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The Crow Creek Indian Family

V.D. Malan

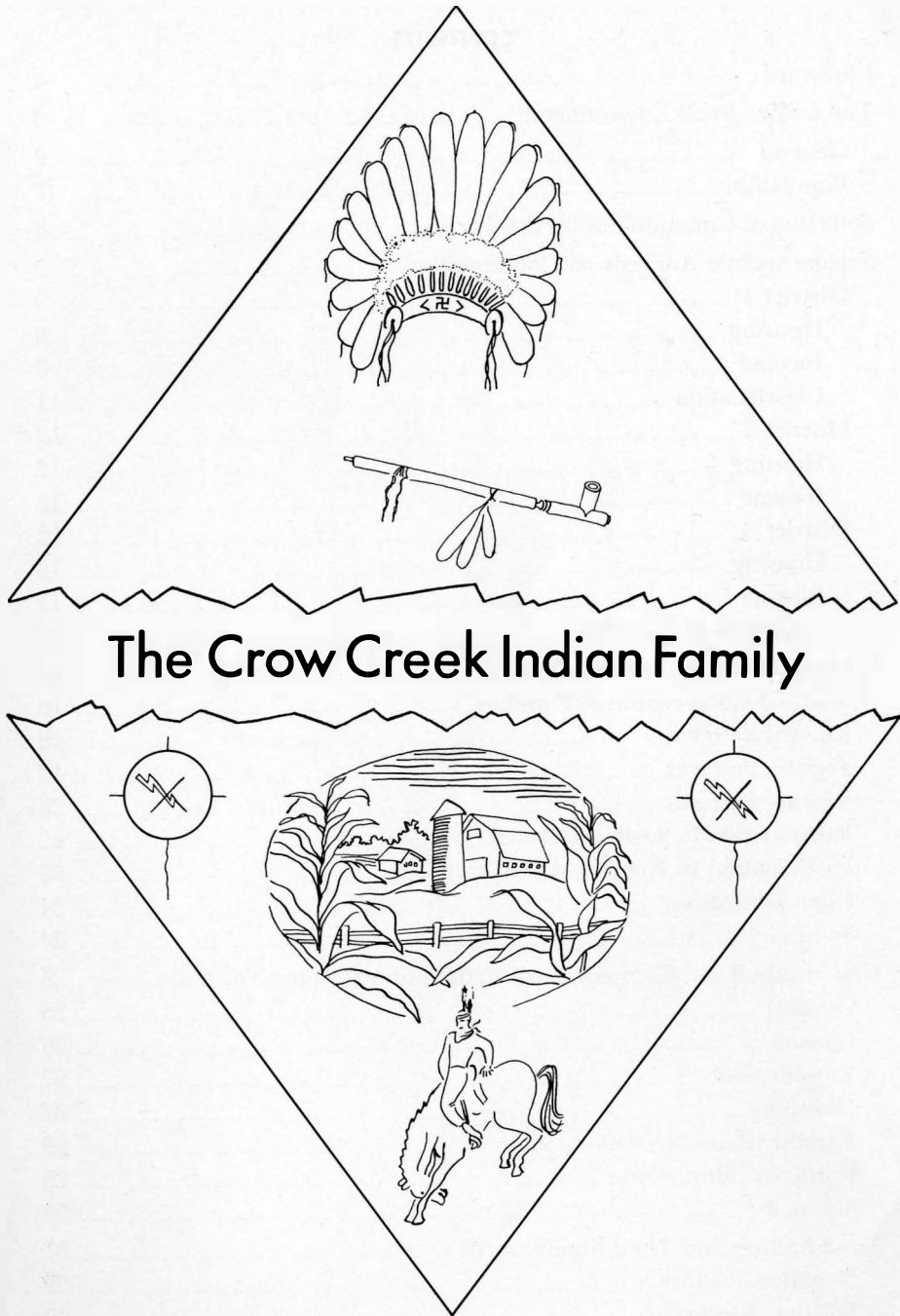
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The Crow Creek Indian Family

Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, Bureau of Indian Affairs,
United States Department of Interior, under research contract with

Rural Sociology Department
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
South Dakota State College, Brookings

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COVER DESIGN

This abstract design serves to indicate the transition of the Indian people from the plains culture to the culture of Western Society.

The warbonnet and the peace pipe, which are found on the upper half of the triangle, are symbols of the old plains culture.

The irregular break between the two halves of the triangle symbolizes the lapse of time necessary for this transition.

The symbols of the agricultural segment of Western Society, which are found on the lower half of the triangle, indicate that this is the segment which the Indian people find most compatible with their views, while the presence of the Indian design indicates that the transition has not been completed.

J. F. POWERS

Foreword

This is the first in a series of publications concerned with the economic and social problems of the Indian people who live on South Dakota Indian Reservations. The study deals especially with the people on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation, while the second study will be concerned with the people of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. In each study the primary concern will be that of providing data which may be used to evaluate alternative opportunities for increasing the social and economic level of the Indian people through more efficient use of the resources at their disposal.

The study on which this report is based was made as part of a research contract between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and South Dakota State College. The research program is being carried on in the South Dakota State College Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation

with the Missouri River Basin Investigations Project which is part of the program of the United States Department of the Interior for the development of the Missouri River Basin.

The authors wish to express their appreciation for the patient cooperation of the Indian people. In addition, particular thanks are due Dr. W. U. Fuhriman, Director of the Missouri River Basin Investigations Project; Clarence Runyan of the Missouri River Basin Investigation project; Dr. Orville G. Bentley, Dean of Agriculture and Director of Experiment Station, South Dakota State College; Professor Howard M. Sauer, Head of the Department of Rural Sociology, South Dakota State College; and Dr. Loyd Glover, Head of the Department of Economics, South Dakota State College. Other personnel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs also gave valuable assistance.

The Crow Creek Indian Family

By VERNON D. MALAN and JOSEPH F. POWERS¹

Since the establishment of the Crow Creek Indian Reservation in 1863, the United States Government has endeavored to establish the Indian people in an economy based largely upon agricultural enterprises. The basic objective was to enable these people to become self-supporting. Various educational programs, credit programs, conservation programs, and extension services were incorporated into the plan. To some degree, all of these programs have aided the Indian people in adjusting to the new way of life.

As time passed, new problems arose, and with them the necessity for a broader plan which would encompass areas beyond the field of agriculture. Changes in methods of farming and ranching and increase of population are only a few of these new problems. The recognition of the need for new programs to cope with the changing situation led to the undertaking of this study.

The ultimate goal of this study is to provide data that can be used as

a basis in formulating adequate programs designed to enable the families residing on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation to better their social and economic position. To accomplish this objective, several questions pertaining to the present conditions on the reservation, the potential for development of resources in the future, and the relative position of the reservation in terms of the communities which surround it, must be examined. A knowledge of these conditions should contribute a firm basis upon which decision-making agencies can judge the adequacy of existing programs and also provide a useful guide in the formulation of future programs. More specifically, an analysis will be made of the factors that may impede or enhance the development of the Indian people in social and economic areas.

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The Crow Creek Environment

General

The Crow Creek Indian Reservation is located in central South Dakota. Although the area is designated as semi-arid—averaging less than 20 inches of precipitation annually—the soil is productive when sufficient moisture is available. Most of the land on this reservation is grazing land, which consists of approximately 170,000 acres. Approximately 7,000 acres of farmland is devoted largely to hay, wheat, and supplemental feed crops—oats, barley, and corn.

Economic resources on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation, other than land, are limited. Buildings, in general, are in poor condition. Most of the equipment is very old although there are some newer machines. Livestock is the main enterprise on the reservation. Timber, wildlife, and water are the only other resources and these are not significant or are still undeveloped.

Chinese pheasants and fish are abundant and provide a supplemental source of food for the people. Occasionally deer are found in the wooded areas. Other forms of wildlife, such as small fur-bearing animals, are scarce.

There are approximately 3,600 acres of noncommercial timber scattered along the Missouri River and its tributaries. Most of this timber is used for fence posts and firewood. The reservoirs resulting from the construction of the Big Bend Dam, however, will cover this timbered area. The erection of the Big Bend Dam will provide a new resource potential for the people on the reser-

vation. Until construction is completed, however, little benefit will be attained.

The average elevation of the reservation is 1,400 feet above sea level. The variation in elevation throughout the area is moderate with the greatest variations occurring near the river. The river frontage, approximately 65 miles, is located between Chamberlain and Pierre. The western border of the reservation is approximately 20 miles southeast of Pierre while the eastern border is 10 miles north of Chamberlain.

The entire area was once covered by the Wisconsin ice sheet which accounts for the numerous glacial boulders on the surface. A low grade manganese ore is found in Districts 1 and 2 but there are no known gas and oil deposits. The soil along the river in these districts is classified as Alluvial and is of sandy loam texture. On the terrace and footslope positions, the Orman soils predominate and are of clay texture. The uplands of these two districts are dominated by the clayey Pierre and Promise soils developed from Pierre shale. District 3 is primarily glacial till and the soils are classified as an association of Raber and Eakin. (For more elaborate description of the geology of the area and soil classifications see, *Soils of South Dakota*, Soil Survey Series Number 3; Fred C. Westin, Leo F. Puhr, and George J. Buntley; Agronomy Department, Agricultural Experiment Station, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota, March 1959.)

Population

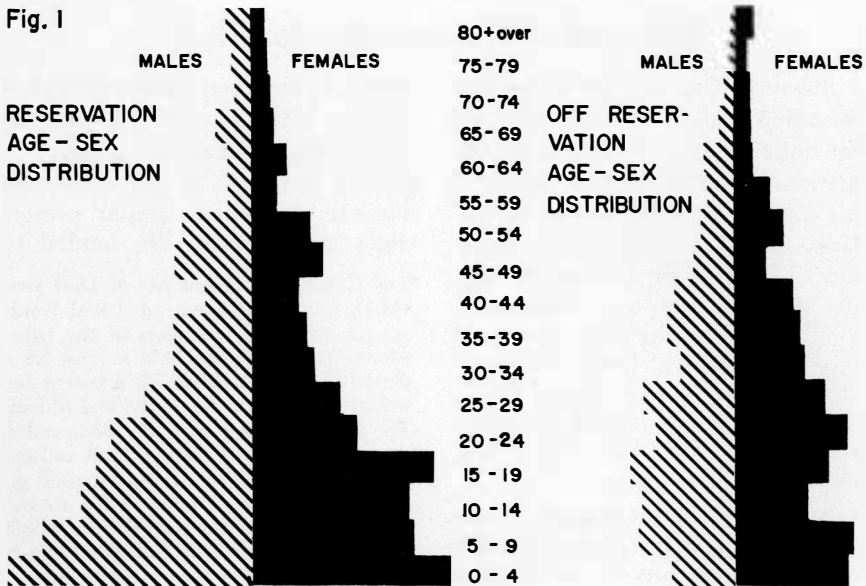
In 1956, the total resident population of the Crow Creek Indian Reservation was 955. The nonresident enrolled population was 607. These people are listed as part of the environment because they draw on some of the economic resources of the reservation in the form of lease money, and will have to be considered if they should decide to return to the reservation to live. The total resident and non-resident population was 1,562. Population pyramids representing the age and sex distribution of these groups are shown in figure 1.

The percentage of males in the reservation population was 53.5, while 46.4% of the residents were females. The respective percentages for the off-reservation population were 51.0 for males and 48.7 for

females. A few unreported cases account for the totals being less than 100%. The most significant age difference between the resident and non-resident population was the proportionately greater number of young people under 20 years of age living on the reservation. There was a significantly larger proportion of young adults between 20 and 45 years of age residing in areas not on the reservation.²

The resident population of the Crow Creek Indian Reservation comprises 342 family units. Some of the family heads are itinerants, but over 90% reside for at least 10 months of the year on the reservation. Nearly 8% reside on the reser-

²More detailed population statistics are available from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Census completed in 1956, from which this summary has been abstracted.



vation from 3 to 10 months of the year. The largest number of families living on the reservation (79.0%) are located on allotted land. (Allotted land is land held in trust by the United States for the individual Indians to whom it has been allotted or for their heirs.)³ The remaining families are located either on tribal land (12.9%) or non-trust land (7.3%). Approximately one-third of the residents own an interest in allotted land.

Education and training act as limiting factors in relation to employment. Only one-fifth of the family heads are qualified for service occupations, one-sixth for agricultural occupations, and one-fourth for skilled or semi-skilled labor. The remaining family heads are largely unskilled. Education is usually inadequate for obtaining white-col-

lar positions since the average years of education completed for all adults is 8.6 years.

Nearly one-half of the adults are classified as fully employable. One-fourth of the adults are females with minor children. In addition, one fifth of the adults are handicapped by age or physical disabilities. The remaining 5% are classified as unemployable. Over one-half (55.4%) of those classified as fully employable were not working at the time the 1956 census was taken. This fact can be partially accounted for by the combined effect of lack of skills, lack of education, and limited opportunity to acquire anything but seasonal employment. Other factors that operate to limit employment opportunity are lack of mobility and unfamiliarity with general employment requirements.

Selection of Communities for Study

Since the Crow Creek Indian Reservation is about 65 miles long and the outlying districts are low in population, it was deemed advisable to use density of population as one criterion in the selection of communities to be studied. The use of density of population as a criterion also afforded the added advantages of providing efficient use of the interviewer's time, ease of access for interviews, and the highest probability of completing the most schedules in any given period.

In relation to the degree of traditionalism and transitionalism, the relative homogeneity of communities

within Indian reservations provided another criterion for selection of study communities. In general, a pattern seemed to be operating wherein people of similar preferences and ways of life tended to

³The General Allotment Act of 1887 provided for the division of tribal lands among individual members of the tribe. Allotments were to be held in trust for a period of years after which a patent fee would be issued to the individual Indian. The Reorganization Act, of 1934, ended the allotment of the Indian land and extended the length of the trust period on existing allotments. Patents in fee are being issued under certain conditions which give the Indian owners full title to their land including the right to sell the land.

congregate in areas containing people like themselves. Thus it was determined that the communities selected should be delineated by their observable differences. In making this selection, areas that seemed to be sharply differentiated in terms of types of homes, condition of homes (e.g. paint, landscape, etc.); and number of automobiles were categorized into either traditional or transitional classifications.

The three communities which most nearly met these criteria were then selected as possible areas for investigation.

The final selection of communities for study was made after an investi-

gation of the distribution of people in relation to degree of Indian blood, years of education completed, and age. These data were obtained from the 1956 census. On this basis, the Big Bend Community in District 3 was selected as the logical place to carry on intensive interviewing. A 20% sample of the families in the other two districts was also selected for interviewing.

The map in figure 2 locates the residence of each family from which an interview schedule was completed. Usable schedules were obtained from 45 families in District 1, 10 families in District 2, and 20 families in District 3.

Socioeconomic Analysis of Communities

DISTRICT 1

Housing

Most of the homes in District 1 were small frame or tar paper-covered shacks and were judged to be below minimum standards for adequate housing. There were also six log cabins in this area which were likewise judged to be less than adequate for housing. Fewer than 20% of the homes in this community were considered to meet minimum housing requirements.

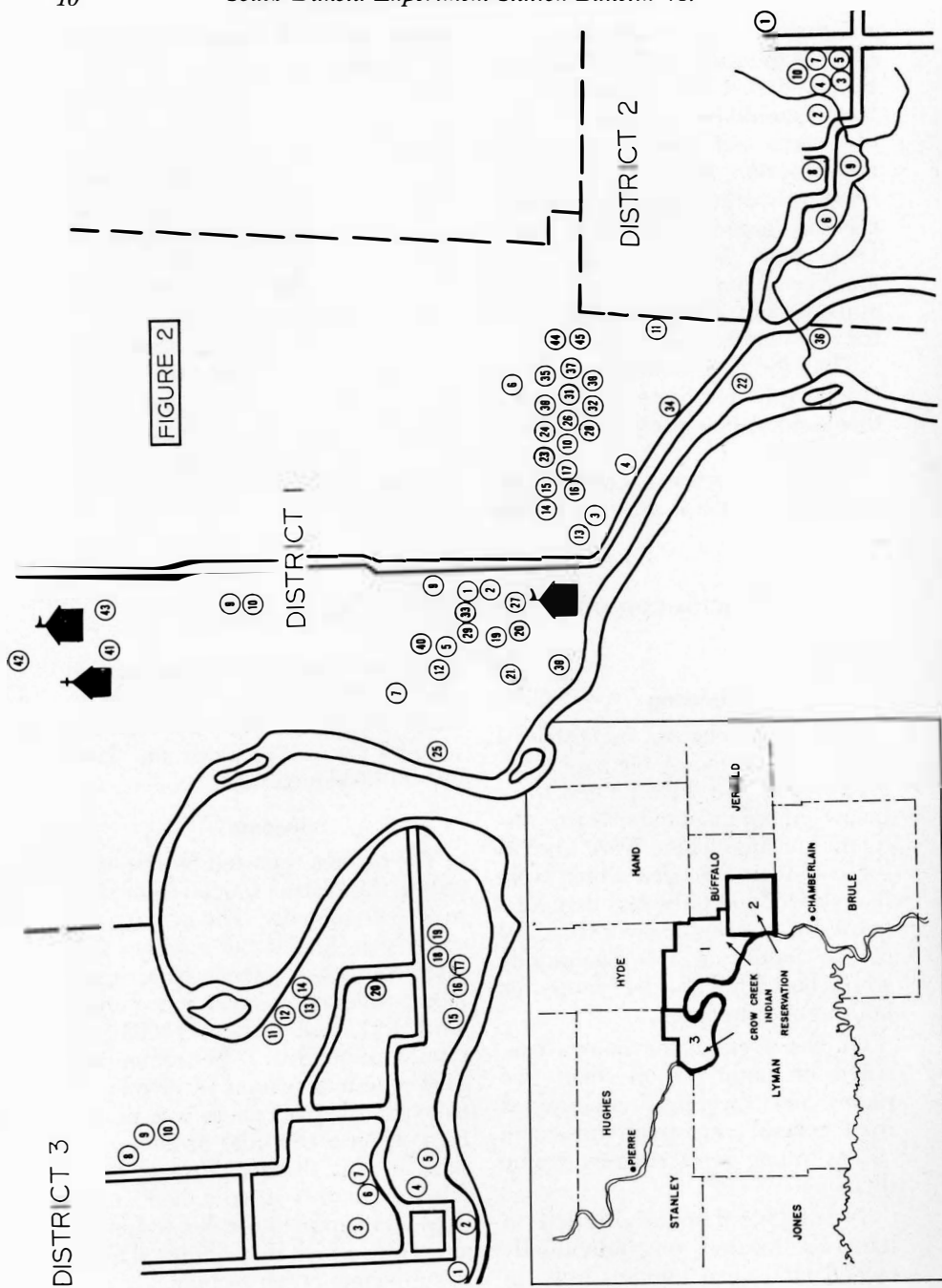
On the average the houses consisted of slightly more than two rooms per dwelling and ranged from several very poor, one-room cabins to one good, six-room frame dwelling.

Twenty-five families resided in homes located on individually owned land. Ten families lived in

homes on undivided heirship land and eight families lived in homes located on tribal land. Two of the families were located on land owned by the church.

Income

The income reported by respondents in this district ranged from \$241 to \$2,820 annually. The average income was \$1,170 per family. The main sources of income were wage labor (averaging \$556 per family annually), and welfare (\$493 per family annually). The remaining \$121 of annual income received was from land leases. There was no income from cattle sales or field crop sales in this district. However, 11 families in this district had small gardens of approximately one-fourth acre from which they obtained food to supplement their income.



Seasonal work on farms or ranches in the area accounted for most of the income earned from wage labor. In addition to this, some construction work and other unskilled or semi-skilled sources of employment were available to the people of the reservation. These sources were limited, however, since only 25 workers obtained these types of employment and averaged only 130 days work during the year. Many of the family heads who did no outside work were older people, widows, or physically disabled men who were unable to work. Lack of skill accounted for the inability of many to find a source of steady employment.

Classification

The sampling of families in this district revealed that many of the people retained traditional values. The process of acculturation was limited when measured by the percent of members of pure Indian extraction, scores on a socio-economic status scale for farm families, and years of education completed.⁴ A comparison of three districts studied in relation to these indices is presented in table 1.

There was, however, evidence that a transition was beginning to take place in this district. The index of education revealed that District 1 was lower in years of education completed, but this may be accounted for by the fact that the people in this district were slightly older than those in the other two districts. Aside from this low educational score the other indices were all in the direction of transition. This is especially noticed if one compares this district with a traditional community at Pine Ridge. In the Pine Ridge study the education completed index revealed an average of 5.84 years for husbands and 5.12 years for wives. The average socioeconomic score was 47.8%, and the percent of pure Indian extraction

⁴An earlier investigation on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation used these indices as a means of classifying communities as traditional, transitional, and transpositional. In this model, District 1 would be classified as traditional. See Vernon D. Malan, *The Dakota Indian Family*, pages 7-12. The scale used was adapted from William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology* 8: (1943) 161-170.

Table 1. Indices of Acculturation

	No.	Years of education	Socioeconomic score	Pure Indian extraction (%)
District 1	73	6.84	50.4	87.7
Husband	39	6.59	—	87.2
Wife	34	7.12	—	88.2
District 2	18	8.17	58.0	61.1
Husband	10	7.50	—	50.0
Wife	8	9.00	—	75.0
District 3	34	8.26	57.2	64.7
Husband	18	7.56	—	61.1
Wife	16	9.06	—	68.8

was 92.0 for husbands and 87.5 for wives.⁵

DISTRICT 2

The sample in District 2 was small and the characteristics appeared similar to District 3 where all the families were interviewed. Comparing these two districts, the adults were slightly younger in District 3, but years of education and socioeconomic scores were practically identical. The limited size of the sample made it appear that there was a considerable variation between husbands and wives on percent of pure Indian extraction; however, only one or two extreme cases accounted for this divergence, while all the other total percents were close in results.

Housing

Housing in this district was more adequate than in District 1. All of the houses were of frame construction, averaged three rooms per house, and were judged to be in fair or good condition with the exception of two cases.

These homes were most commonly located on individually owned land or undivided heirship land. Only two homes varied from this pattern, one being located on tribal land and the other being located on church land.

Income

Reported income in this district varied less and was somewhat higher than the income reported in District 1. The average reported income was \$1,380 annually and was obtained primarily from wage labor (\$600) and welfare (\$560). The

amount received from land leases (\$70) was somewhat lower than was reported in District 1. However, two families in this district earned money from the sale of livestock in the amount of \$150. There was no reported income from the sale of field crops in this district. Seven of the ten families interviewed had small gardens from which they harvested food for home consumption.

The range of cash income reported was from \$600 to \$2,700. Income from wage labor was received by five of the ten families interviewed. This income was earned from obtaining seasonal work on nearby ranches and a few construction jobs off the reservation. Each employable male averaged 200 days of intermittent work during the year.

DISTRICT 3

All of the 20 families in District 3 were interviewed.

Housing

All houses were frame, except for two log cabins. Most of the frame houses averaged three rooms per dwelling and all but four were judged to be in fair or good condition in relation to the other districts.

All of the homes were located on individually owned land or undivided heirship land. There were no dwellings on either tribal or church land.

Income

The reported income for this district varied from \$250 to over \$11,500 annually. The average annual reported income for all 20 families

⁵Malan, *op. cit.*, page 9.

was \$2,030. However, the highest reported income was so much above any of the others that it distorted the total income picture. If this is omitted, the average reported income then become \$1,530 and ranges from \$250 to \$4,000.

The largest source of income reported was derived from the sale of livestock. This averaged \$920 per family. Again, if the high income family is eliminated, the average per family from the sale of livestock is \$570. Wage labor income reported averaged \$650, but without the same exceptional family the average is reduced to \$480. Other averages of income from the lease of land and sale of field crops were not affected by this prosperous family, and amounted to a little more than \$100 per family in each instance.

Ten of the families in this district had small gardens, usually one-fourth to one-half acre, from which potatoes, corn, and other vegetables were harvested for home consumption.

Fifteen families in this district received some income from seasonal unskilled labor on or near the reservation. One of these families, however, received considerably more in salary than any of the part-time workers due to having full-time employment in a skilled occupation. Excluding this affluent family once again, the wage workers averaged 80 days of employment last year. All of the families reporting no income from wage labor indicated that the husband was handicapped by age, physical disability, or that the wife was widowed.

COMPARISON OF DISTRICTS

The similarity between Districts 2 and 3 on the indices of acculturation (table 1) suggested that for purposes of comparison the two communities could be combined without distorting the total picture. When this was done the indices were: (1) average years of education completed: 8.25 for all adults, 7.54 for husbands and 9.05 for wives; (2) family socioeconomic score; 57.5; and (3) percent of pure Indian extraction: 63.5 for all adults, 57.2 for males, and 70.8 for females. These figures were most nearly like those reported for the transpositional community in the study of three Pine Ridge communities previously cited.⁶ It is possible, however, that the acculturation process may have exceeded the transpositional community of Pine Ridge since the indices for education and socioeconomic scores were considerably higher. On the other hand, a greater percentage of individuals of pure Indian extraction was found in Districts 2 and 3 than was found in the transpositional community at Pine Ridge.

In comparing District 1 with Districts 2 and 3, certain factors combine to invite further investigation. The average age of the family heads in District 1 is considerably higher than the average ages of the family heads in the other two districts. The people in District 1 have retained old Indian values to a greater degree than the people in the other two districts. This fact indicates the possibility of other fac-

⁶*Ibid.*, pages 11-12.

tors operating to influence this phenomenon.

The residents of District 1 possessing communication facilities such as television, radio, and newspapers were extremely few when compared with the residents of Districts 2 and 3.

In analysis of the above factors, a relationship between lack of communication media and retention of traditional values is apparent. When the fact that the people in District 1 are relatively isolated from contact with the world beyond the reservation, due to lack of communication facilities, is considered in combination with the factors of physical isolation and extremely low education level, one can perceive that this combination offers the people little opportunity to change their ways. It is a sociological truism that lack of contact is a major factor in retarding adoption of new customs.

In addition to the above facts, the age level of the family heads of Dis-

trict 1, when considered in terms of social change, indicates that it is unlikely that these older people will change to any great extent. In view of this, efforts to improve opportunities for transition might produce desired results, if oriented in the direction of the children of this area, as efforts to change the older people would probably result in frustration rather than change.

The description and analysis of these three districts will serve as a basis for the analysis of contemporary family organization in the next section. District 1 will be classified as a traditional community and Districts 2 and 3 will be combined and classified as one transpositional community in some instances for purposes of comparison. In terms of this classification, District 1 is expected to possess more remnants of the traditional Indian kinship system, while Districts 2 and 3 are expected to exhibit more characteristics of the non-Indian rural South Dakota Family.

Socioeconomic Analysis of Families

In analysing the structure of the non-Indian family system in the United States, the usual classification of husband-wife and children is appropriate. However, the Crow Creek Indian family, possessing some remnants of the traditional Dakota Indian kinship structure, requires more intensive analysis to reveal the complete picture of the various relationships.

To accomplish this analysis, the

following procedure was deemed best suited for the task. First, the nuclear families were diagrammed. These diagrams appear in figures 3 and 4. Second, the characteristics of family size and composition were measured. Finally, an analysis of the complex of blood relationships in District 3 was made. When these steps are combined, the organization of the families can readily be perceived.

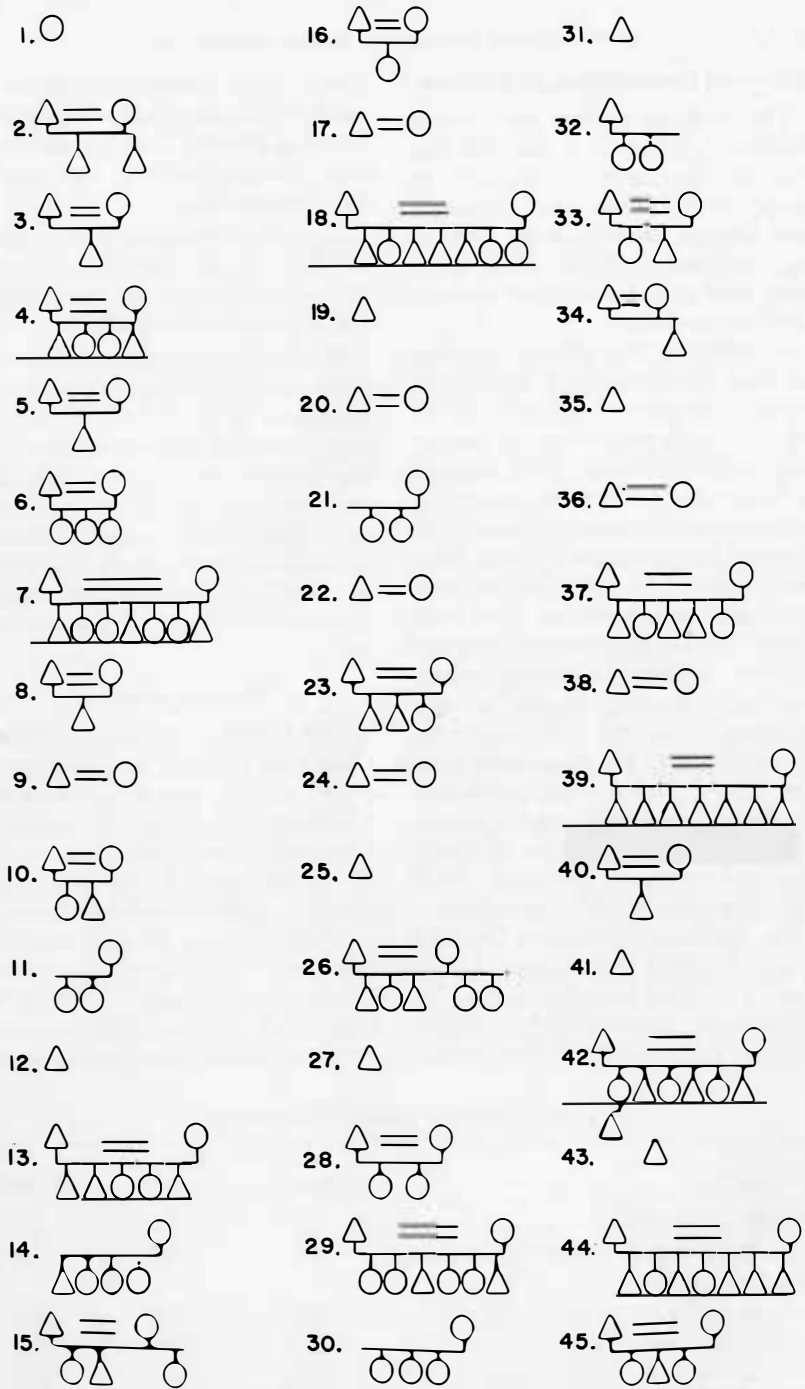


Fig. 3 NUCLEAR FAMILIES DISTRICT I

— BLOOD LINE --- ADOPTION = MARRIAGE BOND

\triangle —MALE

\circ —FEMALE

Size and Composition of Families

The average size of the nuclear families in District 1 was 3.9 persons, and there were 2.2 children per family. It should be noted, however, that several families with eight to ten members brought these averages well above the 1956 reservation census data.

In addition, the reservation census data was based on a slightly different definition of a family and included a high percentage of unmarried individuals who were counted as family units. The reservation census reported the average size of families as 2.8 members with 1.4 children per family. It is possible that husband-wife combinations were over-represented in this sample. Irregular families, broken by divorce or separation, possessing adopted or step-children, or having other more distant relatives in the household, were very close to those found in the census data. In general it can be assumed that the characteristics of family size and composition were fairly typical of the whole reservation.

Several large families in Districts 2 and 3 raised the average family size (4.2) and average number of children per family (2.5) to a higher point than District 1. The various

family types were found to be remarkably similar to the family types found in District 1 and exhibited the same deviations from the reservation census data.

Since the average age of adults influences family size and composition, this information was studied and is presented in table 2.

It is evident that the greatest variation from the reservation pattern appeared in District 1. In this district the males appeared older than the females in general, but there were at least six elderly widowers or bachelors in the sample which accounts for this variation. There was no great gap between the ages of the married adults in this community.

Kinship Patterns

The retention of kinship associations was studied by charting the close and distant relationships which existed among the families in District 3. It was found that some of the people were living in extended family neighborhoods in which mutual helpfulness, sharing, and visiting were still essential activities. There was also some evidence that some of the people in this community were seeking associations outside

Table 2. Nuclear Family Characteristics

Characteristics	District 1	Districts 2 and 3	1956 census
Average family size.....	3.9	4.2	2.8
Average number of children per family.....	2.2	2.5	1.4
Average ages:			
Adult males	47.7	43.3	43.6
Adult females	44.8	45.2	44.5
All adults	46.3	44.2	44.0

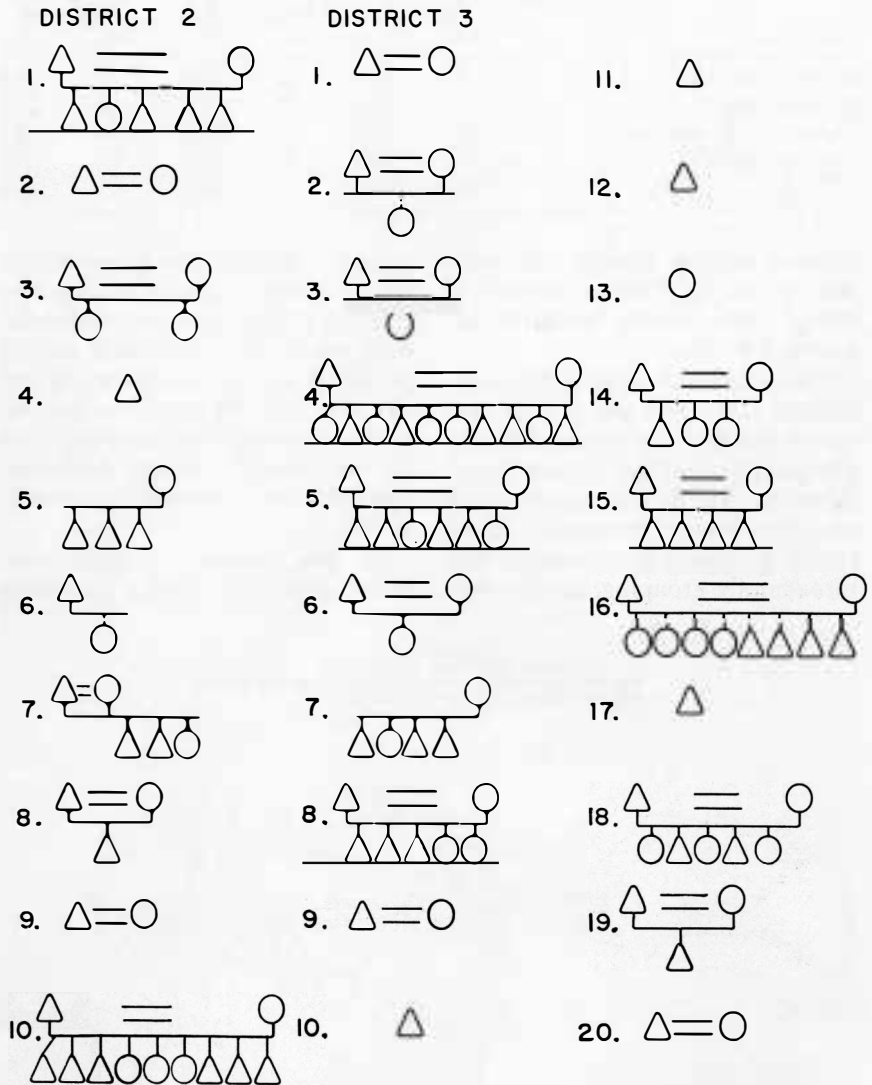


Fig. 4 NUCLEAR FAMILIES DISTRICTS 2 and 3






 — MALE
  — FEMALE
  — MARRIAGE BOND
 — BLOOD LINE
  — ADOPTION

Table 3. Nuclear Family Composition

Family types	District 1		Districts 2 and 3		1956 census	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single individual	9	20.0	6	20.0	75	21.9
Husband-wife	7	15.6	5	16.7	44	12.9
Husband-wife-children	17	37.8	11	36.6	130	38.0
Irregular families	12	26.6	8	26.7	93	27.2
Totals	45	100.0	30	100.0	342	100.0

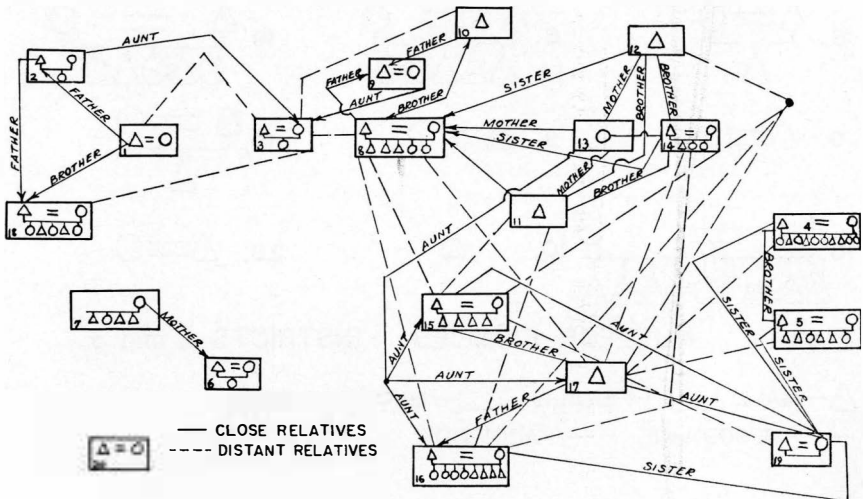
of these kinship groups and abandoning the traditional pattern of living. These people, however, represented a minority.

The pattern of relationships symbolized in figure 5 was complicated by the fact that one extended family group dominated the district. In addition to this, the dominant group was also attached to a smaller three-family grouping by marriage. The three-family grouping, in turn, had

a mutual relative with another similar grouping. There were also two mother-son combinations in this district which were classified as two nuclear families. It is significant that the most affluent family in the district was completely isolated from the community, lacking both kinship ties and community associations.

In the primary neighborhood there were ten families centering

FIGURE 5
KINSHIP PATTERNS DISTRICT 3
RELATIONSHIP OF 20 FAMILIES COMPRISING ENTIRE DIST.
OF CROW CREEK INDIAN RESERVATION



their activities around an elderly widow who, in turn, was attached to other families through seven close and six distant relationships. The evidence indicated her to be natural permissive leader of the community. However, her influence in promoting unity and cooperation among the people in the community may have been mitigated somewhat by the more aggressive leadership of two other community residents.

The first aggressive leader was the wife in a family which was marginal to this extended primary neighborhood. The evidence indicated that she had the greatest influence on the two smaller neighborhood groupings which were directly related to her. As a source of aid in times of need it is possible that this matron may have extended her influence and authority to most of the families in the area.

The other aggressive leader was the oldest male family head in the primary family grouping and he seemed to hold his high position because of this fact. In addition to this, however, he also held a position of political leadership in the community as he was a tribal council representative.

The kinship ties among all 20 families in this district can be measured by counting the total number of close and distant relatives. There were 29 close and 18 distant relationships, averaging 1.45 close and .90 distant, or a total of 2.35 relationships per family. These figures were much higher than expected in a community which demonstrated many characteristics typically found in non-Indian rural communities. In

this respect, the district was exceptional. However, it is possible that one family grouping which dominated the neighborhood through consanguine and marital ties was similar to a non-Indian community composed of closely related nuclear families. They may cooperate, share, and visit on the basis of a non-Indian system. This was not apparent in the kinship pattern but was suggested by the measurement of indices of community participation which are summarized in table 4.

Sharing Patterns

Approximately one-half of the families shared their homes with persons who were not directly related to them. This sharing of homes was done for periods of much greater duration than a short visit. There were more families sharing homes in District 1, than in the other two districts. Percentagewise this is approximately 10% greater than the families sharing homes in Districts 2 and 3. This evidence was consistent with the expectation that traditional families were more likely to accept the obligation of providing hospitality. Evidence also indicated that aid to relatives in need was apt to occur in this community when cases of family disorganization were involved.

The index of land sharing was distorted by the factors of land ownership and utilization. In District 1, land ownership was very limited with only one-half of the families owning land units of any significance. One-third of the families owning land were sharing it with

Table 4. Indices of Community Participation

Indices	District 1	Districts 2 and 3
1. Share use of home (%).....	55.6	46.7
2. Share use of land (%).....	17.8	43.3
3. Average number of visiting choices per family.....	3.6	2.7
4. Participation in social activities (%).....	97.8	88.8
a. Joking.....	100.0	96.7
b. Gossiping.....	95.6	86.7
c. Discussing old times.....	97.8	83.3
5. Participation in neighborhood activities (average number of times a month).....	13.7	6.0
a. Exchanging work.....	4.9	2.2
b. Exchanging equipment.....	3.3	1.3
c. Lending food.....	3.2	1.3
d. Lending money.....	1.2	.5
e. Attending feasts and celebrations.....	1.1	.7

relatives. Consideration of land utilization is necessary, however, to explain the full situation. The land owned was leased to ranchers outside the community in nearly all of the cases studied. This, however, excludes some small acreages that are used for the homestead. This evidence indicates that the only things these people actually had to share were their homes and gardens.

In Districts 2 and 3 however, a different pattern emerges. Nearly all of the families in these districts owned some land and approximately one-half of these families shared the use of this land with relatives. The tendency to lease land was still evident in these two districts but to a lesser degree than in District 1. In Districts 2 and 3, one-third of the families were utilizing land, other than homestead land, for farming and ranching purposes. Land was sometimes used by brothers or other relatives on a partnership or cooperative basis for agricultural enterprises. This evidence explains the

greater proportion of families sharing land in Districts 2 and 3 in comparison with District 1.

The sharing pattern for District 3, presented in figure 6, indicates closely related groups engaged in common agricultural pursuits. There were four of these groups. One was composed of three families, two of four families, and one of five families. Only two families in this district shared land with non-residents of the community. This pattern approximates the close kinship ties described previously and diagrammed in figure 6. This suggests a family-sharing situation that resembles a non-Indian agricultural operation in which brothers, fathers and sons, or other immediate relatives are cooperating.

Visiting Patterns

The community holding most strongly to traditional practices, District 1, exhibited the greatest number of visiting choices per family. This, again, is what was expect-

ed in such a community. This tendency was further verified by the evidence of visiting choices outside the immediate community. In District 1 visiting choices outside the community were mentioned in only 25% of the cases while nearly 45% of the families in Districts 2 and 3 reported such choices. If these choices are eliminated, the average

number of visiting choices for District 1 was 2.7 compared with only 1.5 for Districts 2 and 3. This modification revealed the expected visiting trends even more sharply than did the unmodified data.

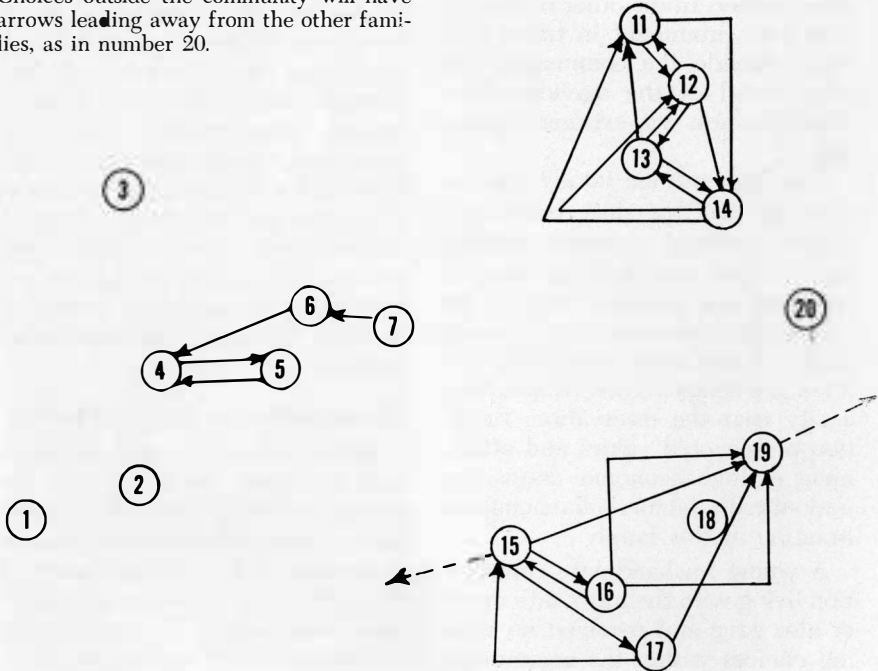
The visiting pattern in District 3 is diagrammed in figure 7. Once again the evidence indicated that the main clusters were associated

Fig. 6
SHARING PATTERN
DISTRICT 3

RESIDENT —————→
NON-RESIDENT - - - - -→



Choices outside the community will have arrows leading away from the other families, as in number 20.



with the four sharing groups with close kinship ties. The family which demonstrated the greatest leadership potential received four first, two second, three third, and nine total visiting choices. Their visiting patterns, however, did not coincide with any of the families choosing them. The evidence indicated that the husband in this family held a position of leadership in the dominant kinship neighborhood. This individual held a position in the tribal government in addition to adopting many non-Indian values. These factors, no doubt, enhanced his overt community influence.

Two secondary leaders, each receiving six choices, reflected a certain degree of status in nonreservation society. In one of these families the husband was the son of a primary leader. In the other family the wife was prominent in tribal activities outside the community and often lived at the agency offices when business was extremely pressing.

The high income family was the extreme case for this community. They neither received visiting choices from any of the community residents nor indicated any of the community residents as a visiting choice. They were completely isolated and selected their friends from a city near the reservation. Rejection of accepted values and attainment of high economic status, are undoubtedly factors influencing the isolation of this family.

A young husband-wife combination living with the husband's mother also gave and received no visiting choices within the community.

The mother, in turn, was almost completely isolated, receiving only one choice from the community and selecting all of her choices outside the community.

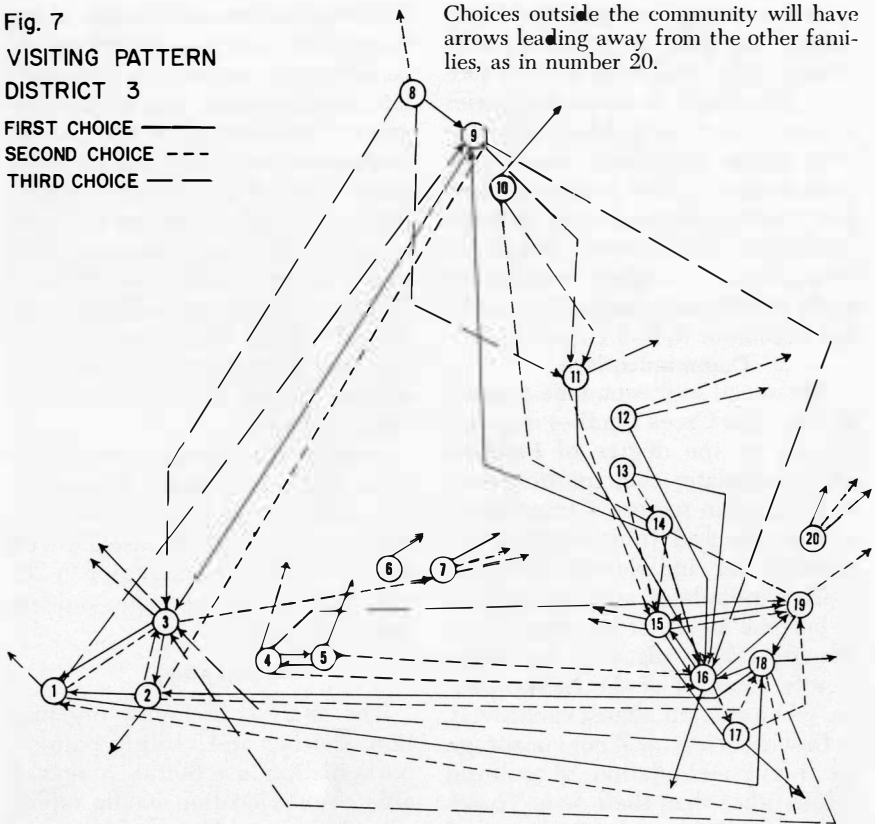
While visiting appeared to be a well-developed community pattern, there were several facts which indicated that it did not meet some of the criteria for a traditional community. First, the percentage of visiting choices outside the local community (nearly 45%); second, the percentage of isolates or near isolates (50% of the families received less than two choices); third, the total number of choices (nine) received by the leading family in the community and fourth, the limited number (seven) of mutual choices—averaging only .35 per family.

This evidence supported the conclusion that this community, while composed of closely related family groupings, has not retained the traditional pattern of living. It is, of course, quite possible that some superficial Indian customs are adhered to for the sake of appearances or in order to maintain a working relationship with the more traditional groups. The values of sharing and visiting, however, more closely resembled those of the non-Indian culture.

Participation in Social Activities

Participation in social activities such as joking, gossiping, and discussing old times were additional indices which indicated that residents of District 3 had assumed many of the patterns of behavior of non-Indian communities. The percentage of families participating in all of

Fig. 7
VISITING PATTERN
DISTRICT 3
FIRST CHOICE ———
SECOND CHOICE - - -
THIRD CHOICE — — —



these activities was consistently lower in Districts 2 and 3 than in District 1 (see table 4). These results are even more significant when the number of close relatives in District 3 is considered, because opportunities for such participation were more readily accessible in this community.

Participation in Neighborhood Activities

The final indices of exchanging work and equipment, lending food and money, and attending feasts and celebrations, were designed to

obtain some measure of participation in neighborhood activities. The results are given in table 4. The evidence obtained indicated that the families in District 1 participated twice as many times as the families in Districts 2 and 3 in all of these activities each month. The average number of participations per family in the sample was greatly influenced by the fact that the interviewing for this study was completed in early spring before the warmer months when some of these activities become much more frequent. Since the results were obtained from a

question asking the number of times during the past month that each family had participated in each activity, the results in some categories appear in low comparison to the results in the Pine Ridge study previously cited.⁷ This evidence, however, offers additional support to the contention that District 3 has retained only a limited number of traits which distinguished the traditional Dakota Indian culture.

Communications

The social and economic welfare of the Crow Creek families depends in part on the degree of isolation which regulates their participation in non-Indian society. Communication media and transportation are essential for individuals living in sparsely populated areas, if they are to become aware of the events and changes taking place in the larger society. Contact of the Indian people when limited almost exclusively to Indian society, will not encourage the rapid assimilation of cultural values other than their own. To determine the degree of isolation of families on the reservation, the percent of families having communications available was computed (see table 5).

The proportion of families having telephones, radios, television receivers, and newspapers and magazine subscriptions was consistently greater in Districts 2 and 3. The differences were most evident in the latter three forms of communication. In regard to catalogs and mail, however, the results were reversed. The location of the Post Office in District 1, being a considerable distance from the other two communities, partly explains the not-too-significant differences in receipt of catalogs and mail.

Automobile transportation is also exceedingly important to reservation residents as a means of reducing isolation. In this case Districts 2 and 3 were much superior to District 1 in the number, age, and condition of cars.

Summary

The analysis of family organization, sharing and visiting patterns, participation in activities, and available communication media offered considerable evidence to support the contention that District 1 was a

Ibid., page 51. The data in table 6 is roughly comparable with table 4 on page 39 of this bulletin.

Table 5. Percent of Families with Communications Available

Communications	District 1	Districts 2 and 3
	%	%
1. Telephone	0.0	10.0
2. Radio	40.0	50.0
3. Television	2.2	23.3
4. Newspaper	8.9	36.7
5. Magazines	24.4	60.0
6. Catalog	91.1	83.3
7. Mail	95.6	83.3
8. Automobile	48.9	83.3

community composed of traditional and transitional individuals. Districts 2 and 3 were transpositional, possessing many residents who had

almost completely changed their cultural values, although many still clung to some superficial elements of the old culture.

Classification and Comparison of Families on Selected Variables

General

The analysis of the socioeconomic characteristics of communities does not reveal all of the variations among families on the Crow Creek Reservation. In some cases the district grouping may be relatively superficial and may not be typical of the entire reservation. In view of this, more exact knowledge of family characteristics which cut across community or district boundaries may be obtained by examining the data from a different perspective. This alternative method of analysis will be presented in this section. In facilitating the interpretation of this data, a dichotomy is used as a convenient method of classification. In this dichotomy, respondents are classified as either traditional—(possessing cultural remnants of traditional Dakota society) — or modern—(having changed to the point where they possess cultural traits similar to those of non-Indian living in rural South Dakota communities).

To distinguish between the traditional and modern groups, the three indices of acculturation which had been used to analyze communities were applied to each family. To qualify as a traditional family, all of the following conditions had to

be present: (1) the education completed by the parents must average 8 years or less; (2) their scores on Sewell's Socioeconomic Scale must be less than 60; and (3) they must be classified as possessing at least three-fourths Indian ancestry. The families which did not meet all of these qualifications were arbitrarily assigned to the modern grouping. By the use of this technique it was possible to establish two groups of relatively equal size (40 traditional and 35 modern families). These families could then be compared on a number of selected variables which were measured in this study.

While the line between the traditional and modern grouping is arbitrarily established, it is likely that the families in the traditional classification represent relative degrees of retention of traditional culture. The modern families will vary from those holding few traditional traits to those families nearly devoid of any Indian cultural heritage.

The considerable differences between the traditional and modern groups on the three indices of acculturation are indicated in table 6. On the average the parents in modern families had completed nearly 3 more years of education than the traditional parents. The traditional

Table 6. Indices of Acculturation

Indices	Traditional (40)	Modern (35)	X ² *
Years of education completed	6.19	9.25	27.9
Husband	5.97	8.55	16.8
Wife	6.46	10.00	21.3
Socio-economic score	46.4	62.0	40.2
Pure Indian extraction (%).....	100.0	54.7	36.7
Husband	100.0	48.5	23.3
Wife	100.0	61.2	13.7

*Chi-square (X²) indicated the probability that the distribution discovered in a sample would occur by chance. If the value of X² was more than 3.841 (with one degree of freedom) the distribution would occur by chance in less than 5% of the cases (less than five times in a hundred) and a significant difference between the two groups was concluded. In this table since the indices were used as a basis for determining the two groups, the X² score simply indicates that there were significant differences in all categories between the number of cases above and below the average of all cases. Lillian Cohen, *Statistical Methods for Social Sciences*, pages 120-127.

classification was composed of individuals of pure Indian extraction in every instance, while the modern grouping was almost equally divided between mixed and pure Indian ancestry. Evidence indicated a difference of 16 points between the modern and the traditional groupings on the Sewell Socioeconomic Status Scale for Farm Families.

Income

Income distribution (see table 7) reveals some very significant difference between the traditional and modern families in earned, unearned, and total income.

The traditional families averaged only \$352 of earned income per year, most of it coming from irregular wage labor. Half of these families had no earned income at all. The modern families, on the other hand, averaged \$1,594 of earned income and more than one-half (\$915) came from wage labor. Eight modern families had income from cattle sales averaging over \$2,000 per fam-

ily. In the modern group only five families reported no earned income. When the two groups were compared on the chi-square test, the differences between the numbers having earned income was significant (X²=10.8).

The average amount of unearned income for the modern group was \$364 per year. In comparison to this, the traditional group averaged \$711 of unearned income per year. While the moderns averaged \$99 from leases and \$265 from welfare, the traditionals received \$115 and \$596 respectively from these sources. Comparison of the two groupings with respect to welfare received revealed that the traditionals received a considerably greater percentage of the welfare payments (72.5%), while the moderns received a significantly lesser percentage (48.6%). The chi-square value (4.5) indicated that this difference was significant at the 5% level. Total income in the modern group (\$1,958)

Table 7. Income Distribution

Income reported (dollars)	Traditional						Modern					
	Earned		Unearned		Total		Earned		Unearned		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0- 500	32	80.0	19	47.5	7	17.5	8	22.9	26	74.2	1	2.9
501-1000	5	12.5	10	25.0	17	42.5	10	28.5	7	20.0	7	20.0
1001-1500	0	0.0	5	12.5	7	17.5	8	22.9	1	2.9	13	37.1
1501-2000	2	5.0	3	7.5	5	12.5	4	11.4	0	0.0	6	17.2
2001-2500	1	2.5	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	2	5.7
2501-3000	0	0.0	2	5.0	4	10.0	3	8.6	0	0.0	4	11.4
Over 3000	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.7	0	0.0	2	5.7
Average income.....	\$352.13		\$710.88		\$1,063.01		\$1,594.28		\$364.03		\$1,958.31	

was nearly twice as high as income in the traditional group (\$1,063).

Employment

As might be anticipated, the employment of family heads among the moderns was found to be higher when measured on the indices presented in table 8.

Two-thirds of the modern family heads who were employed had off-reservation employment, while for the traditional family heads the percentages were reversed and two-thirds had on-reservation employment. The interviewer's estimate of their general attitudes indicated that over 90% of the moderns and 55% of the traditionals had viewpoints satisfactory for regular employment. It should be noted, however, that in many instances these people lacked employment skills or

suffered from physical handicaps which made the chances for a steady job very unlikely. Table 8 indicates that all indices tend to support the conclusion that there is a significant difference between employability of modern and traditional family heads.

Housing

The economic differences between moderns and traditionals were likewise reflected in the housing of the two groups. Table 9 reveals that there were significantly more frame houses occupied by moderns than there were log cabins. The homes of the modern families averaged nearly one room larger than the homes of the traditional families. In addition, the modern homes were usually in better condition than the traditional homes.

Table 8. Employability of Family Head

	Traditional %	Modern %	X ²
1. Have engaged in wage labor	45.0	77.1	8.0*
2. Attitudes favorable to employment	55.0	91.4	12.7*
3. Employable	37.5	85.7	8.4*

*Significant at 5% with 1 degree of freedom.

Table 9. Housing

	Traditional	Modern	X ²
Kind of home (%)			6.1*
Frame	76.3	96.9	
Log	23.7	3.1	
Average number of rooms	2.18	3.09	5.4*
Condition (%)			6.8*
Above average	31.6	62.5	
Below average	68.4	37.5	
Source of water (%)			17.6*
Spring	71.8	38.2	
Well	10.3	55.9	
Other	17.9	5.9	

*Significant at the 5% level with 1 degree of freedom.

There was also a significant difference found when the source of water for these two groups was examined. At the time, such factors as land ownership, residence on individually owned land, gardens raised, relatives living near, and distances to services were found to be devoid of significance when comparison of District 1 with Districts 2 and 3 were made.

Family Characteristics

Family characteristics were probably influenced by the age of adults in the sample. The traditionals averaged at least 8 years older than the moderns, and had only slightly larger families as shown by average family size and average number of children per family in table 10.

The average family size was also affected by the fact that there were significantly more families with one spouse missing in the traditional (22.7%) than in the modern (10.0%) categories ($X^2=4.3$). As might be expected, there were more childless families in the traditional sample (47.5%) than in the modern

sample (22.9%). This difference was significant at the 3% level since the chi-square value was 4.9.

The evidence given in table 11 indicates the composition of the families to be similar in both categories. In none of the family types (single individual, husband-wife, husband-wife-children, or irregular family) were any significant differences discovered. The older average age of the adults in the traditional sample is the only significant variable that might have influenced the acceptance of non-traditional ideas and values.

Forms of Interaction

The indices of community participation summarized in table 12 provided several significant relationships. The differences in sharing patterns were most evident in the proportion of families living with others in the traditional group. The sharing of land was also more common among the traditional people and, while the difference was not statistically significant when the number of families owning land was

Table 10. Nuclear Family Characteristics

	Traditional (40)	Modern (35)	X ²
Average family size	3.9	4.2	Not significant
Average number of children per family.....	2.2	2.6	Not significant
Average ages:			
Adult males (67)	50.6	41.1	
Adult females (59).....	48.7	41.3	
All adults (126).....	49.8	41.2	4.4*

*Significant at the 5% level with 1 degree of freedom.

considered, the percentages were 68.4 for the traditionals and 45.0 for the moderns.

The frequency of visiting favored the traditional families but was so common among the moderns that the differences were not significant. This was the case among social activities in which traditionals were most likely to participate, i.e., joking, gossiping, and discussing old times.

In the other forms of social participation which were frequently found among the moderns, it is especially noteworthy that the newest activity—watching television—indicated a high level of significance. The other two—playing cards and playing ball—were more frequently found among the moderns. These two forms of participation, however, are older, more traditional activities. The degree of modernization is,

therefore, most sharply revealed in the newest activity—watching television.

Analysis of neighborhood activities brought mixed results. The evidence revealed that exchanging work and equipment were more frequent in modern groups and lending food and money, and attending feasts and celebrations, were more frequent among the traditional people. The explanation of the greater exchange of work and equipment in the moderns may be found in the modern grouping having greater utilization and ownership of land and equipment than the traditionals.

The association between the modern mode of living and access to various forms of mass communication is very significant. The availability of radios, television receivers, newspapers, and magazines was considerably greater for the modern group (see table 13). Since tele-

Table 11. Nuclear Family Composition

Family types	Traditional		Modern		X ²
	Number	%	Number	%	
Single individual	7	17.5	5	14.3	Not significant
Husband-wife	8	20.0	4	11.4	Not significant
Husband-wife-children	17	42.5	14	40.0	Not significant
Irregular family	8	20.0	12	34.3	Not significant

Table 12. Indices of Community Participation

Indices	Traditional %	Modern %	X ²
1. Share use of land.....	32.5	25.7	Not significant
Share use of home.....	72.5	34.3	14.1*
2. Visit neighbors	95.0	94.3	Not significant
Neighbors visit them.....	95.0	85.7	Not significant
3. Participation in social activities:			
a. Joking	100.0	97.1	Not significant
b. Gossiping	92.5	91.4	Not significant
c. Discussing old times	90.0	88.6	Not significant
d. Playing cards	50.0	71.4	Not significant
e. Playing ball	47.5	62.9	Not significant
f. Watching TV	17.5	62.9	16.3*
4. Participation in neighborhood activities:			
a. Exchanging work	52.5	71.4	Not significant
b. Exchanging equipment	25.0	51.4	5.5*
c. Lending food	55.0	31.4	4.3*
d. Lending money	45.0	31.4	Not significant
e. Attending feasts and celebrations.....	60.0	37.1	3.9*

*Significant at the 5% level with 1 degree of freedom.

phones were practically non-existent in the area, (the three reported were possessed by individuals in the modern group) there were no significant differences between the two groups on this index. Both groups were found to be completely saturated in relation to the catalogs they received although the moderns had the advantage in that they utilized them more frequently. Mail delivery and ownership of passenger cars tended to follow the pattern of mass communication media.

The frequency in availability of some forms of communication in the modern group added support to the proposition that these families were less isolated from the influence of non-Indian society. For example, the moderns received an average of seven newspapers per month while the traditionals received less than

one per month. The monthly averages for magazines were 1.3 for moderns and .3 for traditionals. Mail was received on an average of three times per week by the moderns and less than twice per week by the traditionals.

The automobiles of the traditional group were likely to be older models. There was also a significant difference in the number of cars which were at least 10 years old between the two groups ($X^2=9.1$). Over 70% of the traditionals' cars were over 10 years old, while less than 30% of the cars in the modern group were in this category.

Summary

The following conclusion can be made with a high level of confidence from the evidence presented in this section. The degree of acculturation

Table 13. Communications Available

Communications	Traditional %	Modern %	X ²
1. Telephone	0.0	8.6	Not significant
2. Radio	17.5	74.3	24.4*
3. Television	0.0	22.9	10.3*
4. Newspaper	2.5	42.8	18.0*
5. Magazine	17.5	60.0	14.3*
6. Catalog	82.5	94.3	Not significant
7. Mail	82.5	97.1	11.0*
8. Automobile	45.0	82.9	11.5*

*Significant at the 5% level with 1 degree of freedom.

of the Crow Creek families is significantly associated with these variables — (1) earned income, (2) welfare assistance, (3) employability, (4) housing, (5) age of adults, (6) childlessness,⁸ (7) sharing homes, (8) watching television, (9) lending food, (10) attending feasts and celebrations, (11) avail-

ability of radio, television, newspapers, and magazines, (12) mail delivery, and (13) automobile ownership. It is not possible, however, to definitely exclude the possibility of the existence of other factors which may be influencing the direction of change on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation.

The Findings and Their Significance

The environment of the Crow Creek Reservation, when compared with the non-Indian communities of rural South Dakota, revealed certain problem conditions existing throughout the reservation. These conditions are:

1. Extremely poor housing conditions
2. Relatively low level of education
3. Relatively little mobility
4. Mean income extremely low
5. Minimum health and sanitation facilities
6. Lack of employment skills
7. Relative isolation (both physical and social)

It should be noted that some of the conditions listed exist in low-income areas of non-Indian population, while others are peculiar only to Indian communities.

Analysis of the situation on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation indicates the presence of certain negative and positive factors which are related to the problem conditions listed above. These factors were common to all the communities studied to a greater or lesser degree. Recognition of the existence of

⁸Childlessness is defined as the absence of children living in the home and does not necessarily imply that the family had no children.

these factors is necessary to those anticipating the planning of programs designed to better the social and economic status of the Indian people.

The basis for analyzing and evaluating the Indian communities was a comparison with non-Indian communities of similar structure. This comparison serves to accentuate the the importance differences between the communities involved, and although all of the factors cannot be conveniently arranged in a cause-effect relationship, it is worthwhile to make this comparison.

Negative Factors

Three negative factors are at once obvious when a comparison is made. The retention of traditional values which are often diametrically opposed to the values of western society, the lack of opportunity for employment on the reservation, and the lack of mobility in terms of leaving the reservation to seek employment all combine to produce negative results when acculturation is the objective.

Formal education, in this instance, will be considered as a less positive influence in the acculturation process because the existing environment is such that the value of education *per se* tends to be offset by the isolation and lack of the means to implement what is formally learned.

In addition to this, education must be supplemented and nurtured in an environment consistent with what is taught in schools. If this condition is not present, education tends to become less meaning-

ful. This is a problem on the reservation in many areas. What the children learn at school they seldom observe in their everyday living on the reservation. This conflict between what is taught in school and what is being done in family circles and communities often results in confusion of the children involved and lessens the overall benefit derived from such education.

To those who retain traditional values, the attainment of material success and financial security are almost alien concepts; therefore their aspiration for such attainment is extremely low when compared with non-Indian society. The relative isolation on the reservation provides no adequate means of offsetting this condition. Instead, it seems to assist in the retention of these values by minimizing exposure to non-Indian ways.

For those who have rejected wholly or partly the old values and seek material gain, the problem of location of employment opportunity is important. Since work opportunity is scarce on the reservation, the only alternative for these people is to seek employment elsewhere. Here again the force of the environment influences the economic attainment of the people and creates problems of social adjustment to the outside world. If a semi-skilled or non-skilled person—regardless of a positive attitude toward acceptance of the new ways—leaves the reservation, he is immediately faced with two major problems; lack of sufficient money and credit, and adaptability to the non-Indian environment.

In addition to this, the severance of relations with family and friends presents an emotional hardship to the Indian people. Leaving the reservation on a permanent basis is further complicated by the knowledge that certain tribal rights will be forfeited if such a move is made. Being confronted with the uncertainty of success in non-Indian communities frequently causes Indian people to decide to remain a known situation—at home.

The person leaving the reservation, unless he is extremely fortunate, is ill-fitted to comprehend the complexities of modern society. He has neither the background nor the necessary means for attaining success. If he solves such problems as living quarters, family relations, and sources of credit in the new community, he is still faced with the problem of social development.

The reservation background, as we have noted elsewhere, is not conducive to adequate social development in terms of western society and norms. All of these factors combine to increase the probability of his ultimate placement in the lower strata of both employment and social class, as well as limiting his chances of rising above these initial obstacles and acquiring any measurable degree of success. Many persons in such circumstances realize the futility of the situation and return once more to the reservation. Relocation services have helped overcome some obstacles but the percentage of returnees is high.

The factors of retention of traditional values and lack of employment opportunity within their own

society are peculiar to Indian communities. Since the non-Indians do not have these problems to contend with, and furthermore have a value system compatible with their society, their problems differ from those of the Indian people in this respect.

Lack of mobility is another factor influencing the direction and speed of culture change on the reservation. This is closely related to lack of employment opportunity as it is extremely difficult for an Indian person to seek off-reservation employment without having some means of transportation at his disposal. Lack of mobility also exists in non-Indian communities but to a lesser degree.

The question of whether the Indian person will be accepted in a non-Indian community is important, but this was not the purpose of this study. However, it is possible that the attitudes of the non-Indian will affect the response of the Indian person in evaluating his circumstances. More research is needed in the area of attitudes before any statement can be made regarding favorable or unfavorable attitudes in non-Indian communities.

Positive Factors

In spite of the above-mentioned negative factors, some Indian people change in the direction of non-Indian society. This illustrates that the situation is far from hopeless. Precisely what is involved in influencing these people to change their ways is not known. However, some indicators can be analyzed.

Exposure of non-Indian culture is a positive factor in acculturation. Many of the more successful indi-

viduals in the modern grouping had considerable previous contact with non-Indian society. This contact enables them to better comprehend the economic aspects of living with in the perspective of the non-Indian.

Mixed marriage is another factor which exerts a positive influence on culture change in individuals. The children of such a marriage tend to absorb some of the traits of the non-Indian parent and are thus influenced in the direction of the non-Indian way of life. Nearly all of the more successful people in the study were of mixed ancestry.

Education in an environment containing familiarity with non-Indian ways, and the influence of the non-Indian parent tends to become an important factor influencing acculturation in a positive direction. The

child in such an environment has the opportunity to utilize some of the knowledge gained in school and gains some valuable insights into the reasons for doing things in ways that are different from the ways of the more traditional Indian people. Such a child is being socially prepared, at least to a greater degree than children without this influence, to take his place with greater confidence in non-Indian society.

It should be noted that the factors listed above are not the only ones operating to influence the present reservation situation. However, they are deemed to be the more important elements. Further research is needed to determine the existence of additional influences and their impact on the acculturation process.

Conclusions

Industrial development on the reservation would be helpful in offsetting some of the conditions existing on the reservation today. Such development could play an important part in developing the skills and self-confidence of the Indian people. In addition to this, the need for greater mobility would be greatly reduced and people could be reached who were unreached in the past. Such a program would also provide an answer to the problem of alternative uses of the land resource. The total population cannot be supported by agricultural enterprises alone and industrial development would enable a greater proportion

of the people to derive a livelihood from this source. The potentialities for industrial development are extremely limited at present; however, such development will be helpful in the future.

It is possible that the completion of the Big Bend Dam will provide the necessary stimulus for attracting industry. Additional entrepreneurial incentives might be added in the form of subsidies for locating in the area.

In addition to the existing extension programs which help the people adjust, adult education programs designed to enable the Indian people to become more familiar

with the complexities of the modern world could provide another means to offset the present reservation environment. Any method which can aid in developing the people in social, economic, and political areas by providing them with a better understanding of the world in which they live, should prove rewarding.

Admittedly, there are some people on the reservation for whom these programs will provide little, if any, value. The aged, the infirm, and the people whose values are extremely traditional will probably remain unchanged. Time seems to be the only answer to this problem.

Additional insight may be gained by approaching the problem from a different perspective. If the available resources are considered in terms of their potential for development, program planners will have a better indication of the areas wherein special emphasis will provide the highest probability of success.

The major resource on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation is the people. The stress of future programs might well be directed to efforts designed to expand the horizons of the people while at the same time providing the means to implement the knowledge gained in a manner that allows them to practice it in their everyday living. Complementary, multifaceted programs encompassing a variety of occupational opportunities would offer the best chances for success.

This involves much time and a considerable alteration of the envi-

ronment by providing new enterprises and fields of endeavor through bringing in more resources and capital from the non-Indian society. Such programs should embody a follow-up system whereby areas of progress and regress would be readily discovered. This, then, would provide a basis for modification of programs should evidence prove them ineffective.

The younger generation on the reservation seems to be the one that would benefit most from programs designed to facilitate transition. Efforts in this direction will probably provide the greatest positive results.

The resource next in importance is land. The ranch units offer little potential for great development in terms of over-all benefit to the entire population; however, they cannot be neglected for they do provide a living for some of the people. Efforts should be made to develop these ranches into more efficient units. The remaining land would best be used for nonagricultural enterprises.

Some form of liaison between the various Federal, State, local, religious, and private organizations operating on the Crow Creek Reservation is needed to insure against the randomized operation of each unit without adequate knowledge of the aims and plans of the other units involved. Since all of these organizations are devoted to the alleviation of problem conditions, a centralized communications and planning center which cuts across political and organizational boundaries is a necessity.