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# The Dakota Indian Community: An Analysis of the Non-Ranching Population of the Pine Ridge reservation

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1958

# THE DAKOTA INDIAN COMMUNITY



RURAL SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT  
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION  
SOUTH DAKOTA STATE COLLEGE, BROOKINGS

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# The Dakota Indian Community

## An Analysis of the Non-Ranching Population of the Pine Ridge Reservation

VERNON D. MALAN and ERNEST L. SCHUSKY\*

### I. Introduction

The non-ranching population on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is one of the most economically depressed groups in the United States. This report is an analysis of the communities on Pine Ridge in which cattle enterprises are virtually nonexistent.

It describes the population characteristics, economic conditions, and social forces in these non-ranching communities on the reservation. A final report, planned to be published as a bulletin of the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, will compare the ranching with the non-ranching populations on Pine Ridge.

*The Dakota Indian Community* is written for the reader who has some familiarity with the Pine Ridge Reservation; therefore, descriptive material on the reservation history and environment has been excluded.<sup>1</sup>

This analysis has been organized into three main subdivisions. The first section is a brief statistical analysis of the total reservation pop-

ulation based on data gathered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a 1956 reservation census. The population analysis includes age and education, occupational data, and income information.

The differences among the communities included in this study are discussed in the second subdivision. Although all of the communities were regarded as non-ranching groups, one of the surprising findings was that there are some sig-

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<sup>1</sup>Those without prior knowledge can acquire it by consulting a general work such as Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*. The history of the Dakota Indians is well documented in Scudder Mekeel, *A Short History of the Teton Dakota*, as well as two books by George Hyde—*Red Cloud's Folk* and *A Sioux Chronicle*. A more recent study, E. E. Hagan and Louis Schaw, *The Sioux on the Reservation*, contains a description of economic and social problems and a psychological analysis of the reservation people. Additional sources are listed in the bibliography at the end of this report.

nificant differences between one group and another.

#### **Social and Economic Potential**

The third part is devoted to an analysis of the social and economic potential of the total population studied. Such factors as income, education, and occupation are described as a basis for analyzing the aspirations and qualifications of the population. People desiring to farm or ranch are compared with those choosing some other source of livelihood; people expressing a desire to migrate are compared with those who wish to remain on the reservation; and people with high earned income and more acculturation are compared with those

who have low earned income and less acculturation in order to evaluate the best directions that might be taken in a community development program.

The principal conclusions are listed in a separate section at the end, although more detailed interpretations of the results will be made as they are reported.

This study has been undertaken with the cooperation and financial assistance of the Missouri River Basin Investigation Project, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, under a research contract with the Agricultural Experiment Station at South Dakota State College.

## **II. Analysis of Census Data**

The data presented in this research report were gathered for two primary reasons.

First, it is hoped that an economic development program can be launched on the Pine Ridge Reservation. For the purposes of planning such a program, information was obtained about available resources. These resources included not only evident factors such as the level and sources of income, but also the more complex things such as the aspirations of the individual.

A second purpose of the research is to indicate the need for improve-

ments that might be instituted by a community development program. The data indicate an even lower standard of living than was estimated from earlier statistics. It is evident that the non-ranching segment of the Pine Ridge population is especially in need of economic aid and that some form of assistance, either as a special program for Indians or as part of a rural development program, appears to be justified.

The first step in this research was an analysis of the census data compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1956. Age distribution,

**TABLE 1. RESIDENT POPULATION OF PINE RIDGE RESERVATION  
COMPARED WITH SOUTH DAKOTA AND THE UNITED STATES**

| Age               | Sex   |        | Total | Percent distributions |                |                |
|-------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
|                   | Male  | Female |       | PineRidge<br>1956     | South          | United         |
|                   |       |        |       |                       | Dakota<br>1950 | States<br>1950 |
| 19 and under..... | 1,800 | 1,823  | 3,623 | 49.0                  | 37.0           | 33.9           |
| 20-34 .....       | 769   | 714    | 1,483 | 20.1                  | 22.1           | 23.3           |
| 35-44 .....       | 370   | 327    | 697   | 9.4                   | 12.4           | 14.3           |
| 45-59 .....       | 418   | 409    | 827   | 11.2                  | 15.7           | 16.3           |
| 60 and over.....  | 389   | 321    | 710   | 9.6                   | 12.7           | 12.2           |
| No report .....   | 21    | 31     | 52    | 0.7                   | —              | —              |
| Totals .....      | 3,767 | 3,625  | 7,392 | 100.0                 | 99.9           | 100.0          |

education, employability, occupational qualifications, and annual cash income were summarized for the total reservation population.

#### Many Dependent Children

The analysis of the age distribution on the reservation indicated one pressing problem. The proportion of children in the dependent ages—under 20—was unusually high. Table 1 reveals that 49% of the Pine Ridge population was in this dependent age bracket while in 1950 about 37% for South Dakota and 34% for the United States were in this range. This result was evidence of the higher birth rate on the reservation, although it also may suggest a decreasing number of infant deaths.

A more detailed comparison of the Pine Ridge data with the South Dakota population is presented in the population pyramids.

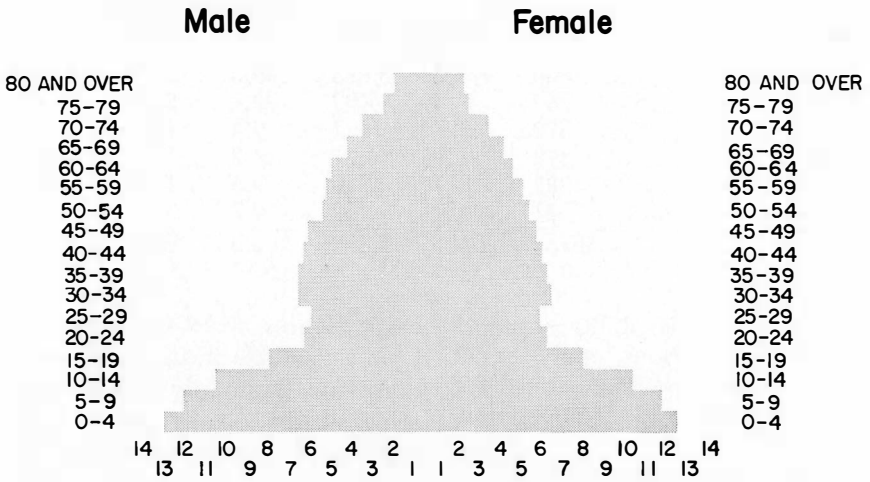
The outstanding feature of the Pine Ridge pyramid was the broad base, probably from the increasing birth rate and, although

exact figures were not available, from a decrease in the infant mortality rate. Ordinarily with the lowering of the death rate, a large population increase would be expected on the reservation. However, out-migration seems to be draining off most of the population increase. Indeed, migration from Pine Ridge appeared to be higher than in most parts of South Dakota, a state known for its high rate of out-migration.

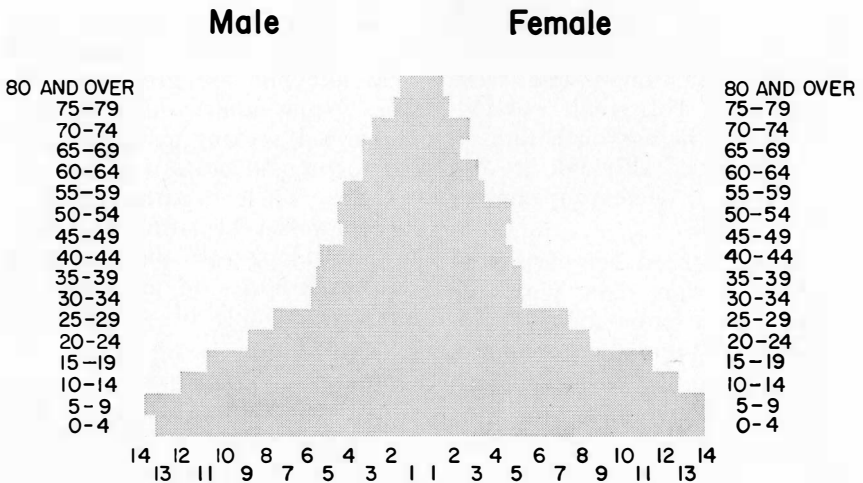
The Pine Ridge migrants took some of their children along when they left but the great majority were young adults, many of them unmarried, seeking employment in the towns and cities near the reservation. Their departure primarily compresses the middle age brackets, and along with the high birth rate, contributes to an unusually large percentage of youthful dependents.

In this one sense, then, Pine Ridge was under-populated; that is, it does not have the ratio of people in the working age range

### POPULATION PYRAMID FOR SOUTH DAKOTA



### POPULATION PYRAMID FOR PINE RIDGE RESERVATION



**TABLE 2. RESIDENT POPULATION OF PINE RIDGE RESERVATION  
BY AGE AND EDUCATION**

| Education            | Age   |           |       |           |
|----------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
|                      | 20-45 |           | 46-65 |           |
|                      | No.   | Percent   | No.   | Percent   |
| None .....           | 26    | 1.3       | 24    | 2.5       |
| 1-3 years .....      | 39    | 1.9       | 79    | 8.1       |
| 4-6 .....            | 376   | 18.2      | 388   | 39.7      |
| 7-9 .....            | 974   | 47.1      | 353   | 36.1      |
| 10-12 .....          | 569   | 27.5      | 114   | 11.7      |
| 13 and over.....     | 85    | 4.1       | 19    | 1.9       |
| Totals .....         | 2,069 | 100.1     | 977   | 100.0     |
| Median education ... |       | 8.8 years |       | 7.0 years |

that South Dakota or the nation has. This high dependency ratio must be considered in developing an economic program, even though the present state of unemployment makes it unrealistic to state that Pine Ridge is under-populated.

A second potential which must be considered in any planning is the education of the population. Often it is contended that many of the Indian problems would disappear if the Indians "became educated." This premise is widely accepted by the Indians themselves, and many of the Pine Ridge respondents in this study expressed this belief.

The statistics on educational attainment were not available to provide a completely valid comparison but when the population was divided into two age groups, it appeared that Indians born between 1915 and 1940 received an education nearly equivalent with other South Dakotans. Table 2 gives the median years of educa-

tion for Pine Ridge residents, ages 20-45, as 8.8 years. In 1950 the median education of persons over 25 years of age in South Dakota was only 8.9 years.

#### Educational Problems

In the past most of the Pine Ridge people received their education in religious missions or federally-operated boarding schools. Whether there was a difference in the quality of education between these schools and the state-operated public schools is an open question. It may be that some differences did not exist, but more important was the likelihood that Indian students lacked the encouragement and stimulation from their families usually given to non-Indian students. Educators on the reservation have not always been sufficiently aware of the influence of the Indian home and family on the child.

It would be misleading to conclude that there was equality of education for Pine Ridge children



since the educational system has not done everything possible to involve the parents in the school program.

In a recent study of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations, it was recommended that "the reservation residents should come to think of the schools as their schools; that the schools should become of greater significance to the adults of the community than they are and the adults of significance to the educational program of the schools."<sup>2</sup>

### High Unemployment

The third major resource of the Pine Ridge population which any planning must take into account is employability. Considering the large proportion of persons in the dependency age range, the number of adult residents who were fully employable was relatively low. The out-migration factor operates to select many of the able-bodied residents, while the physically handicapped and unemploy-

**TABLE 3. EMPLOYABILITY OF THE ADULT RESIDENTS OF PINE RIDGE RESERVATION**

|                                   | Employability |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------|
|                                   | No.           | Percent |
| Fully employable ..               | 2,035         | 51.4    |
| Females with minor children ..... | 885           | 22.4    |
| Handicapped .....                 | 793           | 20.0    |
| Unemployable .....                | 151           | 3.8     |
| No report .....                   | 95            | 2.4     |
| Totals .....                      | 3,959         | 100.0   |

<sup>2</sup>E. E. Hagan and Louis Schaw, *The Sioux on the Reservation*, pp. 6-15.

**TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF PINE RIDGE FAMILY HEADS\***

|                                   | Qualifications |         |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------|
|                                   | No.            | Percent |
| Professional and managerial ..... | 55             | 2.1     |
| Clerical and sales..              | 69             | 2.6     |
| Service .....                     | 261            | 10.0    |
| Agricultural occupations .....    | 908            | 34.9    |
| Skilled and semi-skilled .....    | 314            | 12.1    |
| Unskilled .....                   | 26             | 1.0     |
| No report .....                   | 973            | 37.3    |
| Totals .....                      | 2,606          | 100.0   |

\*Data from Bureau of Indian Affairs Census, 1956.

able remain on the reservation to swell the unemployed and dependent population. The distribution of the Pine Ridge population, 20 years and older, by employability is presented in table 3.

Unfortunately detailed comparisons with the United States census data for employability were not possible because the 1950 census enumerated the number of persons 14 years of age and older in the labor force. This percentage (53.5) included the 14 to 19 age bracket, but it excluded many young people in this age group who were housewives or those who were still completing their education. The Bureau of Indian Affairs census did not include the age group from 14 to 19. Nevertheless, it seemed certain that the employability of Pine Ridge residents was lower than that for the total United States population.

The accuracy of the data in table

4 must be considered questionable because there was a tendency for respondents to overestimate their qualifications and there was a relatively large number of persons for whom there was no report. It seems likely that many of those who failed to respond should have been included in the unskilled category. This table should be considered only as a rough guide to the picture of occupational qualifications among the Pine Ridge people.

It was also impossible to determine from these data the level of skill necessary for agricultural employment which was the primary occupational source for about one-third of the family heads. It seems unlikely that more than one-third of these resident family heads were qualified to hold jobs above the unskilled level even if the reporting approaches accuracy.

**Training Needed**

One of the best indices of the need

**TABLE 5. OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT PINE RIDGE FAMILY HEADS**

| Occupations                       | Positions Held |         |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------|
|                                   | No.            | Percent |
| Agricultural workers.....         | 557            | 21.4    |
| Unskilled .....                   | 136            | 5.2     |
| Federal employees                 | 129            | 5.0     |
| Armed forces .....                | 120            | 4.6     |
| Skilled and semi-skilled .....    | 101            | 3.9     |
| Service workers.....              | 44             | 1.7     |
| Professional and managerial ..... | 28             | 1.1     |
| Tribal employees.....             | 26             | 1.0     |
| Not working .....                 | 1,379          | 52.9    |
| No report .....                   | 73             | 2.8     |
| Totals .....                      | 2,606          | 100.0   |

for some kind of economic development program was evident from a comparison of these qualifications with the present occupations of the Pine Ridge family heads.

Comparison of the figures in tables 4 and 5 revealed that only half of those with professional qualifications were actually employed in professional and managerial positions and only one-third of the family heads with skilled or semi-skilled occupational qualifications were so employed.

Comparisons between the occupational preparation of Pine Ridge and South Dakota residents were not fully possible. The Pine Ridge census combined some groups with levels of work preparation which were considered separately in the state statistics. Nevertheless, some rough comparisons could be made. These readily showed that the occupational levels of the Pine Ridge residents were much lower than for the state.

The family heads on the Pine Ridge Reservation were underrepresented in each of the occupation groups listed in table 6. This

**TABLE 6. COMPARISON OF PINE RIDGE AND SOUTH DAKOTA OCCUPATIONS**

| Occupations                       | Pine Ridge % | South Dakota % |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Professional and managerial ..... | 1.1          | 15.9           |
| Clerical .....                    | .5           | 13.3           |
| Service .....                     | 1.7          | 7.6            |
| Government employees .....        | 5.0          | 10.8           |
| Unemployed .....                  | 52.9         | 2.7            |

was particularly astonishing in categories such as clerical and sales workers and government employees since many young people trained for clerical jobs did not hold these positions.

#### Half of Family Heads Not Working

Considering the importance attached to preparation for federal government positions by educated Pine Ridge youth, the lack of employment in such jobs was even more noticeable. The most invidious comparison, however, reveals the great disparity between Pine Ridge and South Dakota in the unemployed category. Underemployment on the reservation must be considered an extremely serious problem when over one-half of all family heads were not working.

The occupational structure of the reservation, of course, greatly affects the annual cash income of the Pine Ridge families. Another index of the need for some program of economic development is summarized in the income data presented in table 7.

The average annual cash income

**TABLE 7. ANNUAL CASH INCOME OF RESIDENT PINE RIDGE FAMILY HEADS**

| Annual income | Families |         |
|---------------|----------|---------|
|               | No.      | Percent |
| 0- 499        | 776      | 29.8    |
| 500- 999      | 750      | 28.8    |
| 1,000-1,499   | 393      | 15.1    |
| 1,500-1,999   | 200      | 7.7     |
| 2,000-5,000   | 363      | 13.9    |
| Over 5,000    | 63       | 2.4     |
| No report     | 61       | 2.3     |
| Totals        | 2,606    | 100.0   |

for Pine Ridge family heads (\$1,110) is somewhat misleading since a small number of individuals with incomes of over \$10,000 have undue influence on the average. Some of these high incomes were obtained from land sales and would be unusually high only for the one particular year.

A more accurate picture of the family income was portrayed in the following comparisons: (1) 59% of Pine Ridge families had incomes under \$1,000, while only 15% of South Dakota families had such low incomes, and (2) 16% of South Dakota families in 1950 had incomes over \$5,000, but in 1956 only 2% of the Pine Ridge families had such incomes. It was undoubtedly true that the difference between Pine Ridge and South Dakota incomes was even greater than indicated because of the increased prosperity during this 6-year period.

#### Housing Extremely Poor

The physical evidence of extreme poverty in the families on the Pine Ridge Reservation can be easily anticipated. The housing in the Pine Ridge communities was generally so inadequate that it offered only minimum shelter against the severe South Dakota winters. Many of the people living under these conditions of dire rural poverty may well be suffering from nutritional deficiencies resulting from lack of basic dietary needs.

The families with the lowest income levels have the least opportunity for migrating to more prosperous areas where they might be able to find employment because



Much of the housing in Pine Ridge communities is inadequate for winter.

they are usually least equipped with the resources required of the successful migrant. They frequently lacked the education and occupational training needed, and perhaps even more important, the financial resources necessary to supply their physical needs and transportation during the migration.

Their situation appeared to lend support to the sociological princi-

ple that families living in communities of extreme poverty, but adequate social cohesion based on tradition, were least likely to manifest a desire for social or geographical mobility. If this conclusion is valid, greater urgency is attached to the inauguration of an economic development program which will permit these communities to raise their economic level.<sup>3</sup>

### III. Analysis of Non-Ranching Communities

The sample taken for this study was selected from the non-ranching Indian residents on the Pine Ridge Reservation who were enrolled in the tribe. The two main groups excluded from the sample were: (1) the ranching population of the reservation except for a few individuals operating on a small

scale, and (2) the nonresident tribal enrollees living more or less permanently in communities located outside the reservation bounda-

<sup>3</sup>Gordon Macgregor, "Indian Education in Relation to the Social and Economic Background of the Reservation," in *The Changing Indian*, edited by Oliver La Fange, pp. 116-127.

ries. The families selected for interviewing were settled in nine communities scattered over the reservation. The locations of these communities are outlined on the map on page 13.

On the basis of the information available in the Bureau of Indian Affairs census, these communities were regarded as representative of the non-ranching Pine Ridge population. The nature of the research design made it desirable to attempt to interview all of the families in a community rather than a random sample of the entire non-ranching population. The community was a convenient social unit for observing patterns of social interaction such as visiting, sharing, and leadership. Differences between the levels of economic development in the communities should also be helpful in planning programs suitable to the needs of each distinctive group. This sampling procedure also made it possible to obtain a larger number of schedules within the limits of the time and money available for the study.

#### Tribe Members Interviewed

The questionnaire was designed to gain additional information regarding the present social and economic conditions in the non-ranching communities, the aspirations of the Indian people, and the likelihood that proposed programs for raising the economic and social level of the Pine Ridge families would achieve their purposes.

An enrolled member of the

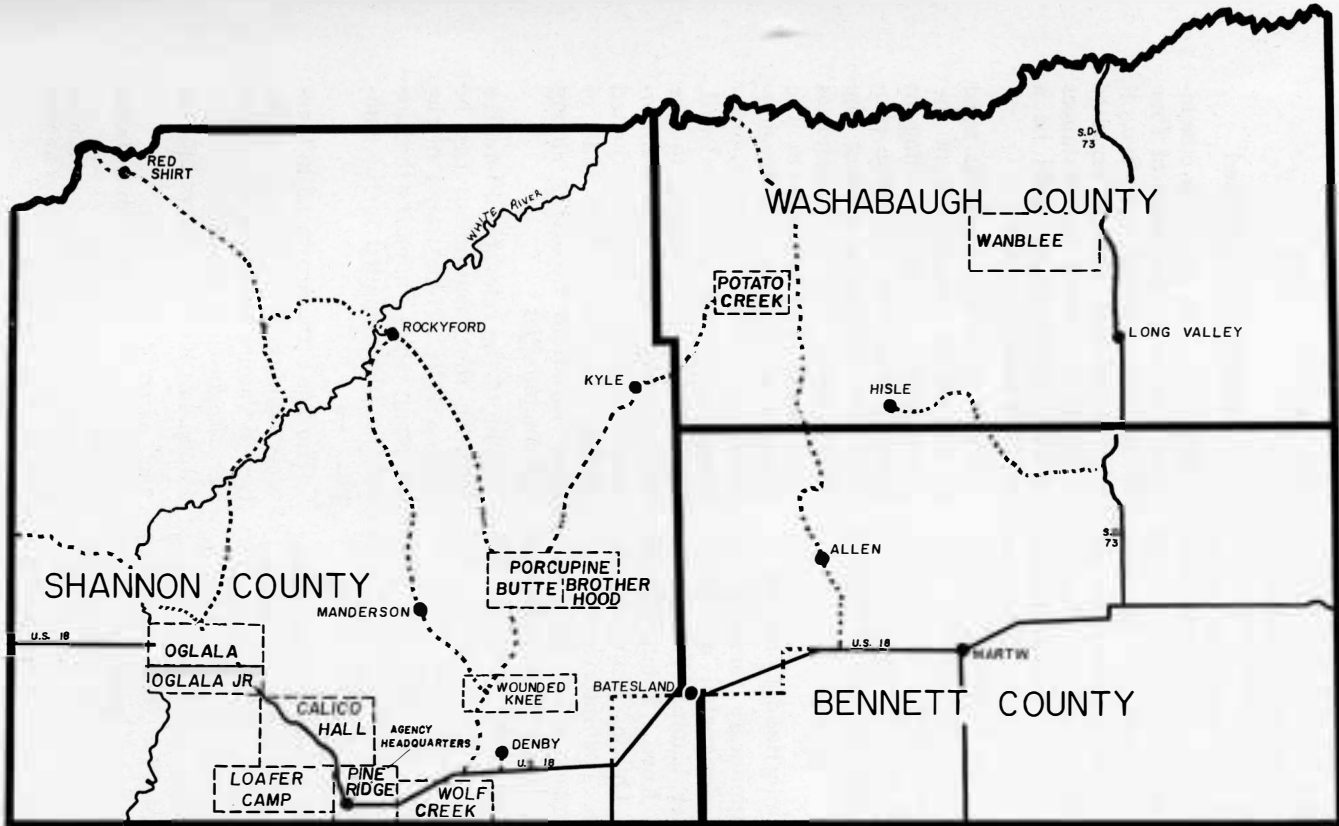
tribe residing on the reservation was trained to administer the questionnaire, and including the schedules obtained in the pre-test, the interviewer was able to secure usable schedules from 225 families. This number represents approximately 10% of the 2,600 resident families, and since ranching families were not included in this total, it represents more than 10% of the non-ranching families.

In order to check the reliability of the data gathered by the interviewer, several respondents were revisited by one of the project leaders. As a further check on reliability, it was possible to compare some of the information with research compiled by the Institute of Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota. In 1958 a member of its staff surveyed one of the communities which was included in the sample for this study. The nature of the data made it possible to make extensive checks and there were no significant variations in the findings of the two studies.

#### Less Ranching Among "Full-Bloods"

The nine communities surveyed were for the most part what Macgregor calls "full-blood" communities.<sup>4</sup> They differ from the other reservation communities primarily in the lack of involvement in ranching operations. These communities were originally started in the 1880's when the migratory kinship bands (*tiyospaye*) were required to settle

<sup>4</sup>Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons*, p. 65.



**LEGEND**

- DISTRICTS
- U.S. & S.D. HIWAYS
- SECONDARY HIWAYS
- TOWNS
- COUNTY LINES

on the land and engage in small-scale farming.

Most of these new camps did not develop into permanent settlements and gradually individual families were encouraged to build houses on their land holdings along the rivers and creeks. Today most of the full-blood communities are in the southern half of Shannon County with a few scattered ones in Washabaugh County. The main features of these communities have been described more fully by Macgregor,<sup>5</sup> and Malan has given a detailed analysis of social organization in an isolated traditional community.<sup>6</sup>

#### Most Family Heads Contacted

The communities surveyed are commonly designated as: Calico Hall, Loafer Camp, Wolf Creek, Wounded Knee, Potato Creek, Porcupine, Oglala, Wanblee, and Pine Ridge. The interviewer was able to contact all of the family heads permanently residing in these communities except in the cases of Porcupine, Wanblee, and Pine Ridge. These three communities are unusually large and complicated by division into varying neighborhoods, groups, and factions.

The eastern half of Porcupine, consisting of the Butte and Brotherhood neighborhoods, was sampled. In Wanblee every other household head was interviewed and in the town of Pine Ridge nineteen randomly selected household heads were interviewed, but unfortunately, not enough was known about the town to determine whether

this sample was truly representative.

#### Separate Study Advised

Since any comparisons or conclusions relative to the town of Pine Ridge must remain tentative, it is recommended that a separate study of the unique circumstances in this agency town would be a valuable research project.

While the major emphasis must be placed on the analysis of the total sample, it was revealing to discover that there are some considerable differences among the communities. These differences were especially relevant to the planning of an economic development program. If a single comprehensive program is to be developed, it should be flexible enough to take into account community differences. Previous program-oriented studies have taken little note of these variations occurring among the communities.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the relevant differences between the communities can be more vividly demonstrated in the following tables comparing the nine communities included in the sample.

The age structure in table 8 reveals some differences in the number of family heads in the three age categories. Calico Hall, for example, has a larger percentage of

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 66-77.

<sup>6</sup>Vernon D. Malan, *The Dakota Indian Family*.

<sup>7</sup>Gagan and Schaw, *op. cit.*, for example, propose a program which makes no note of community variations.

**TABLE 8. COMPARISON OF AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY COMMUNITY**

| Communities        | 20-39 |         | Age<br>40-59 |         | 60 and over |         |
|--------------------|-------|---------|--------------|---------|-------------|---------|
|                    | No.   | Percent | No.          | Percent | No.         | Percent |
| Calico Hall .....  | 15    | 34.1    | 16           | 36.4    | 13          | 29.6    |
| Loafer Camp .....  | 7     | 33.4    | 6            | 28.5    | 8           | 38.0    |
| Wolf Creek .....   | 3     | 23.1    | 5            | 38.5    | 5           | 38.5    |
| Wounded Knee ..... | 5     | 17.9    | 11           | 39.3    | 12          | 42.9    |
| Potato Creek ..... | 1     | 16.7    | 2            | 33.3    | 3           | 50.0    |
| Porcupine .....    | 12    | 27.9    | 15           | 34.9    | 16          | 37.2    |
| Oglala .....       | 6     | 26.0    | 11           | 47.8    | 6           | 26.0    |
| Wanblee .....      | 4     | 16.0    | 12           | 48.0    | 9           | 36.0    |
| Pine Ridge .....   | 13    | 68.4    | 5            | 26.4    | 1           | 5.3     |
| Totals .....       | 66    | 29.8    | 83           | 37.4    | 73          | 32.9    |

**TABLE 9. COMPARISON OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY COMMUNITY**

| Community          | Employed |         | Aged or<br>disabled |         | Unemployed |         |
|--------------------|----------|---------|---------------------|---------|------------|---------|
|                    | No.      | Percent | No.                 | Percent | No.        | Percent |
| Calico Hall .....  | 39       | 88.6    | 1                   | 2.3     | 4          | 9.1     |
| Loafer Camp .....  | 7        | 33.3    | 6                   | 28.6    | 8          | 38.1    |
| Wolf Creek .....   | 7        | 53.8    | 3                   | 23.1    | 3          | 23.1    |
| Wounded Knee ..... | 14       | 46.7    | 10                  | 33.3    | 6          | 20.0    |
| Potato Creek ..... | 4        | 66.7    | 2                   | 33.3    | 0          | 00.0    |
| Porcupine .....    | 20       | 46.5    | 10                  | 23.3    | 13         | 30.2    |
| Oglala .....       | 13       | 56.5    | 4                   | 17.4    | 6          | 26.1    |
| Wanblee .....      | 11       | 44.0    | 7                   | 28.0    | 7          | 28.0    |
| Pine Ridge .....   | 14       | 73.6    | 1                   | 5.3     | 4          | 21.1    |
| Totals .....       | 129      | 57.6    | 44                  | 19.6    | 51         | 22.8    |

young adults and fewer people over 60 than most of the other communities. This community thus has more of its members in the employable age group than some others which have nearly half of their members in the dependent-age range. The differences in age are reflected in the analysis of employment in table 9.

The greatest difference was between Calico Hall with nearly 90% of the family heads employed and Loafer Camp with only one-third

employed. The larger proportion of aged and disabled appears to have been a significant factor in a number of the communities, particularly in Loafer Camp, Wounded Knee, and Wanblee. The record of employment in this sample appears to be better than for the reservation as a whole (see table 6), but it must be remembered that this sample consists of family heads interviewed in the spring when seasonal work was available.

Many factors influenced the em-



ployment situation on the reservation, and emphasizing the major differences between communities merely describes the situation and does not necessarily explain the reasons for these differences. For instance, the experience which family heads have had with cattle operations would provide a resource that could be utilized in a ranching program. The evidence from table 10 indicates that less than half of the family heads have had any experience which might qualify them for this type of employment.

#### Experience Varies

While only one family in seventeen in this sample owned cattle at the present time, more than one family in every three has had previous experience with cattle ownership. Again the community variations are considerable. In communities such as Loafer Camp, Wolf Creek, and Oglala more than half of the families have owned cattle; at the same time, 70% of the families in Wounded Knee are

without any ownership experience.

Education has previously been discussed as an important resource in any economic program, and again the communities demonstrate definite variations. In Calico Hall and Oglala over 40% of the household heads had more than an eighth grade education, while in Wounded Knee and Porcupine less than 20% have received any high school training. In the total sample, the educational level averaged about seven years of school completed by each family head. This was below the median of approximately the eighth grade completed for the majority of the reservation adult residents (see table 2). Fifteen percent of the respondents in this study had completed less than five grades, slightly over half had completed from five to eight grades, and about one-third had attended high school.

Differences in age, occupation, ownership, and education are reflected in the present economic level in the communities. The var-

**TABLE 10. COMPARISON OF CATTLE OWNERSHIP BY COMMUNITY**

| Community          | Families now<br>owning cattle |         | Families once<br>owning cattle |         | Families<br>never<br>owning cattle |         |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|---------|
|                    | No.                           | Percent | No.                            | Percent | No.                                | Percent |
| Calico Hall .....  | 6                             | 13.6    | 12                             | 27.3    | 26                                 | 59.1    |
| Loafer Camp .....  | 0                             | 00.0    | 11                             | 52.4    | 10                                 | 47.6    |
| Wolf Creek .....   | 3                             | 23.1    | 6                              | 46.2    | 4                                  | 30.7    |
| Wounded Knee ..... | 0                             | 00.0    | 9                              | 29.0    | 22                                 | 71.0    |
| Potato Creek ..... | 0                             | 00.0    | 1                              | 16.7    | 5                                  | 83.3    |
| Porcupine .....    | 1                             | 2.3     | 13                             | 30.3    | 29                                 | 67.4    |
| Oglala .....       | 1                             | 4.3     | 12                             | 52.2    | 10                                 | 43.5    |
| Wanblee .....      | 2                             | 8.0     | 7                              | 28.0    | 16                                 | 64.0    |
| Pine Ridge .....   | 0                             | 0.0     | 6                              | 31.6    | 13                                 | 68.4    |
| Totals .....       | 13                            | 6.7     | 77                             | 34.7    | 135                                | 58.6    |

**TABLE 11. COMPARISON OF EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY COMMUNITY**

| Community           | Years of Education |             |            |             |           |             |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
|                     | 0-4                |             | 5-8        |             | 9-12      |             |
|                     | No.                | Percent     | No.        | Percent     | No.       | Percent     |
| Calico Hall .....   | 2                  | 4.6         | 24         | 54.5        | 18        | 40.9        |
| Loafer Camp .....   | 3                  | 14.3        | 11         | 52.4        | 7         | 33.3        |
| Wolf Creek .....    | 2                  | 15.4        | 7          | 53.9        | 4         | 30.7        |
| Wounded Knee .....  | 10                 | 32.3        | 17         | 54.8        | 4         | 12.9        |
| Potato Creek .....  | 3                  | 50.0        | 3          | 50.0        | 0         | 00.0        |
| Porcupine .....     | 7                  | 16.3        | 29         | 67.4        | 7         | 16.3        |
| Oglala .....        | 3                  | 13.0        | 10         | 43.5        | 10        | 43.5        |
| Wanblee .....       | 3                  | 12.0        | 15         | 60.0        | 7         | 28.0        |
| Pine Ridge .....    | 1                  | 5.3         | 3          | 15.8        | 15        | 78.9        |
| <b>Totals .....</b> | <b>34</b>          | <b>15.1</b> | <b>119</b> | <b>52.9</b> | <b>72</b> | <b>32.0</b> |

iation among these groups in regard to family income is well illustrated in the following statistics which demonstrate that none of the communities have reached an economic level comparable with most rural areas of the United States.

#### Mean Income Less Than \$2,000

Excluding Pine Ridge, in which the sample was probably biased, the yearly incomes averaged highest in the Wolf Creek community. The mean income was very close to the median, indicating a narrower range of incomes than in most of the other communities. Even here, however, half of the families had incomes of less than \$2,000 per year.

At the other extreme, excluding Potato Creek in which the sample was very small, was the Oglala community with a mean income of \$1533 per family. The Porcupine community, at the same time, had more extremely low income families indicated by the fact that the median was \$1110 and half

of the families were below this figure. The range of incomes was greatest in this community because of the one high income of \$18,000 resulting largely from sale of land.

Not only does table 12 show considerable differences among the communities but what was even more striking was the wide range of incomes in each community. One family in Loafer Camp reported that it had received no cash income in the past 12 months. The respondent claimed that the family had subsisted on surplus commodities and what other goods relatives and friends had given them. The interviewer carefully probed two or three cases such as this but could find no evidence of any cash income.

In this same community another family had a cash income of \$7300 from wages and sale of livestock, and any economic development program would have to be capable of modification in order to take into consideration the limited number of cases in which the income has been adequate.

### Lower Median Than Mean Incomes

Additional analysis of income figures will be presented later, but one more point should be made here. In table 12, below, all of the communities have lower median than mean incomes. This results from the fact that a few individuals with very high incomes have an undue influence on the mean, and average income was therefore somewhat misleading.

The median figures and range provided a more accurate economic picture but a further refinement gave an even better estimate. In

table 13 family income has been computed on the basis of earned income—gross receipts from the sale of crops and livestock, from leases and rentals, and from wages.

In an earlier section (see table 7) the average annual cash income for all Pine Ridge families was listed as \$1,110; the median income for the reservation population was given in the census as \$850. The comparable figures given in table 12 for this study suggested that the non-ranching communities which were surveyed were economically better off than the

**TABLE 12. COMPARISON OF YEARLY INCOME PER FAMILY BY COMMUNITY**

| Community             | Yearly income per family |         |              |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------|--------------|
|                       | Mean                     | Median  | Range        |
| Calico Hall .....     | \$1,967                  | \$1,309 | \$ 68-13,120 |
| Loafer Camp .....     | 1,628                    | 1,175   | 0- 7,300     |
| Wolf Creek .....      | 2,240                    | 2,026   | 600- 4,150   |
| Wounded Knee .....    | 1,701                    | 1,299   | 332- 5,190   |
| Potato Creek .....    | 1,073                    | 938     | 700- 1,996   |
| Porcupine .....       | 2,120                    | 1,110   | 7-18,000     |
| Oglala .....          | 1,533                    | 1,208   | 32- 4,500    |
| Wanblee .....         | 1,604                    | 1,437   | 187- 5,200   |
| Pine Ridge .....      | 2,608                    | 2,300   | 0- 7,500     |
| All respondents ..... | \$1,830                  | \$1,422 | \$ 0-18,000  |

**TABLE 13. COMPARISON OF EARNED INCOME BY COMMUNITY**

| Community             | Yearly earned income per family |        |           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------|-----------|
|                       | Mean                            | Median | Range     |
| Calico Hall .....     | \$1,154                         | \$ 785 | \$0-4,055 |
| Loafer Camp .....     | 837                             | 300    | 0-7,300   |
| Wolf Creek .....      | 1,090                           | 600    | 0-3,150   |
| Wounded Knee .....    | 717                             | 450    | 0-3,490   |
| Potato Creek .....    | 522                             | 591    | 0-1,000   |
| Porcupine .....       | 613                             | 450    | 0-3,600   |
| Oglala .....          | 1,230                           | 600    | 0-3,700   |
| Wanblee .....         | 791                             | 321    | 0-5,200   |
| Pine Ridge .....      | 2,467                           | 2,300  | 0-7,500   |
| All respondents ..... | \$1,029                         | \$ 712 | \$0-7,500 |

rest of the Pine Ridge residents. However, much of the income for these non-ranching families was from land sales and welfare. Land sales accounted for most of the individuals with the highest incomes. Likewise, it should be noted that when just earned income was analyzed, the wages of a few individuals with steady employment raised the mean; the median revealed an almost unbelievably low income.

**Community Differences Meaningful**

While all of the averages were low, community differences were still significant. Oglala, for instance, had a mean annual earned income which was more than double that of Porcupine and the median annual earned income in Calico Hall was well over twice as high as in Loafer Camp and Wanblee. The average earned income of all respondents (\$1029) and especially the median earned income (\$712) suggested that there was limited

opportunity for gainful employment on the reservation.

In view of the large number of low income families included in this study (nearly 70% had earned incomes under \$1000 per year), the question was asked regarding the aspirations of the respondents. "Suppose you could work at any kind of job you wanted. What would you want to do?" The replies are summarized in table 14 for each community.

Variations in aspirations from one community to another were undoubtedly influenced by some of the other characteristics of the population. For example, less than 5% of the family heads had aspirations for professional positions but in Pine Ridge more than one-fourth of the respondents had a desire for professional training. Another consideration was the number of aged and disabled family heads in such communities as Loafer Camp and Wanblee where

**TABLE 14. COMPARISON OF WORK PREFERENCES OF EMPLOYABLE PERSONS BY COMMUNITY**

| Community          | Ranching |         | Wage preference<br>Farming |         | Wage<br>employment* |         |
|--------------------|----------|---------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
|                    | No.      | Percent | No.                        | Percent | No.                 | Percent |
| Calico Hall .....  | 8        | 27.6    | 7                          | 24.1    | 14                  | 48.3    |
| Loafer Camp .....  | 1        | 10.0    | 4                          | 40.0    | 5                   | 50.0    |
| Wolf Creek .....   | 4        | 66.6    | 1                          | 16.7    | 1                   | 16.7    |
| Wounded Knee ..... | 2        | 16.7    | 3                          | 25.0    | 7                   | 58.3    |
| Potato Creek ..... | 0        | 0.0     | 2                          | 33.3    | 1                   | 16.7    |
| Porcupine .....    | 5        | 16.7    | 10                         | 33.3    | 15                  | 50.0    |
| Oglala .....       | 7        | 43.8    | 6                          | 37.5    | 3                   | 18.7    |
| Wanblee .....      | 2        | 16.7    | 1                          | 8.3     | 9                   | 75.0    |
| Pine Ridge .....   | 3        | 23.1    | 1                          | 7.7     | 9                   | 69.2    |
| Totals .....       | 32       | 24.4    | 35                         | 26.7    | 64                  | 48.9    |

\*Wage employment includes jobs such as construction work, skilled labor, services, factory, and office work.

**TABLE 15. COMPARISON OF USE OF PER-CAPITA PAYMENTS  
BY COMMUNITY**

| Community          | Farming or<br>ranching |         | Would invest in<br>Job training<br>or business |         | Home<br>improvement |         |
|--------------------|------------------------|---------|--|---------|---------------------|---------|
|                    | No.                    | Percent | No.  | Percent | No.                 | Percent |
| Calico Hall .....  | 38                     | 77.5    | 5  | 10.2    | 6                   | 12.3*   |
| Loafer Camp .....  | 15                     | 62.5    | 2  | 8.3     | 7                   | 29.2    |
| Wolf Creek .....   | 8                      | 72.7    | 0  | 0.0     | 3                   | 27.3    |
| Wounded Knee ..... | 15                     | 51.7    | 4  | 13.8    | 10                  | 34.5    |
| Porcupine .....    | 25                     | 58.1    | 7  | 16.3    | 11                  | 25.6    |
| Potato Creek ..... | 4                      | 50.0    | 0  | 0.0     | 4                   | 50.0    |
| Wanblee .....      | 14                     | 77.8    | 0  | 0.0     | 4                   | 22.2    |
| Oglala .....       | 8                      | 44.4    | 1  | 5.6     | 9                   | 59.0    |
| Pine Ridge .....   | 5                      | 35.7    | 7  | 50.0    | 2                   | 14.3    |
| Totals .....       | 132                    | 61.7    | 26   | 12.1    | 56                  | 26.2    |

\*The number of responses for each community may exceed the number of family heads replying to the questionnaire because some individuals gave more than one choice, or they may be less because a few gave no choice. There were a scattering of attitudes which could not be classified in one of these three categories and were excluded from this table.

nearly half of the potential providers for the family are unemployable. In comparison Oglala has nearly three-fourths of the family heads capable of entering the labor force. Pine Ridge would appear to have even better potential but the sample bias makes this conclusion questionable.

#### Choices Surprising

The work preferences for farming in Oglala and Porcupine were surprising in view of the fact that economic plans for Pine Ridge have usually ignored this possibility. The characteristics of the household heads who indicated a preference for farming will be given attention in the next section.

When the question was asked: "If a per capita payment was made, how would you use your share of the money?" certain differences in

attitudes between the communities became apparent.

The prevailing attitude was that money received from per capita payments should be invested in activities which offered little opportunity for financial returns. Most of the respondents investing in farming or ranching were concerned about modest efforts to provide for their daily needs and usually anticipated buying a few cows, chickens, or pigs if they received a per capita payment. Home improvement was the concern of about one-fourth of the family heads, while a minority, including most of the better educated and having the best living conditions, wished to invest in job training or business. Ranching and farming were most desired in Calico Hall, Wolf Creek, and Wanblee;

home improvement was most popular in Oglala; and job training and business got the best response in the biased sample of Pine Ridge residents.

#### Summary

In summary, this analysis of differences among the communities emphasizes the need for a flexible plan which can be modified to fit various situations existing on the reservation. However, it would be most expensive and time consum-

ing to attempt to study and analyze each of the Pine Ridge communities in order that detailed plans could be drawn for each group. Instead, the needs of differing groups and families could be met if the local people were directly involved in planning the program and were largely responsible for program operations. These people would automatically take into account the differences if there was sufficient flexibility in the administrative organization.

## IV. Analysis of the Social and Economic Potential of Non-Ranching Population

### Characteristics of Non-Ranchers

The respondents may be considered representative of the non-ranching population on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The average age, education, and income of the respondents was typical of most Pine Ridge residents. This statement requires certain qualifications since the communities demonstrated differences as indicated in the previous section of this report, but when the sample was considered as a whole, the distribution of these traits was assumed to be representative of other families living in similar communities on the Indian reservations in South Dakota.

There were 225 family heads in the total sample, 37 (16.5%) of these heads were females, and 74 (32.9%)

were over 60 years of age. Counting only males under 60 years of age, the result was 128 family heads or only 56.9% of the total population. Thus the male working force was relatively small when just the younger male family heads were considered.

One possible reason for the under-representation of family heads in the working age group was the fact that the field worker was unable to contact families engaged in transient labor at the time of the interviewing. In the Potato Creek community, for example, he reported that three male family heads, away "planting trees in the Black Hills", were unavailable. Likewise, he may have missed a small number of men from the other communities who were

TABLE 16. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY HEADS AND THEIR WIVES

| Age groups        | Family heads |         | Wives |         | Totals |         |
|-------------------|--------------|---------|-------|---------|--------|---------|
|                   | No.          | Percent | No.   | Percent | No.    | Percent |
| 19 and under..... | 0            | 0.0     | 3     | 2.0     | 3      | 0.8     |
| 20-34 .....       | 40           | 17.8    | 40    | 26.5    | 80     | 21.3    |
| 35-44 .....       | 50           | 22.2    | 38    | 25.2    | 88     | 23.4    |
| 45-59 .....       | 61           | 27.1    | 43    | 28.4    | 104    | 27.6    |
| 60 and over.....  | 74           | 32.9    | 27    | 17.9    | 101    | 26.9    |
| Totals .....      | 225          | 100.0   | 151   | 100.0   | 376    | 100.0   |
| Average age ..... | 50.5         |         | 43.9  |         | 46.7   |         |

engaged in seasonal agricultural labor in Nebraska.

#### 50 Is Average Age

The average age of the people interviewed was slightly more than 50 years, indicating that the non-ranching group tended to be older than most family heads on the reservation. In the 1956 census the average age of all heads was about 43 years (see table 1). The wives in this study averaged almost 44 years of age, and nearly 18% of these spouses were over 60 years of age.

It was not possible to make exact comparisons between husbands and wives on the basis of the above table since the family heads included 37 females who had no husbands. There was an equal number of male family heads who were not married. Nearly half of the respondents who lacked a spouse were over 60 years of age and most of these were widows or widowers whose children had established families of their own. The significant fact suggested by these age data was that the older family heads were probably over-represented in the sample.

The average size of the house-

hold was 4.76 persons; the average family size was 3.72, and there was an average of 2.68 children per family. If the children were divided into those over and under 5 years of age, more than half of the families had no children under 5 and nearly a third had no older children.

#### Many Non-Family Adults

The size of the household is, of course, influenced by the large proportion of unmarried family heads included in the study. Non-family adults were found to be living in one-fourth of the households, and in the majority of cases, they were not close relatives of the family head.

Regular families, composed of husband-wife or husband-wife and children, comprised only 47.1% of the cases. Irregular households were those which could not be classified in any of the regular categories. There were nearly one-third of the households in the irregular classification indicating that the family groupings were influenced by survivals from more traditional kinship organization.

Considering the older age of the family heads interviewed, their ed-

TABLE 17. SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

| Number of persons | Single males |     | Single females |     | Husband-wife |     | Husband-wife-children |      | Mother-children |     | Father-children |     | Irregular |      | Households |       |
|-------------------|--------------|-----|----------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------------------|------|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------|------|------------|-------|
|                   | No.          | %   | No.            | %   | No.          | %   | No.                   | %    | No.             | %   | No.             | %   | No.       | %    | No.        | %     |
| 1 .....           | 18           | 8.0 | 6              | 2.7 | ---          | --- | ---                   | ---  | ---             | --- | ---             | --- | ---       | ---  | 24         | 10.7  |
| 2 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | 16           | 7.1 | ---                   | ---  | 2               | 0.9 | 2               | 0.9 | 7         | 3.1  | 27         | 12.0  |
| 3 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 17                    | 7.5  | 4               | 1.8 | ---             | --- | 7         | 3.1  | 28         | 12.4  |
| 4 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 14                    | 6.2  | 2               | 0.9 | 1               | 0.4 | 11        | 4.9  | 28         | 12.4  |
| 5 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 13                    | 5.8  | 5               | 2.2 | 1               | 0.4 | 14        | 6.2  | 33         | 14.6  |
| 6 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 14                    | 6.2  | 2               | 0.9 | 2               | 0.9 | 15        | 6.6  | 33         | 14.6  |
| 7 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 10                    | 4.5  | 1               | 0.4 | ---             | --- | 6         | 2.7  | 17         | 7.6   |
| 8 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 12                    | 5.4  | ---             | --- | ---             | --- | 5         | 2.2  | 17         | 7.6   |
| 9 .....           | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 5                     | 2.2  | ---             | --- | ---             | --- | 5         | 2.2  | 10         | 4.4   |
| 10 or more .....  | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | 5                     | 2.2  | ---             | --- | ---             | --- | 3         | 1.3  | 8          | 3.5   |
| Totals .....      | 18           | 8.0 | 6              | 2.7 | 16           | 7.1 | 90                    | 40.0 | 16              | 7.1 | 6               | 2.7 | 73        | 32.4 | 225        | 100.0 |
| Mean size .....   | ---          | --- | ---            | --- | ---          | --- | ---                   | 5.7  | ---             | --- | ---             | --- | 5.4       | ---  | ---        | 4.7   |

TABLE 18. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF ADULTS

| Years of education      | Family heads |         | Wives     |         | Other adults |         |
|-------------------------|--------------|---------|-----------|---------|--------------|---------|
|                         | No.          | Percent | No.       | Percent | No.          | Percent |
| 0-4 .....               | 33           | 15.0    | 24        | 16.1    | 12           | 21.1    |
| 5-8 .....               | 116          | 52.7    | 71        | 47.6    | 27           | 43.9    |
| 9-12 .....              | 69           | 31.4    | 51        | 34.2    | 19           | 33.3    |
| Over 12 .....           | 2            | 0.9     | 3         | 2.1     | 1            | 1.7     |
| Totals .....            | 220          | 100.0   | 149       | 100.0   | 59           | 100.0   |
| Average education ..... | 7.5 years    |         | 7.5 years |         | 7.4 years    |         |



ucation appeared to be superior to the general educational level reported in the 1956 census. The figures were about the same when only the 20-45 age bracket was considered. The older respondents in this study may have exaggerated their educational achievements slightly. The Bureau of Indian Affairs information may be more accurate since it was based on official school records.

The statistics on education in table 18 revealed similar educational attainments for family heads, their wives, and other adults living in non-ranching households. Since the education of these non-family adults did not differ significantly from either the husband or wife, these people seemed to lack any special educational qualifications which might make them an asset to the household.

The annual cash income of the sample population presented in table 19 reveals considerable evidence of poverty among the non-ranching population.

The average annual cash income for these family heads was over \$800 higher than for all resident families reported in the 1956 census. The apparent gain in income was probably a result of three factors: (1) an actual increase in wages and welfare payments since the 1956 census was taken, (2) a greater number of land sales during the past year adding to the income in a few cases, and (3) a more complete income report since there was no need to disguise real income if the family was receiving welfare payments. The

**TABLE 19. ANNUAL CASH INCOME OF NON-RANCHING FAMILIES**

| Annual income              | Families   |                |
|----------------------------|------------|----------------|
|                            | No.        | Percent        |
| 0- 499 .....               | 28         | 12.5           |
| 500- 999 .....             | 53         | 23.5           |
| 1,000-1,499 .....          | 49         | 21.8           |
| 1,500-1,999 .....          | 31         | 13.8           |
| 2,000-5,000 .....          | 53         | 23.5           |
| Over 5,000 .....           | 11         | 4.9            |
| <b>Totals</b> .....        | <b>225</b> | <b>100.0</b>   |
| <b>Mean income</b> .....   |            | <b>\$1,830</b> |
| <b>Median income</b> ..... |            | <b>\$1,422</b> |

Bureau personnel who completed the 1956 census were more likely to be identified with government assistance and there may have been an inclination in this case for the respondents to report as low an income as possible.

Land sales, reported by non-ranching families, deserve special mention because this information provided an index of the degree to which the land base of the reservation Indians was being undermined. About 15% of the families interviewed had sold some land and two-thirds of the families who had sold some land received more than \$1,000 from this source. In three families the receipts from land sales were over \$7,000.

When incomes are relatively low, large sums from this source temporarily distort the mean income picture since a few families are shown with disproportionately large incomes obtained by conversion of their capital assets to liquid assets. When land sales were ex-

cluded, the mean income was reduced to about \$1,400.

**Few Working-Age Males**

Summarizing, the non-ranching population was characterized by a limited number of males in the working age group, remnants of traditional family households, limited education, and low income. Starting from this base line, the aspirations of the respondents must be viewed in the light of their qualifications. In most cases these social and economic limitations were likely to prevent them from acquiring the training and experience necessary to compete in non-reservation society which has become increasingly more technological.

**Aspirations of Non-Ranchers**

What did the respondents say that they would like to do if the opportunities were available to them? Several items were included in the schedule which may provide at least a partial answer to this question. It should be emphasized, however, that these schedule questions sought to discover what the respondents said they would like to do and not what they actually have done and are able to accomplish. In the next section, their aspirations will be specifically evaluated in the light of their qualifications in order to estimate the possibilities their goals have for fulfillment.

The question, "Suppose you could work at any kind of job you wanted, what would you want to do?", was asked in order to find out what the employment aspirations of the non-ranching popula-

tion were. The results from this question are summarized in table 20.

Approximately one-fourth of the respondents were unable to work because of disabilities or advanced age. An equal number preferred ranching or farming occupations and nearly as many were anxious for wage employment, naming such things as skilled jobs (15.9%), services (7.1%), construction work (2.9%), and office work (1.3%). Professional positions were mentioned by only about 5% of the respondents and a small number of female family heads mentioned that they wished to remain as housekeepers.

**How Should Council Spend?**

A second question, which attempted to indirectly measure aspirations, asked the respondent to indicate the purpose for which the tribal council should spend any

**TABLE 20. EMPLOYMENT ASPIRATIONS**

| Work preferred                           | Respondents* |         |
|--|--------------|---------|
|  | No.          | Percent |
| Old age or disabled..                    | 69           | 28.9    |
| Ranching .....                           | 32           | 13.3    |
| Farming .....                            | 37           | 15.5    |
| Wage employment ..                       | 65           | 27.2    |
| Semi-professional<br>and professional .. | 14           | 5.9     |
| Housekeeping .....                       | 12           | 5.0     |
| No answer .....                          | 10           | 4.2     |
| Totals .....                             | 239          | 100.0   |

\*The number of responses in this and several of the ensuing tables exceeds 225 because some of the interviewees gave more than one answer.

large sum of money received by the tribe. It was assumed that those individuals who were desirous of improving their qualifications for employment would favor a loan program. Others who wished to expand their farm or ranch operations might suggest a tribal land buying program. Per capita payments would most likely indicate a desire for the satisfaction of immediate economic needs and would be used for consumption goods rather than for investment purposes.

In the actual results, presented

**TABLE 21. RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD USE OF TRIBAL FUNDS**

| <b>What should Tribal Council do with money?</b> | <b>No.</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
|--|------------|----------------|
| Provide per capita payments .....                | 109        | 46.5           |
| Make loans .....                                 | 41         | 17.5           |
| Buy land .....                                   | 71         | 30.3           |
| Vague or no answer..                             | 13         | 5.6            |
| Totals .....                                     | 234        | 100.0          |

| <b>What would you do with your share of per capita payment?</b> | <b>No.</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
|---|------------|----------------|
| Ranching .....  | 31         | 11.2           |
| Farming .....   | 37         | 12.8           |
| Move off reservation  | 1          | 0.3            |
| Operate a small business .....                                  | 13         | 4.5            |
| Buy a few cows, chickens, and pigs .....                        | 77         | 26.8           |
| Training for a job .....  | 13         | 4.5            |
| Continue present work .....                                     | 11         | 3.8            |
| Improve home .....  | 69         | 24.0           |
| No answer .....   | 35         | 12.1           |
| Totals .....  | 287        | 100.0          |

in table 21, per capita payments were chosen by nearly half of the respondents; about one-third selected a land purchasing program, and less than one-fifth approved the idea of loans for assisting those desiring to enter an agricultural enterprise or some private business.

The evidence regarding the use of per capita payments pointed to the desire of the majority of the respondents to make slight improvements in their present living conditions. There was little indication that they anticipated any great changes in their present status. If they could make small improvements, such as acquiring a few cows, chickens, and pigs, or improving their homes, these gains might eventually operate as an impetus to higher aspirations. Even a slight gain in their level of living may, in the long run, operate to raise the future aspirations of their children.

A final question regarding aspirations was asked as follows: "What do you think are the most important things that could be done for the people here at Pine Ridge?" The answers to this question elicited a wide variety of suggestions from the respondents which have been classified in table 22.

The desire for employment on the reservation, small loans, and improved housing was most apparent, and this evidence corroborates the conclusion that the immediate aspirations involve modest gains in living conditions in their present situation. They appear to have a realistic outlook since they express a desire to accomplish mi-

**TABLE 22. WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR PINE RIDGE?**

| Suggestions                                  | Respondents |         |
|--|-------------|---------|
|  | No.         | Percent |
| Increase employment                          | 84          | 22.5    |
| Prevent land sales.....                      | 14          | 3.7     |
| Provide loans .....                          | 70          | 18.7    |
| Housing projects .....                       | 69          | 18.4    |
| Care for the aged.....                       | 11          | 2.9     |
| Improve health program .....                 | 6           | 1.6     |
| Relocate families .....                      | 1           | 0.3     |
| Pay Indian claims against government .....   | 9           | 2.4     |
| Provide special schools on reservation ..... | 28          | 7.5     |
| Establish cooperative projects .....         | 11          | 2.9     |
| Others not classified..                      | 68          | 18.2    |
| No answer .....                              | 3           | 0.8     |
| Totals .....                                 | 374         | 100.0   |

nor improvements close to home rather than proposing more idealistic programs of social change.

#### **Qualifications of Non-Ranchers**

The proposals which have been made for helping the Pine Ridge people have been both practical and impractical, evolutionary and revolutionary, temporary and permanent, wise and foolish, but they certainly have never been lacking.

Some of the more serious programs should now be more carefully scrutinized on the basis of the knowledge which has been collected here in regard to the non-ranching people on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Then perhaps it will be possible to provide at least a tentative answer to the question of whether or not the proposed pro-

grams are designed with the qualifications of the participants in mind.

The proposals can conveniently be divided into three categories: (1) programs designed to establish new farm and ranch enterprises or to expand the operations of those who are already engaged in agricultural endeavors; (2) programs encouraging voluntary migration or assisted relocation; and (3) programs for community development aimed at raising the level of economic and social living in the non-ranching community.

Two variables closely related to community development will be considered because they may have an influence on the success of this third proposal. The present level of earned income and the degree of acculturation will in fact be used as relative indices which may identify the kinds of individuals who have some chance of success in any one of the three kinds of proposed programs.

**Farming and Ranching** — The characteristics of the respondents who chose farming or ranching as the work they would prefer are summarized in table 23.

While in most cases the differences are not great, those who prefer farming are less frequently veterans, they are older, have more children, less education, poorer housing, and less employment than those who prefer ranching. It is only in the case of special vocational training that the farming category seems better qualified for employment than the ranchers, al-

**TABLE 23. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS PREFERRED FARMING WITH THOSE PREFERRED RANCHING**

| Characteristics                  | Farming<br>(N=37) | Ranching<br>(N=32) |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                   |                    |
| Median age of respondents.....   | 48.3 years        | 44.4 years         |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                   |                    |
| Median years completed.....      | 8.1 years         | 8.9 years          |
| <b>FAMILY</b>                    |                   |                    |
| Children under five.....         | 54.1%             | 37.5%              |
| Children over five.....          | 83.8%             | 77.1%              |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                   |                    |
| Adequate housing.....            | 32.4%             | 43.8%              |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                   |                    |
| Presently employed.....          | 46.0%             | 68.8%              |
| Special training.....            | 40.5%             | 34.4%              |
| Veteran status.....              | 37.8%             | 40.6%              |

though the majority of those in the farming group mentioned some special course in agriculture.

When the respondents preferring farming and ranching were compared with family heads preferring skilled or service occupations only slight differences were observed.

The larger number of families with children over 5 seemed to be largely accounted for by the older ages of the respondents preferring farming and ranching. The only other characteristic in which the difference was significant was in the adequacy of housing. Since this was supported by such other advantages as better education, more special training, and less unemployment, it appears that those selecting farming and ranching are in slight degree better prepared for their preferred work than is true of the respondents hoping

for employment in skilled or service positions.

Additional data on the qualifications of the families who wish to enter farming and ranching was obtained from the question which explored how they would utilize a possible per capita payment. Those who would use this money for entering or expanding farming and ranching operations were almost exactly the same respondents as those who preferred this type of employment. The surprising discovery was the relatively large number of other families who would spend this payment to purchase a few cows, pigs, and chickens, presumably to start a minimum subsistence agricultural enterprise, and those who would make home improvements. These two groups are compared with the farmers and ranchers in the following table.

The family heads in the farm-

**TABLE 24. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS PREFERRED FARMING AND RANCHING WITH THOSE PREFERRED SKILLED OR SERVICE OCCUPATIONS**

| Characteristics                  | Farming or ranching (N=69) | Service or skilled (N=55) |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                            |                           |
| Median age of respondents .....  | 46.4 years                 | 43.3 years                |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                            |                           |
| Median grade completed.....      | 8.5 years                  | 7.5 years                 |
| <b>FAMILY</b>                    |                            |                           |
| Children under five .....        | 47.8%                      | 47.3%                     |
| Children over five .....         | 82.6%                      | 58.2%                     |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                            |                           |
| Adequate housing .....           | 37.7%                      | 20.0%                     |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                            |                           |
| Presently employed .....         | 56.5%                      | 50.9%                     |
| Special training .....           | 39.1%                      | 34.5%                     |
| Veteran status .....             | 39.1%                      | 40.0%                     |

**TABLE 25. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY PREFERRED USE OF PER CAPITA PAYMENT**

| Characteristics                  | Farming or ranching (N=68) | Buy a few cows, pigs, and chickens (N=69) | Improve home (N=69) |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                            |   |                     |
| Median age of respondents .....  | 45.4 years                 | 52.8 years                                | 57.0 years          |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                            |   |                     |
| Median years completed .....     | 7.9 years                  | 7.0 years                                 | 6.4 years           |
| <b>FAMILY</b>                    |                            |   |                     |
| Children under five .....        | 52.9%                      | 36.4%                                     | 30.3%               |
| Children over five .....         | 80.9%                      | 68.8%                                     | 69.6%               |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                            |   |                     |
| Adequate housing .....           | 33.8%                      | 18.2%                                     | 13.0%               |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                            |   |                     |
| Presently employed .....         | 51.5%                      | 34.9%                                     | 34.8%               |
| Special training .....           | 35.3%                      | 20.7%                                     | 17.3%               |
| Veteran status .....             | 38.2%                      | 22.1%                                     | 10.1%               |

ing and ranching category were better qualified for employment by each of these indices than the other two groups. The differences were significant in every case. A larger number of farming or ranching respondents were service veterans, were younger, had more children, were better educated, lived in adequate housing, had received special training, and were presently employed. The differences between those who would buy a few cows, pigs, and chickens and those who would improve their homes were not as great but in most cases the advantage was with the former group. It was, however, probable that for most of the respondents in both of these latter groups farming and ranching enterprises were out of the question at the present time.

#### Few Own Cattle

The qualifications for ranching could be studied in yet another way on the basis of information obtained in this survey. There were a few families in the sample who presently owned cattle, but were living in non-ranching communities, and there were others who had once owned cattle but had gone out of the business for a variety of reasons.

These family heads possessed some experience with cattle that was presumably not possessed by those families which had never owned cattle. On this basis the sample population was divided into two groups—(1) the non-operators—who had never owned cattle, and (2) the potential operators who either (a) presently own cat-

tle or (b) owned cattle at some time in the past. The characteristics of the non-operators and potential operators revealed some variations which should be reported.

The potential operators were usually limited by the size of their herd. In the case of those who presently own some cattle (13 operators or 5.8% of the sample), three families owned more than 100 head and two owned about 75 head and the other eight owned less than 10 head. The five larger operators were the only ones who could seriously claim to be successful cattle ranchers. The family heads who had once owned cattle made up 34.3% of the sample and 17 had owned less than 10 head, 36 had owned 10 to 50 head, 18 had owned 50 to 100 head, and 6 had owned over 100 head.

If only those respondents who now own or at some time in the past owned at least 50 head of cattle are considered, about 13% of the families have had ranching experience. This seems to suggest that for the most part the experience in cattle enterprises which existed in the early 1900's has limited influence today and the ranching skills acquired in earlier times have been largely lost.

Initiating cattle programs for the non-ranching population would, except for a small number of cases, mean working with people lacking the training needed to operate these enterprises. While they might not be totally without knowledge of ranching operations, since some of them have worked with cattle on ranches in the area, they

**TABLE 26. CATTLE OWNERSHIP OF THE NON-RANCHING PINE RIDGE POPULATION**

| Number of cattle owned | Respondents now owning cattle |         | Respondents who once owned cattle |         |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|
|                        | No.                           | Percent | No.                               | Percent |
| 1-9 .....              | 8                             | 3.6     | 17                                | 7.6     |
| 10-49 .....            | 0                             | 0.0     | 36                                | 16.0    |
| 50-99 .....            | 2                             | 0.9     | 18                                | 8.0     |
| 100 or more .....      | 3                             | 1.3     | 6                                 | 2.7     |
| No ownership .....     | 212                           | 94.2    | 148                               | 65.7    |
| Totals .....           | 13                            | 5.8     | 77                                | 34.3    |

**TABLE 27. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF POTENTIAL OPERATORS AND NON-OPERATORS**

| Characteristics                  | Potential operators (N=90) | Non-operators (N=135) |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                            |                       |
| Median age of respondent.....    | 48.8 years                 | 52.6 years            |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                            |                       |
| Median years completed.....      | 8.4 years                  | 7.0 years             |
| <b>FAMILY</b>                    |                            |                       |
| Children under five.....         | 40.0%                      | 43.7%                 |
| Children over five.....          | 78.9%                      | 61.5%                 |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                            |                       |
| Adequate housing .....           | 32.2%                      | 18.5%                 |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                            |                       |
| Presently employed .....         | 50.0%                      | 37.8%                 |
| Special training .....           | 41.1%                      | 20.0%                 |
| Veteran status .....             | 35.6%                      | 23.7%                 |

probably would not possess the managerial and business experience necessary to guarantee the success of a modern cattle business.

**Non-operators at Disadvantage**

The non-operators are assumed to be practically without the qualifications required to operate a

ranch. The evidence from table 27 suggests that they are at a definite disadvantage on the indices used to determine the qualifications for employment. The respondents with ranching experience are as an average more frequently service veterans, younger in age, better educated, have more special training, more adequate housing,



and are more likely to be presently employed.

Programs for increasing the number of farm and ranch operators on the Pine Ridge Reservation have customarily been discouraged by the lack of an adequate land base and development capital. An additional handicap indicated by this survey was the apparent lack of interest in farming and ranching among the family heads living in the non-ranching communities. Less than one-third chose farming or ranching as their preferred occupation, and while their qualifications were superior to those making other occupation choices, they were only slightly above those who chose service or skilled occupations.

#### **Basic Needs First**

Most of the people who were not interested in farming or ranching expressed a desire to provide for their minimum needs. They were primarily interested in better housing and subsistence agriculture as might be expected in communities characterized by extreme poverty. These people were not only without the necessary qualifications for successful farming or ranching enterprises but under the present conditions lacked the motivation to strive for anything more than temporary relief of their economic problems.

There were fewer potential cattle operators than was anticipated if prior experience with a sizeable herd could be utilized as a criterion.

Only one-eighth of the family heads surveyed had ever owned as many as 50 cattle and a few of these who had left the cattle business were pessimistic about the prospects for a new cattle program. Their dissatisfaction with ranching programs was based on unfavorable past experiences, and they pointed out that unless future programs were adequately planned and financed, they would result in just another failure for the Pine Ridge people which would contribute further to the mistrust of the agency which was responsible for the program.

#### **Voluntary Migration or Assisted**

**Relocation**—The second major alternative which required consideration was the solution proposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs through its relocation program. It has been the policy of this relocation agency to assist Indian families desiring to move to cities where employment was more readily available. Training programs have been established to provide new skills for more satisfactory employment. Correlated with this relocation program has been the understanding that voluntary migration should be encouraged for those reservation residents who might be able to make the move unassisted.

#### **Preliminary Evaluation**

Now that the Bureau's relocation program has been in operation for more than 5 years, it is possible to make a preliminary evaluation of the reservation attitudes toward the program. Some evi-

dence regarding its potential was obtained from the non-ranching population which was interviewed in this study. The respondents were questioned in regard to their experience with and attitudes toward migration to areas off the reservation.

On the basis of their answers to these questions they could be readily classified into three groups: (1) respondents who had at one time lived off the reservation either as voluntary migrants or assisted relocatees; (2) respondents who were not opposed to migration but had no experience with off-reservation living; and (3) respondents who were definitely opposed to migration and had never lived off the reservation.

When these three groups—referred to as *returned migrants*, *potential migrants*, and *non-migrants*—were compared for the salient

characteristics thought to determine their qualifications for employment (see table 28), the respondents who were opposed to migration appeared to be least qualified. They were much older and concomitantly their educational achievements were much below average. They were likewise significantly below the returned migrants and the potential migrants in the proportion who had been in military service, who had received special training and who were employed at the time the survey was taken.

Nearly half of the non-migrants were actually unable to engage in full-time employment because of the disabilities of age or health. It seemed to be reasonable to conclude that this group would remain on the reservation because they not only lacked the desire to move but most of them also lacked

**TABLE 28. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF (1) RETURNED MIGRANTS, (2) POTENTIAL MIGRANTS, AND (3) NON-MIGRANTS**

| Characteristics                  | 1<br>Returned<br>migrants<br>(N=69) | 2<br>Potential<br>migrants<br>(N=67) | 3<br>Non-<br>migrants<br>(N=89) |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                                     |                                      |                                 |
| Median age of respondent..       | 45.2 years                          | 49.2 years                           | 57.0 years                      |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                                     |                                      |                                 |
| Median years completed....       | 8.8 years                           | 8.2 years                            | 6.4 years                       |
| <b>FAMILY</b>                    |                                     |                                      |                                 |
| Children under five.....         | 55.1%                               | 40.3%                                | 33.7%                           |
| Children over five.....          | 73.9%                               | 65.7%                                | 66.3%                           |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                                     |                                      |                                 |
| Adequate housing .....           | 29.0%                               | 20.9%                                | 23.6%                           |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                                     |                                      |                                 |
| Presently employed .....         | 56.5%                               | 50.8%                                | 31.5%                           |
| Special training .....           | 37.7%                               | 28.3%                                | 21.3%                           |
| Veteran status .....             | 43.5%                               | 29.9%                                | 15.7%                           |



Most returned migrants are better trained, educated, and housed.

the qualifications which would give them some hope of success in a non-reservation environment.

#### Returned Migrants More Capable

The returned migrants were significantly better qualified than the other two categories. The greatest difference was between this group and the non-migrants. But they were also more frequently veterans, younger, better educated, more adequately housed, better trained, and less frequently unemployed than the potential migrants. The relocation program seems to be realistic only for the returned and potential migrants, and this evidence suggests that only a minority of either of these groups can be counted on to become permanent non-reservation residents. If

the largest number of the returned migrants came back to the reservation because they lacked some of the qualifications for success, the probability that a less qualified group would be successful seems remote no matter how favorable they may regard the possibilities of migrating.

If the program of assisted relocation proposes to make it possible for even a very small number of residents of the non-ranching communities to become successful migrants, selection of the potential migrants must be carefully considered. Assuming that there were qualifications that have made for successful migration, it may be advisable to know what characteristics the potential migrants possess in greater differ-

ence from the non-migrants than was the case between the returned migrants and the non-migrants. The only notable traits of this sort were those associated with their attitudes toward traditional Indian practices and participation in the reservation social pattern.

The potentially successful relocatees expressed favorable attitudes toward those who had moved off the reservation previously. They believed that these migrants had given up their traditional cultural practices and expressed an unfavorable response to the retention of these practices by the people on the reservation. They suggested that the Indian people would be better off when the old practices disappeared. They appeared to be more individualistic; recommended that migrants should not receive assistance from the tribal council; wished to avoid close social contacts with reservation residents; and expressed contempt for Indian ceremonials. They demonstrated a decided preference for going to non-Indian social activities by themselves or with members of their immediate family. They preferred that members of the tribal council possess traits of personality which are typical of leadership in non-Indian society.

It was also notable that a greater proportion of the potential migrants received no income from welfare sources than was the case for the returned and non-migrants. The necessity of maintaining a permanent residence to qualify for these payments may in some cases be a deterrent to migration off the

reservation. Welfare programs were less likely to be proposed by the potential migrants as a solution to the reservation problems; these suggestions comprised less than 60% of their responses compared with nearly 70% of the returned migrants and about 85% of the suggestions for the improvement of reservation conditions by the non-migrants.

There was greater statistical significance to the difference between the potential migrants and the non-migrants than between the returned migrants and non-migrants for both the proportion of families receiving welfare income and the respondents proposing welfare solutions to reservation problems.<sup>5</sup>

An index of acculturation (which will be more thoroughly analyzed in the next section of this report) indicated that the returned migrants had assimilated more of the non-Indian culture than was the case for either of the other groups. The non-migrants, as expected, indicated the least acculturation and the potential migrants, on the aver-

<sup>5</sup>The chi-square ( $X^2$ ) test of significant differences is a convenient statistical technique for measuring association between two variables. It can be used to test the significance of the difference between the observed frequency distribution and the frequency distribution expected if the two variables were independent. If this difference has a statistical probability of occurring less than five times in a hundred by chance, it is regarded as significant and an association is assumed to exist between the two variables. See Lillian Cohen, *Statistical Methods for Social Scientists*, pp. 120-127.

**TABLE 29. FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH POTENTIALLY SUCCESSFUL MIGRATION**

| Factors   | Non-     | Returned |                | Potential |                |
|---|----------|----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
|   | migrants | migrants | X <sup>2</sup> | migrants  | X <sup>2</sup> |
|   | %        | %        |                | %         |                |
| Expressed favorable attitudes toward migrants ..... | 5.6      | 18.8     | 14.57*         | 25.4      | 20.01*         |
| Believed migrants had given up Indian ways.....     | 3.4      | 17.4     | 9.60*          | 19.4      | 12.02*         |
| Unfavorable response to traditional practices ..... | 27.0     | 37.7     | 2.05           | 44.8      | 5.33*          |
| Will be better when old ways disappear .....        | 19.1     | 31.9     | 3.26           | 32.8      | 5.38*          |
| Prefer going to non-Indian social events .....      | 16.8     | 31.9     | 7.04*          | 34.3      | 8.10*          |
| Council members should have non-Indian traits ..... | 40.5     | 75.4     | 19.29*         | 79.1      | 23.38*         |

\*Significant at the five percent level with one degree of freedom.

age, demonstrated only slightly greater acculturation than the non-migrants.

The returned migrants had high acculturation scores in nearly half of the cases (47.1%) while only about one-fifth (22.2%) of the potential migrants and one-eighth (12.0%) of the non-migrants scored at the same level.

Again the need for careful selection and preparation of relocatees was underscored by the fact that the potential migrants for the most part appeared to lack the qualification of a level of acculturation equal to that possessed by the returned migrants. The conclusion would have to be that under these circumstances it was highly unlikely that great faith could be placed in the possibility of migration as a solution to the

problem of the non-ranching community.

**Community Development.** The third major alternative which deserved consideration was the possibility of changing the social pattern of the non-ranching community through modest, locally initiated projects designed to raise the economic and social level of the group. The traditional non-ranching community of the Pine Ridge Reservation has defined the status of its members on the basis of their participation in culturally significant, cooperative activities. Leadership has been indirectly exercised by those individuals and families who have conscientiously encouraged and supported traditional values in regard to sharing, visiting, and a variety of kinship social obligations. Those who have

**TABLE 30. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-RANCHING FAMILIES WITH HIGH AND LOW EARNED INCOMES**

| Characteristics                  | High earned<br>income<br>(N=70) | Low earned<br>income<br>(N=155) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                                 |                                 |
| Median age of respondents.....   | 43.6 years                      | 54.4 years                      |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                                 |                                 |
| Median years completed.....      | 9.0 years                       | 6.6 years                       |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                                 |                                 |
| Adequate housing .....           | 38.6%                           | 18.1%                           |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                                 |                                 |
| Presently employed .....         | 71.4%                           | 32.9%                           |
| Special training .....           | 41.4%                           | 22.6%                           |
| Veteran status .....             | 42.9%                           | 21.9%                           |

failed to live up to these group expectations have usually been isolated and even encouraged to leave the community. Thus in the more traditional reservation areas those who have remained tend to cling more tenaciously to the older culture patterns and their difficult economic circumstances have simply fostered greater attachment to the cooperative social pattern in order that the limited resources may be equitably shared.

#### Two Possibilities

The opportunities for reversing the customary trend in the non-ranching communities seemed to depend upon two approaches: (1) providing a minimum level of living by increasing the earned income of the non-ranching families and (2) encouraging participation in non-Indian culture by increasing educational and social activities providing knowledge of non-reservation living patterns. Starting on this basis, the items se-

lected for study as a means of measuring the possible achievements of a community development program were the present level of earned income and the degree of acculturation. These two variables will be separately discussed in the next sections in order to discover the factors which are associated with above average earned income and acculturation.

#### *The Level of Earned Income—*

The average earnings from the sale of livestock and crops and from wages for the sample population was \$1,029.01 for each family. Those respondents with incomes above this average were classified as high income families and those below the average were placed in the low income category for the purpose of comparing the characteristics of these two groups.

As was anticipated the respon-

dents with high earned income were significantly better qualified for employment on all of the indices listed in table 30. Additional comparisons were made between these two groups on a variety of other social and economic factors.

Some of the more important findings were:

(1) Wives of the high earned income respondents were younger, better educated, and more likely to contribute to the family income than was true for the wives of the low earned income group.

(2) Home and land ownership was more frequent among those with below average income.

(3) The high income group demonstrated a greater preference for skilled and professional work, while the low income group's preference was more frequently for service or unskilled employment.

(4) If the tribe received a considerable sum of money, both groups were about equally divided between their preference for loan and land programs or per capita payments, but if they did receive a per capita payment the majority of the high income groups would utilize the payment for current subsistence.

(5) Respondents with high earned income appeared to be better qualified for migration or relocation, although they did not favor the relocation program more than the low income respondents.

(6) Knowledge of the Dakota language and its use in the home and by their children was significantly greater in the low income families. The two groups were not significantly different in their attitudes toward traditional Indian practices and celebrations but the low income respondents appeared to favor greater participation in these activities.

(7) Apparently there was a tendency for the low income groups to seek advice from friends and relatives more frequently than the high income group which tended to seek information from some official source.

*Degree of Acculturation*—An index designed to measure the degree of acculturation of the non-ranching respondents was devised from information regarding their employment, use of the Indian language, and participation in traditional activities.<sup>9</sup> The range of scores on this index varied from 0 to 14 points, with the greatest concentration occurring toward the low end of the scale, indicating

<sup>9</sup>The accumulation index was an adaptation of the technique reported in John Gillin and Victor Raimy, "Acculturation and Personality," *American Sociological Review*, 5: (June 1940) 371-380. For each of these three dimensions—employment, use of the Indian language, and participation in traditional activities—values from 0 to 5 were arbitrarily assigned to items arranged along a continuum from low to high degrees of acculturation.

the traditional orientation of the non-ranching population.

The mean score was 3.07 and this was used as a dividing point to discriminate between high and low acculturation scores. There were 71 with high scores (4 or over) and these respondents tended to be permanently employed, spoke both the Dakota and English languages, and participated in social activities with individuals of less than complete Indian ancestry. The individuals with low acculturation scores numbered 150 and were customarily unemployed, spoke very little English, and visited and attended traditional activities with others of full Indian ancestry. There were also four respondents on which the information was inadequate to make a proper classification and these were excluded from this statistical analy-

sis of the degree of acculturation.

It was again evident that the high acculturation group was significantly better qualified for employment. The results reported in table 31 closely paralleled the percentages for the high and low income groups given in the previous section, indicating that there was a close association between the level of earned income and the degree of acculturation. The findings on a variety of other social and economic factors were likewise remarkably similar.

The association between higher earned income and a greater degree of acculturation was further corroborated by the fact that the high acculturation group had a lower proportion of families receiving unearned income from leases, welfare, and land sales and an extremely small minority of fam-

**TABLE 31. COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH AND LOW ACCULTURATION GROUPS**

| Characteristics                  | High<br>acculturation<br>(N=70) | Low<br>acculturation<br>(N=150) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>AGE</b>                       |                                 |                                 |
| Median age of respondents.....   | 44.1 years                      | 53.2 years                      |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>                 |                                 |                                 |
| Median years completed.....      | 9.1 years                       | 6.6 years                       |
| <b>FAMILY</b>                    |                                 |                                 |
| Children under five.....         | 57.1%                           | 58.0%                           |
| Children over five.....          | 71.4%                           | 68.0%                           |
| <b>HOUSING</b>                   |                                 |                                 |
| Adequate housing .....           | 40.8%                           | 14.7%                           |
| <b>EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS</b> |                                 |                                 |
| Presently employed .....         | 74.6%                           | 32.7%                           |
| Special training .....           | 42.3%                           | 22.7%                           |
| Veteran status .....             | 40.8%                           | 21.3%                           |



ilies with no earned income from the sale of livestock and crops and from wages.

It was not possible from these data to determine definitely that either the level of earned income or the degree of acculturation was the direct cause of the other but these were definitely interrelated conditions that must be considered in any community development program. The principal advantage of such a program would be that it could be started at the level of economic and social achievement which has been demonstrated to exist in the non-ranching community. The success of the program does not have to be measured in terms of the number of successful farmers and ranchers or migrants or relocatees but only in relation to the change that has been made from the point at which the program was initiated. Furthermore, the community development idea is predicated on the assumption that any community which is desirous of changing can devise its own program, and with the advisory and technical assistance available from public and private agencies, establish reasonable goals which are in agreement with the

needs and interests of the local people.

#### Other Potentials

The three alternatives which have been proposed and analyzed here offer possibilities of limited success in the light of the qualifications possessed by residents of the non-ranching communities. Farming and ranching programs have a fairly strong appeal but lack of experience of the majority in modern agricultural enterprises limits the number of families which could be successfully established in the cattle or farming business on anything more than a subsistence level.

Migration and relocation provided a real opportunity for only a relatively small number of individuals selected for their special qualifications. The most essential of these qualifications appeared to be attitudes expressing a desire to migrate and opposition to traditional Indian practices. Community development seemed to offer the broadest basis for participation and seemed to be especially designed to meet the principal need for change in the non-ranching communities where the chief handicap was the low level of economic welfare.

## V. Conclusions and Recommendations

The authors are aware that the recommendations formulated in this report are a function of their specific value orientation. Any suggestions that are made for changing people must be prefaced with a word of caution about the dangers of meddling in the affairs of those people who live in culture patterns which are different from our own.

It might be possible for us to propose sweeping changes in the value system of the Indian people in order that administrators could point to this study as an example of the "positive approach." This approach is beguilingly misleading, promising an enchanting adventure in remaking others in our own image. It requires salutary and impressive restraint to prevent us from attempting to reshape others in accordance with our own values. Nevertheless, if we may step out of a purely scientific role to make some value judgements about the desirability of certain outcomes, these judgements will be based as closely as possible on the evidence from the survey.

### **Development Is Needed**

First, there was an obvious need for an economic development program. The economic analysis of the non-ranching population on the

Pine Ridge Reservation clearly indicated the extreme poverty of these communities. The sample which was intensively surveyed fully corroborated the evidence that has been built up over a long series of studies of economic conditions. The non-ranching communities appeared to be among the most economically depressed areas on the reservation and major relief from this forbidding poverty occurred only when large amounts of land were sold. These sales usually meant the loss of the last assets possessed by the family and the money received from the sale was used for immediate subsistence needs or other consumption.

Second, there was evidence of considerable differences between the non-ranching communities, suggesting that development programs should be flexible enough to permit each community to shape the program to its special needs and resources. The most apparent differences between communities were in such factors as age, education, and economic status.

Perhaps even more important were the differences discovered in occupational qualifications and aspirations and in experience with cattle ownership. The answers given to questions regarding their hopes and plans indicated that the

people in these non-ranching communities were realistic enough to recognize their limitations and made reasonable proposals for the improvement of their conditions. They appeared to best understand their own peculiar problems and should have a decisive voice in program planning.

Third, it was concluded from the research that those people who were most economically depressed demonstrated the least aspiration for changing their status. Most of the family heads, who were capable of accepting permanent employment, desired farming, ranching, or unskilled wage work, and only a small minority wanted skilled or professional employment. If they received extra income, more than half said they would use it to improve their homes or to buy a few cows, chickens, and pigs. Those who wished to invest in a cattle operation were only about one-tenth of the total. Likewise, of those who did select ranching as their preferred occupation few realized that they would need adequate resources to start, indicating that the enterprise would operate on a limited basis. Suggestions for improving reservation conditions were likewise made on the assumption that living standards were at the subsistence level. Improvement programs would first have to take into consideration the need for increased subsistence income. Then secondly, investments could be made in projects which

might contribute to the long run improvement in the economic development of the community.

#### **Hampered by Inexperience**

Fourth, the qualifications of the non-ranching population were not completely in accord with their aspirations. Only a small number (probably less than 10%) had the experience and training required to make it possible for them to carry on a successful cattle enterprise. There were a somewhat larger number that might be qualified for agricultural employment but most of them were apparently not thinking of going much beyond the subsistence level. The migration alternative was not viewed very realistically by those who were not opposed to leaving the reservation. These potential migrants lacked the qualifications of those who had been off the reservation and come back but their attitudes were less favorable to the traditional reservation way of life. The difference between high and low income and acculturation groups tended to support the idea of the efficacy of a community development program which would improve the employment situation and provide broad educational opportunities. For the great majority of the people in the non-ranching communities, the primary necessity was to meet the problem of subsistence; they can hardly be expected to make plans for a long-term investment of funds, while they and their families are only

able to think in terms of day to day existence.

These are the major conclusions which need to be reemphasized:

1. There is a definite need of an economic development program,

2. The program should be flexible enough to meet the needs of each community.

3. Those with the greatest poverty demonstrate the least aspiration.

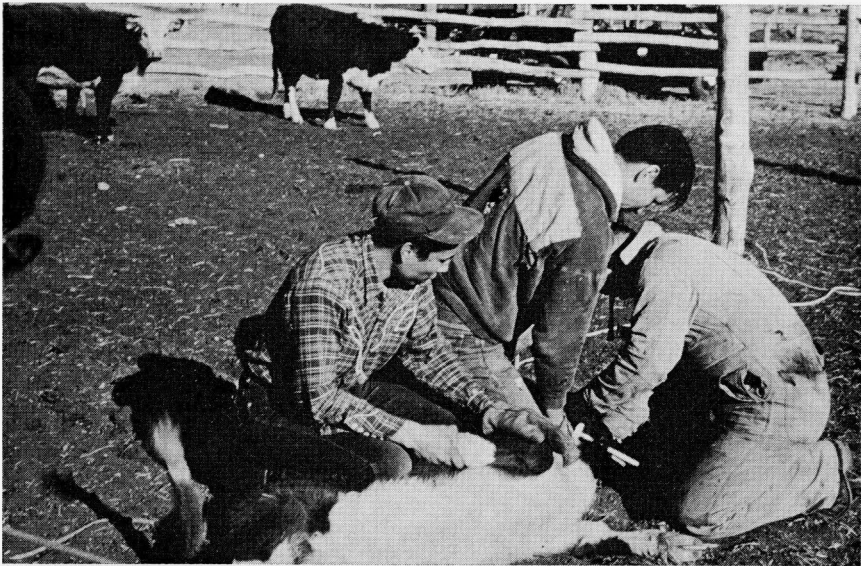
4. Their aspirations were not in all cases in accord with their qualifications. It may not be out of place to add another reminder that these conclusions are interpreted and recommendations are made on the basis of judgments by the authors as to the most desirable goals for which the people in the non-ranching communities can aspire.

Some additional implications of the study should be listed:

1. There was some evidence of

discord in the communities and between communities. There was, for instance, no apparent agreement on the kind of person the respondents would like to see serving on the tribal council. Signs of controversy were also observed between generations and between individuals of varying degrees of Indian ancestry. Factionalism is usually detrimental to the initiation of community programs, dissipating an enormous amount of time and energy of potentially capable leaders. There is, nonetheless, the contrary opinion that a limited degree of this type of factionalism may not be disorganizing, in fact, it could be useful in building community concern for solving problems which are common to all of the factions.

2. Frequently, apathy was evi-



Only a few have had experience required for a successful cattle enterprise.

dent toward community projects. Some of the respondents who were cooperative in answering other questions in the interview simply refrained from answering those which required them to express some opinion on community or political affairs. Perhaps the most important change that could be made in any of the non-ranching communities would be to revive interest in group activities and create an *esprit-de-corps* which would cause the factions to work together more harmoniously. One important element in achieving a new community spirit should be guaranteeing the people that they will have a leading part in planning their own program.

3. There was less evidence of divisive forces than had been anticipated from previous studies. It has been common for engineers of social change to assume that the Indian communities could not take an effective part in their own improvement programs because of the disputes which would arise among community members. Surprisingly, less than 1 in 12 of the respondents expressed concern about differences in age, degree of Indian ancestry, language, or traditional attitudes that may exist in the communities. The respondents may have been unwilling, indifferent, or gratuitous in not mentioning in their answers the forces which divide the communities. There appeared to be much more concern with ability, training, and education, at least

in considering what qualifications should be possessed by community members elected to decision-making positions. The need of skilled, indigenous leadership was further emphasized by answers to the question, "When the Bureau has a new program, who do you ask about it?" More than a third of the replies mentioned the tribal council or one of its representatives, one-fourth said they would consult a news release, one-tenth disclaimed any interest in any Bureau program, and only one-twelfth would consult the superintendent or some agency official.

4. There were some unfavorable attitudes toward the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its policies. Dependency on paternalistic assistance has become associated with an apathetic resistance toward any program sponsored by the Bureau in the non-ranching communities. Among those who expressed an interest in migrating, for example, only a minority had talked to a relocation official. However, there was no direct criticism of Bureau personnel. In fact, a number of respondents reported much respect, admiration, and friendship for those individuals who have devoted their lives to serving the Indian people. Apparently it was regarded as a legitimate release of their frustrations to criticize the Bureau impersonally but rarely did they speak disparagingly of the people who are employed in the Indian service.

5. Identification of a community

development program with the Bureau of Indian Affairs might condemn the project from the beginning. Personnel from the Bureau should participate in the program because of their experience, but considering the attitude of the non-ranchers toward bureaucracy, it would probably be advisable not to emphasize their identification with the agency by which they are employed.

The administration of the program should be handled by a state or private agency as an alternative to Bureau administration. The tribal council, as well, might be seriously considered as the administrative agency with the assistance of those state and private organizations which can provide technical advice and assistance. The problem of administrative organization is outside the scope of this research but the information obtained provided an implied warning of the danger inherent in identifying any new program with the Bureau or any of its past efforts which have failed.

6. Farming should not be eliminated from consideration in an economic development program. More family heads than expected expressed an interest in small scale farming in preference to ranching. From the history of Pine Ridge it is known that before 1920 cooperative ranching enterprises provided a workable

adaptation to the reservation situation but the enthusiasm for ranching is apparently not as great as it was earlier and much of the previous experience in ranching has been lost. Historians and ethnologists have recorded that the Dakotas were not agricultural peoples and in the early reservation period they abhorred farming. Now, however, there are just as many family heads who would prefer farming as ranching and the ratio is in favor of farming among those in the older ages and with less education or capital for investment. The farming would have to be on a small scale considering the limitations of this group but the exact type of enterprise is beyond the limits of this research.

7. Differences in acculturation are significant in the employment aspirations of the non-ranching population. Five times as many of those with high scores on the index of acculturation chose ranching as those with low scores. Farming was nearly twice as popular among the unacculturated as among the acculturated, partly because the former group was slightly older. Further, when the respondents were asked how they would spend a per capita payment, three times as many of the acculturated as the unacculturated expressed an interest in buying cattle. Almost two-thirds of the unacculturated would buy a few cows and chickens or improve their home while

only one-third of the acculturated would spend their money in this way. It may also be noted that of those who had sold land, two-thirds of the unacculturated had sold 100 or more acres, while only one-third of the acculturated had sold more than 100 acres. Probably the acculturated are more persistent in retaining land in the hope of acquiring cattle or it may only mean that the unacculturated simply had more land to sell.

8. Out-migration to off-reservation areas should be encouraged for the best qualified families, but consideration should be given to increasing the effectiveness of the present relocation program or perhaps replacing it with a new migration effort administered by some other agency. The information collected on interest in migrating indicated that nearly half of the people in the non-ranching communities were not opposed, but there was a vast difference between a favorable attitude and making a move, and the fact that a third of the families had lived off the reservation and returned does not bode well for the successful migration of a large number of those who are less qualified to move. Less than 10% of the sample had qualifications that might encourage one to believe that they might successfully migrate and when they reached this level of preparation they were not greatly in need of assistance from some agency to

encourage them to move; they would migrate because they were aware of economic opportunities in other areas which are not available on the reservation.

9. The best way to discover what the non-ranching people are best qualified to do is to ask them. The evidence from this survey indicates that they are likely to make reasonable choices. These statements would sound absurdly evident if they were applied to a non-Indian population but the Pine Ridge people are still thought of at times as dependents of a paternalistic government, and therefore, someone should be responsible for them and make decisions about their future. The decisions made for them by social scientists may be less realistic than the choices of livelihood they make for themselves.<sup>10</sup>

Changes in the non-ranching Pine Ridge communities which would eventuate in more social dis-

<sup>10</sup>Their decisions are likely to be more reliable than any index or measuring device invented by social scientists to determine or select individuals for certain occupations. The conclusion of William Whyte in *The Organization Man*, pp. 214-222, that the methods of psychologists and sociologists in devising tests for placement in industry or business are not very reliable and likely never will be, confirms this contention. And since knowledge in the social sciences is based primarily on middleclass, white Americans, the problem is compounded by that fact that the tests are even less exact when applied to individuals with a distinctly different cultural background.

organization would be self-defeating. In order to avoid further *anomic* results, there may be a need for revision of some of the conventional programs. For the non-ranching Pine Ridge people to learn the technological requirements of American society would be ineffectual unless it was accompanied by mastery of the forms of social

organization demanded by an industrial civilization. Mobilization of these communities for intelligent self-improvement must start with the process of changing the fundamental aspirations and definitions of both what is desirable and what is feasible. Programs must, finally and simply, be concerned with changing people's attitudes.

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