indians had been unfairly treated in the past. Current problems were explained in structural terms that were

amenable to solutions. There was, however, a strong flavor of paternalism in many of these observations. Indians needed to change, and the direction of change needed to be in closer accord with the lifestyle and values of the non-Indian community. "If they would just not…"; "They need to…" "I've tried to…" were the way paternalism was expressed.

The Power to Discriminate

It is not unusual to find non-Indians in San Juan County who see Indians – often for the worse – as wards of the federal government. The social and economic problems of Native Americans, especially those living in the Navajo Nation, are attributed to a failure of federal policy that has made Indians dependent on welfare and have failed to provide avenues of assimilation and a higher standard of living. This view embodies many elements of old-fashioned prejudice and links it to the dominant conservatism of the county's non-Indians.

One man, a very thoughtful Navajo who watched the Recapture Canyon protest against the BLM from afar, told me that the Sagebrush Rebellion sentiments toward the federal government extend to what are often seen as wards of the government, Indians. "They think the government gives Indians special privileges, money, fights their battles for them," he told me. And then the government deprives non-Indians "the freedom to live the life they think they've earned." This is expressed as contention over land. He was well aware that Navajo and Mormons hold much the same veneration toward "their land," and both believe injustices they experience are reflections of this strong attachment.

Group-position prejudice is implicit in County Commissioner Phil Lyman's interview with Utah Public Radio (Kovash 2014). He spoke of the "communities of interest" of Whites and Indians, and how they differ. Given the history of prejudice and discrimination in San Juan County and the legal battles and face-offs between Indians and the White-dominated county government, group-position prejudice presents a formidable barrier to political equity in San Juan County. It is not difficult to see this less "old fashioned" form of prejudice in the commitment to continue the asymmetrical statuses of ethnic groups, i.e. resistance to any changes that would alter the distribution of political authority in San Juan County.

Group-Position Prejudice as Intentional Discrimination

> "…community responsibility [was] borne by the local Mormons and the county government, which were invariable one and the same." (McPherson 1995: 252)

The historian of San Juan County, Robert McPherson, was referring to a situation more than a hundred years ago, but in many ways it remains true today. A long-standing and persistent view is that Indians as a group do not have the strong identity with and commitment to San Juan County that is held by non-Indians. As discussed earlier, many people believe **"**Indians have their own government." For some the question – a staple of the history of Indian/White relations in the county - is, why should they be involved in county government at all? Several times I was reminded by non-Indians that Indians vote in tribal elections, that they are more interested in who's running for tribal offices than for county offices, and that the resources they care about are those of the tribe, not the county.

Why should they be able to "control the county" as well? An often-heard criticism of past commissioner Mark Maryboy is that he, even more so than the current and recent past Native-American commissioners, cared only about "his issues" which invariable referred to problems and projects thought to be important to and solely serving Indians. Especially objectionable is the possibility of Indians spending White taxpayers' money. Worse yet, they only want to spend county money on themselves.

County Commissioner Bruce Adams did not pay for, but did not distance himself from, a prominent campaign ad in 2012 in the *San Juan Journal* that read in part, "Bruce Adams has been very successful in preventing the expenditure of San Juan County tax money on reservation projects for which the county has no responsibility' (San Juan Record 2012).[28] The prejudice this exhibits is pragmatic, in that it recognizes the Indians as competitors who – along with their non-Indian supporters – threaten the well-being of the county and its non-Indian population. It's a broad brush that paints a picture of them-versus-us; their gain becomes our loss.

I discussed this view of pragmatic, group-position prejudice with two individuals who were long-time residents of the county and had a reputation of being supportive of issues important to Indians. They agreed with the scenario, in some cases offering illustrations from their own experience. It was the seeming inequitable provision of county services that led to a study in the mid-1990s that considered dividing San Juan County into two political units (Blue Ribbon Committee 1997).

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I discussed group-position prejudice with two individuals who are much less supportive of issues important to Indians. They didn't agree. In one case I was told that Indians need to learn to meet the non-Indians half way. "There is plenty of room for compromise" but it's hard for Indians to do this, "when all the other Indians are telling them not to find common ground."In the other interview the person shook her head and said she wished I "wouldn't put it that way," but, "yes, it's hard to change things."

Earlier in this report I described group-position prejudice as,

> …the sense of entitlement the majority group may feel with regard to the distribution of things with material and status value, as well as the exercise of power. Group position prejudice reflects a collective assessment of who should be in charge. It can reasonably involve a very pragmatic calculation of what is at stake in a more egalitarian situation where a minority group might challenge the prerogatives that undergird an arrangement assumed to be best.

Group-position prejudice is a function of power and a driving force in support of the current distribution of political authority in San Juan County. As a comparative sociologist, I have studied this phenomenon in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East. It can be found in almost any situation where there is a large degree of social distance between self-defined ethnic groups. It reveals itself when resources are at stake and groups see each other as competitors.

[28] The ad was "paid for by voters in support of Bruce Adams". I was told by a Navajo that a similar ad is published in support of Commissioner Phil Lyman before every election, but I did not find them. Commissioner Adams' smaller ad on the same page emphasizes expanding access to public lands through a seven-point plan.

And it is most virulent in situations having the potential for shifting power and prerogatives away from a dominant group towards the historically subordinate group.

There is 'old-fashioned prejudice' and negative stereotyping among some non-Indians in San Juan County. This kind of prejudice, born of social distance, probably fuels political choices and challenges to candidates and policies deemed too "Indian friendly." Such prejudice isn't necessary, however, to the exercise of group-position prejudice.

Group-position prejudice can be couched in very measured language and backed by reasonable sounding arguments. In San Juan County these include reasons I heard, such as: they have their own elections; they get help from the feds that we don't get; they didn't do what they needed to do; the idea wasn't theirs – it came from outsiders; they don't pay taxes; they only care about their own problems, not ours.

Group-position prejudice on the part of non-Indians unequivocally influences their efforts to exercise disproportionate power over San Juan County's public resources.

Financial Disclosure

My publications are listed on the attached curriculum vitae.

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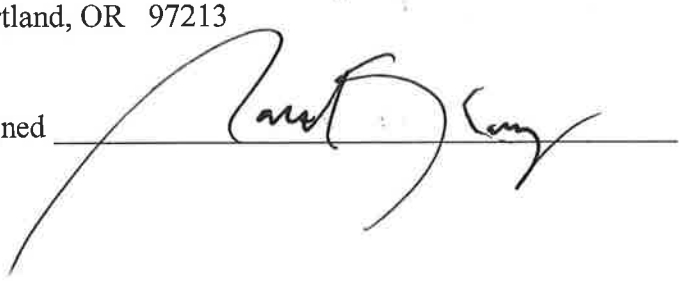
Signed  Date August 19, 2015

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